

CHANGING ATTITUDES OF THE GERMAN-AMERICANS

IN TEXAS TOWARD DEUTSCHTUM

AND THE FATHERLAND

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

Sam Houston State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

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May 1973

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ABSTRACT

May, Dwayne E., Changing Attitudes of the German-Americans in Texas toward Deutschtum and the Fatherland. Master of Arts (History), May 1973, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate how the attitudes and feelings of the German-Americans in Texas evolved in the interwar period. This was principally accomplished through a comparative study of all of the major Texas German-American newspapers of the period.

The German-Americans have been a significant part of the population of Texas since 1834 when the first German settlement was established on Texas soil. With the founding of more settlements and the sponsorship of German colonization programs, there were even hopes of creating a German state within the United States. This was only part of a spirit known as Deutschtum, which had followed German immigrants wherever they went. Germans continued to maintain a love of the Fatherland, the German language, the German Church, the German song and dance, and the German press. This study reveals the conflict between two loyalties, for the German-Americans were forced to choose between their love of Deutschtum and the Fatherland on one hand, and their love for

their newly adopted homeland on the other. The German-language press revealed the attitudes of the German-Americans of Texas to the Hitler regime and showed how those attitudes changed as the policies of the Third Reich became clear.

This study revealed that there was indeed a Nazi presence in Texas during this period. The Nazis sought to unite the Germans of Texas but instead only added to the many differences which had already existed. The National Socialist threat was never as great as it might have been had the First World War not already diminished the power of Deutschtum. If Deutschtum had been stronger and more nationalistic, the National Socialists might have had more success with their plans to establish a fifth column in the Texas area, but ultimately they failed to win the support of the German-American community, which was vital to the Nazis goal of Weltdeutschtum.

The conclusion of this study was that the German-American had always regarded Germany as his spiritual home but during the First World War had been forced to choose between his loyalty to the Fatherland and his loyalty to the United States. Deutschtum, however, still remained a significant force, and it was not until the Second World War that the German-American made his final decision. He disavowed any political connection with Germany and threw in his lot with that of his adopted home.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Germans have played a part in the history of Texas since the early nineteenth century, first the Spanish and later the Mexican government permitted some colonization in the area, but the German immigrant was not a significant factor in the history of the state until after Texas won her independence from Mexico. During the Masseinwanderung of the 1840's, the German element steadily increased and showed signs of even surpassing the number of Mexican and Anglo-American inhabitants.¹ This German immigration was most evident in San Antonio than elsewhere. There the population was almost exclusively Mexican in 1840, but by 1870 according to one estimate had become approximately one-half German.²

The first German colony in Texas was established in Austin County in 1842, but the significant influx of German immigration into the state came after the founding of the Association for the Protection of German Immigration in Texas in 1842 under the patronage of the Association of Noblemen in Mainz, a Rhenish city in the Grand Duchy of Hesse.³ This organization sought to promote an independent German state in Texas by purchasing land and encouraging

German immigration, but the influx of settlers from the United States undermined this venture.⁴ The willingness of such men as Otfried Hans, Freiherr von Meusebach and Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels to sponsor colonization in Texas together with the unstable political and social situation in the German states during the mid-forties caused many Germans to turn their eyes to Texas in search of a future home.⁵

Immigration into Texas grew quickly for a number of reasons. For one thing, the Association of Noblemen in Mainz formed organizations to acquaint the immigrants with the hazards of the new land--not only from natural dangers or Indian tribes, but also from cunning strangers who lay in wait for the unsuspecting newcomers.⁶ In the second place, letters from the early settlers to relatives and friends back home were instrumental in luring others to Texas from the German states and later from the Austrian Empire. Thirdly, immigrant societies were formed which aided in the establishment of the German towns of New Braunfels and Fredericksburg along with others primarily in the counties of Fayette, Austin, Bastrop, Colorado, and DeWitt.⁷ Finally a number of books and pamphlets with a wide circulation attracted immigrants to Texas.

Valetin Hecke's Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten and Detlev Dunt's Reise nach Texas were diaries of the authors'

journeys through Texas.⁸ Captain Friedrich von Wrede's Lebensbilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika und Texas and Lebensbilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten und Galveston im Jahre 1838 and a series of letters titled Galveston im Jahre 1835 described conditions in both North America generally and Texas in particular.⁹ Probably the most important work of this period, however, was Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels' Texas: geschildert in Beziehung auf seine geographischen, sozialen und übrigen Verhältnisse, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die deutsche Colonisation.¹⁰ To aid the immigrants intent upon leaving for Texas, Freiherr von Schuetz, one of the officials of the Association of Noblemen in Mainz, wrote Texas: Rathgeber für Auswanderer which was to serve as a guide book for the German immigrant.¹¹ Solms-Braunfels also informed the prospective immigrant of William Kennedy's Naturgeschichte und Topographie von Texas to familiarize them with the geography, flora and fauna of the area.¹² In addition to these publications, there were books concerned with immigration and pioneer life, such as Gustav Durverney's Freude nach Lied oder Die Ansiedler in Texas.¹³ Adolf Paul Weber's Deutsche Pioneere in Texas contained biographies of the major German pioneer leaders.¹⁴ Ludolph Lafrentz's essays, Die Deutschen in Texas vor dem Befreiungskriege and Die Deutschen in der unabhängigen Republik Texas told of the life and attitudes of the early pioneers.¹⁵ Dr. Benno Mates wrote

a treatise on Texas in the form of Reisebilder.¹⁶ These men wrote with the sole purpose of informing Germans about the natural and social conditions of Texas.¹⁷

The German immigrant usually arrived in Galveston and from there moved into the south central area of Texas. Many died as a result of hostile Indians, the hazardous journey, and other hardships encountered on the way, but even so German immigrants were not discouraged and most stayed to build up the areas in which they settled. These German immigrants settled primarily in the south Texas area bounded roughly by a line drawn from Houston through San Antonio, Mason, Temple, Brenham and back to Houston.¹⁸ Within this area over 150,000 Germans settled. They comprised 33 per cent of the state's foreign population during the early 1900's. By 1939 that population had increased to approximately 300,000.¹⁹ In fact there was such a large German population in the area that one might have easily referred to it as "little Germany", although the early colonization scheme of the Association of Noblemen in Mainz failed in its objective to create an independent German state. Nonetheless, it was the direct cause of continued German immigration into the area.²⁰ This influx continued until World War I when federal restrictions stemmed the flow of German immigrants.

As the immigration increased German settlers organized themselves into a variety of societies and organizations such as workers clubs, revolutionary societies, freedom societies, athletic clubs, and singing organizations to maintain their cultural identity.²¹ Newspapers were established within each German community to keep people informed with news from the Fatherland as well as matters of local, state and national concern. For the most part these papers were printed in the German language, since most of the people were still unfamiliar with the language and customs of their newly adopted home. Since German-language newspapers and the various societies and organizations encouraged the incoming Germans to settle in the German communities of Texas, settlers of other nationalities came to regard the Germans as being clannish.

Because German-Americans came to represent a sizeable part of the population in Texas in the twentieth century, it is important to know how this segment of the Texas population reacted to National Socialism. Such a study can be made through an analysis of their German-language press which shows the changing attitudes of the German-Americans in Texas towards National Socialism from 1933 when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany to the invasion of Poland in September 1939. The major German-language newspapers of the period were Das Wochenblatt of Austin, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt,

the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, the Freie Presse für Texas of San Antonio, and the Texas Herold of Taylor.

To assess the validity of the German-American press as an agency for revealing German-American opinion it is helpful to go back to the 1840's, when it was first established in Texas and trace the growth of these publications. The first German-language newspaper in the state had its beginning in 1846 with the establishment of the Galveston Zeitung.²² With the appearance of this paper the Galveston Democratic Telegram and Register on August 9, 1847, ventured the hope that the German-language newspaper would "solace the German immigrant in the distant wilds" and "come to them like sunbeams to gladden their hearts with sweet thoughts of Faderland" [sic].²³ After the founding of the Galveston Zeitung there was an increased demand for German-language newspapers and so approximately eight other similar papers came into operation before the beginning of the War between the States.²⁴ The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung was one such newspaper, inaugurating its long and eventful history on November 12, 1852, under the editorship of Ferdinand Jacob Lindheimer.²⁵ It was one of only four newspapers to survive the Civil War, but after the war the number of German immigrants slowly increased, and there was consequently a greater demand for German-language newspapers. The Freie Presse für Texas began publication in San Antonio on June 15, 1865,

under the editorship of August Siemering. Others subsequently sprang up throughout the area.²⁶ Fredericksburg started Das Wochenblatt on July 14, 1877, under von Buchen. In 1879 a paper of the same name appeared in Austin under the editorship of Albert and Henry Scheutze.²⁷ From 1879 to 1889 approximately twelve more German-language papers appeared in the state.²⁸ This growth continued with the Waco Post beginning its publication on December 10, 1891, under George Herbold; the Taylor Herold on December 19, 1895, under Albert A. Bogen; and the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt on October 8, 1899, under J. A. Proske.²⁹ The increase in German-language newspapers continued until the late 1890's, at which time there were twenty-nine known publications, but high business costs, the effects of the war, and assimilation of the German population into American society reduced the number to only nine by 1932.³⁰

Out of these nine, six were chosen as the basis for this study because of their size, circulation, availability, and geographical location. The circulation of these newspapers in the 1930's was listed as follows: the Freie Presse für Texas in San Antonio, 1930, 9,360;³¹ the Waco Post, 1930, 7,290;³² the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 1933, 4,000;³³ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 1935, 2,851;³⁴ the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 1930, 2,650;³⁵ the Taylor Herold, 1930, 1,200 (later when the Waco Post was

absorbed by the Taylor Herold in 1936, the name was changed to the Texas Herold, 1940, 2, 400);³⁶ and the Giddings Deutsches Wochenblatt, 1930, 950.³⁷

The German-language press was best characterized in an article from Fortune Magazine which stated that "to be a journal of opinion instead of a journal of information is a European compulsion no immigrant paper has been able to throw off."³⁸ These newspapers must have pretty accurately reflected the opinions of their communities through editorials, letters, news coverage, and advertisements because editors depended entirely upon local support for their existence. A number of foreign language readers subscribed to more than one German-language publication, and most of these publications were family newspapers or magazines read by two or more persons.³⁹ These newspapers were often read more carefully than the English-language dailies, and their influence was for the most part more effective since they served the immigrant as a medium for maintaining contacts with other Germans in various sections of the United States or Germany with whom he could no longer carry on the every-day gossip of his home village.⁴⁰

The German-language press was able to help the immigrant become more familiar with his new homeland because it printed news about the United States and paved the way for its readers to become citizens. At the same time, it kept him in touch with the

Fatherland and thereby evoked a certain German nationalist feeling that persisted until after the Second World War.⁴¹ This nationalistic sentiment had already become noticeable prior to the First World War, and it subsequently attracted the attention of the National Socialists who considered it potentially useful in achieving their goal for world domination. As the shadow of the swastika grew larger, the Nazis hoped that the German element in Texas would in some way play a vital part in converting this shadow into substance.

FOOTNOTES

¹Selma Metzenthin Raunick, "A Survey of German Literature in Texas," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Oct. 1929, p. 138.

²Albert Bernhart Faust, The German Element in the U. S. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), I.

³The Texas Almanac 1939-1940 (Dallas: the Dallas Morning News, 1939), p. 86. A large grant of land was given to Francis Fisher, Buchard Miller and Joseph Baker lying between the Colorado and Llano Rivers, known as the Fisher-Miller grant. Ultimately they were given more than 3,000,000 acres and permission to settle 6,000 families and single men in the area. Later they sold the grant to the Association of Noblemen in Mainz. The Association of Noblemen was organized by a group of German noblemen at Biebrich on the Rhine on April 20, 1842, "for the sole purpose of purchasing land in the free State of Texas." Count Victor von Leniningen and Count Joseph Boos Waldeck came to Texas representing the organization. In 1844 the purpose of the organization was changed to be "the protection of German immigration in Texas." It assisted in the settlement of over 7,000 Germans in Texas, but went bankrupt in 1847.

The German communal colony of Bettina was established on the Llano River near the present site of Llano in 1847 by scholars from the Universities of Heidelberg and Geissen. John von Meusebach and Carl von Soms-Braunfels aided this project, but it broke up in 1848. The Texas Almanac 1970-1971, p. 85.

⁴The Association of Noblemen in Mainz advertised in Germany that Texas was the most desirable place for the German immigrant to live. Texas at this time did not belong to the United States, and the English government, which opposed the annexation of Texas, looked with satisfaction at the attempts of the German noblemen to form their own state. Faust, pp. 493-494.

⁵Otfried Hans, Freiherr von Meusebach possessed the most important requisite of a true pioneer: he was adaptable. Because of this he began to call himself John O. Meusebach among the Texans. He took Texas citizenship and to the people of Texas Otfried was known as John, a good man to do business with all

around. T. R. Fehrenbach, The Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans (New York: Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 293-294.

⁶Raunick, p. 138.

⁷Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, Deutsche-Amerikanische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften 1732-1955: Geschichte und Bibliographie: German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), p. 614.

⁸Valentin Hecke's Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten (A Journey Through the United States) was published in 1820 in Berlin, Germany. Detlev Dunt's Reise nach Texas (Journey to Texas) was published in 1834 in Cassel, Germany. Raunick, p. 136.

⁹Captain Friedrich von Wrede's Lebensbilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika und Texas (Sketches of the United States of North America and Texas), Lebensbilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten und Galveston im Jahre 1838 (Sketches of the United States and Galveston in 1838) and his letters Galveston im Jahre 1835 (Galveston in 1835) were all printed in 1844 in Cassel, Germany. Raunick, p. 136.

¹⁰Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels' Texas: geschildert in Beziehung auf seine geographischen, sozialen und übrigen Verhältnisse, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die deutsche Colonisation (Texas Described in Respect to its Geography, Social and General Conditions, with Regard to German Colonization) was published in Frankfurt, Germany in 1846. Raunick, p. 137.

¹¹Freiherr von Schuetz wrote Texas: Rathgeber für Auswanderer (Adviser to Immigrants). It was published in Wiesbaden, Germany in 1847. Raunick, p. 138.

¹²William Kennedy's Naturgeschichte und Topographie von Texas (The Natural History and Topography of Texas) was published in Frankfurt in 1845. Raunick, p. 138.

¹³Gustav Durverney's Freude nach Lied oder die Ansiedler in Texas (Joy Follows Sorrow or the Settlers in Texas) was published in 1868. No place of publication was stated. Raunick, p. 147.

¹⁴Adolf Paul Weber's Deutsche Pioneere in Texas (German Pioneers in Texas) was published in 1894. No place of publication was given. Raunick, p. 149.

¹⁵Ludolph Lafrentz's Die Deutschen in Texas vor dem Befreiungskriege (The Germans in Texas before the War for Independence) was not published until 1926. No place of publication was given. Raunick, p. 149.

¹⁶Dr. Benno Mates' treatise Reisebilder (Travel Pictures) was published in Dresden by H. L. Zeh, in 1861. Raunick, p. 147.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 146, 151. Complete publishing data was not cited for all books in this reference source. It was also not available in the Library of Congress Catalogue or the National Union Catalogue.

¹⁸The Texas Almanac 1939-1940, p. 87. For further information see the maps of various German-American areas of Texas in the Appendix.

¹⁹Faust, p. 499. Census reports in 1934 indicated that there were 31,657 German-born citizens in Texas and also small clusters from the German areas of Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Russia, and Alsace-Lorraine. Many spoke broken English and learned English from their children or grandchildren, and they in turn taught these children German. There were also over 300,000 Texas-born German-Americans who still spoke the German language. Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 26 April 1934, p. 8, col. 2.

²⁰Faust, p. 491.

²¹Ralph F. Bischoff, Nazi Conquests Through German Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 143.

²²T. Herbert Etzler, "German-American Newspapers in Texas with Special Reference to the Texas Volksblatt 1877-1879," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, April 1954, p. 423. The exact date of the appearance of the Galveston Zeitung is uncertain, but it is estimated from newspapers on file as December 1846. The date on which the Galveston Zeitung ceased publication is unknown; the San Antonio Zeitung refers to the paper on February 3, 1855

and Daniel J. Kenny lists the paper in his book The American Newspaper Directory and Record of the Press 1861 (New York: n. p. 1861), p. 69.

²³ Etzler, p. 423.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 424.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 423.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 425.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 427. There appears to be no record of von Buchen's first name in any of the sources consulted in this study.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Arndt and Olson, p. 634.

³⁰ Etzler, p. 428. At the turn of the century there were about six short-lived publications which appeared in the next four years. After this time no new German papers were founded. It may also be noted that there were a number of periodicals published in connection with the Lutheran, Methodist, and Catholic Churches. The Protestantische Zeitblätter (Rev. Eisenlohr, ed. New Braunfels) and Der Pilger Im Suden (Rev. Wendt, ed. Galveston, 1854) were probably the earliest. Then followed Der Christliche Apologete founded by P. A. Moelling, but edited for forty-three years by William Nast, founder of German Methodism. There was a German-language church newspaper, Lutherischer Gemeindebote für Texas published in the 1890's by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In 1894 this paper had a circulation of over 1,600, a large number for that time. After 1895 the number of subscribers took a great drop, and in 1898 the publication of the paper was taken over by the Wartburg Publishing House in Iowa. In 1902 the German Catholics founded their own paper, Katholische Rundschau in San Antonio. Raunick, pp. 152-153.

³¹ Arndt and Olson, p. 630. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³² Ibid., p. 635. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³³ Ibid., p. 628. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³⁴Ibid., p. 616. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³⁵Ibid., p. 650. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³⁶Ibid., p. 634. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³⁷Ibid., p. 623. See Circulation Chart in Appendix.

³⁸Roucek and Brown, p. 370.

³⁹Ibid., p. 371.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

CHAPTER II

DAS DEUTSCHTUM

In order to understand the German-American in Texas in general and his attitudes toward National Socialism in particular, it is necessary to understand the concept of das Deutschtum. By definition Deutschtum means Germandom, but more broadly it is a combination of many ideas and feelings. It is loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland. It is a deep pride in all things German and the contributions of great Germans to civilization. It is also a means by which Germans have fulfilled their need for a sense of identity, a way by which they can view themselves as an integral part of a cause larger than any individual.

Deutschtum has shown itself in many ways: in the love of the German for his language, and in his eagerness to maintain the German cultural heritage. To be a part of Deutschtum meant to be deeply involved in the destiny of Germany, and it also meant the fear of assimilation. Because of this fear the German parents co-operated with various agencies to maintain their culture and fought hard to save the traditions they had grown to love. They strove to inculcate this devotion in their children; so that the spirit of

Deutschtum could be carried on from one generation to the next.

This feeling for Germany and identification with the German heritage could be seen in modern times in Texas in the German Church, the German school, the German movie house, the German-language newspaper, the German club or organization, in songs and poems. Indeed, if one looked far enough back into German history, he could even find the concept of Urdeutschtum.¹

German-Americans were not unanimous at any time, however, in their support of Deutschtum. One group of settlers was composed of men of some substance, who had forgotten much of their German origin and had been absorbed into American society. Another, living chiefly in larger cities, were leaders of their communities and believed they had a moral duty to represent the best of what was German by maintaining libraries and serving as patrons of the arts.² There were also German-Americans who had inter-married with people of other nationalities and who possessed no well-defined German culture.³ Finally even in the nineteenth century and afterward there were large clusters of German-speaking people in various cities and towns throughout the state, who still spoke the German language and maintained their German culture.⁴

Nevertheless, many of the older generation and a segment of the younger generation were concerned over the preservation of Deutschtum. They knew they had to slow down the assimilation

process or Deutschtum would perish forever. German societies, clubs, newspapers, and churches urged all German-American parents to continue the tradition and customs of their parents, to read the German-language newspapers, to establish German schools and to speak the mother tongue to their children. Deutschtum was something many German-American parents did not want to lose and so they tried in various ways to guarantee its existence.

There were a number of institutions available in Texas to aid in maintaining Deutschtum, one of which was the German Church. There had been some thought given to the unification of all German churches into one group in order to defend Germanism, but because of the independence of various sects the idea was short-lived.⁵ Nonetheless, churches had influenced German life from the beginning of German immigration to Texas, not only in the realm of religion, but in education as well. The center of the church's influence was primarily in the German-language services and the parochial schools. The pride of the German-Americans in religious and educational instruction was seen in their suspicion of the public schools which had found much popularity elsewhere, but which they considered a threat to Germandom and religion. They continued to try to protect religious and educational institutions from disintegration.

The church realized finally that if it were to survive, however, some English must be substituted in the service and adjustment

made to prevent the loss of the younger generation to non-German churches. In earlier years an entire congregation might well have rebelled if the pastor had not spoken German, but a compromise resulted because the younger generation had seen the need for both English and German.⁶ Some churches even eliminated the German language, although religious instruction was still read and spoken in many places in the mother tongue. In some instances the reforms within the church resulted in some members moving to other areas, but usually services in English and German satisfied most people.

Before the United States entered the First World War against Germany, statistics on German churches in Texas indicated that the Missouri Synod Lutherans had seventy congregations and seventeen schools in the state where German was the medium of worship and instruction. The German Evangelical Synod had seventy-five churches in which German was still used, and there were several others on which no statistics are available.⁷

The German Lutheran and German Reformed denominations were the center of German life throughout the period before World War I and were even aided by other denominations which instituted German services in order to appeal to the vast numbers of German residents in their respective communities.⁸ Of all the churches, no group appeared to fight harder for the retention of German traditions and language than did the Lutherans, and even in the 1930's

and 1940's there were still some German-speaking congregations and schools in Texas. In general the parochial schools were able to resist the encroachment of the public school system much longer than the nonconfessional private schools.⁹ The Roman Catholic Church also maintained parochial schools and emphasized German life, but because the hierarchy of that church was predominately non-German, they did not continue their efforts in the maintenance of Deutschtum as long as the Lutherans were able to do.¹⁰

In the field of education, the German element of Texas not only depended upon the parochial schools, but also upon the private schools and "summer schools." In a German district such as New Braunfels, most of the schools were private, although some Lutherans and Catholics still insisted on the parochial schools.¹¹ Most of the private German schools used both German and English languages for instruction and were usually backed by a Schulverein or some other association.

To provide another source for German language instruction the tuition-free "summer schools" were established. It was here the German student learned to read and speak the mother tongue and respect the Deutschtum that his parents had tried to preserve. To many the "summer schools" provided refresher courses and gave students a chance to deepen their appreciation of German culture and Deutschtum. It was the Sommerschulen which taught the youth

language, philosophy, poetry, music, and songs their forefathers had brought over to the new land. Many of the older generation were pleasantly surprised to find that young people were speaking the mother tongue, and they believed that there was indeed hope for the future. They were also gratified when they heard that a Senate Committee of Texas was pondering over the possibility of introducing the languages of minority groups into the elementary grades of the public schools, thus giving the children a better chance to adjust to the English language and to learn the language of their parents and grandparents as well.¹² Many German-Americans were pleased by the enrollment of some Anglo-American children in their "summer schools" and hoped that these children would help in their effort to preserve the German language in the schools. German newspapers and organizations supported the "summer schools" and appeared to work successfully in many cities and towns as evidenced by the number of students enrolled. Many letters from readers urged the newspapers to keep up their good work and urged all German-Americans everywhere to hold dear their love of the German language, to enroll their children in the "summer schools", and to teach them songs of the Fatherland.

With the advent of public schools in many of the areas, a large number of private schools passed from the educational scene. The popularity of the public schools increased when it offered

instruction in the German language, thus attracting many German children away from the private institutions and helping in the gradual Americanization process.¹³ The German language was taught even in the elementary grades as late as the beginning of the First World War and in all areas where the German population was in the majority.¹⁴ It was the First World War and the resultant anti-German feeling which terminated finally the teaching of German in the elementary grades by 1918.

As far as higher education was concerned, Deutschum was maintained by a variety of German Association in several colleges and universities and through courses in the German language, but the German Lutheran and parochial schools decreased in the early years of the twentieth century, as did the German instruction and use of the German language in most fields of education. After the war, a United States Supreme Court decision nullified state laws forbidding the teaching of German in schools.¹⁴ It was not until 1925, however, that the German language once again began to return to the public high schools, but after the advent of the National Socialists, its popularity again declined in comparison with other foreign languages.

In addition to the influence of schools in furthering Germanism in the early period, there were movie houses, which featured the latest movies from the Fatherland and the latest German

film stars.¹⁵ The German theater existed with some difficulty, however, in the larger German communities before the First World War, and after the war period only a few German movie houses remained.¹⁶ Even so, wherever German theaters did survive, they served as a medium through which the German-American maintained contact with the Fatherland and was encouraged in maintaining his culture and language. They also attracted the young German-American youth and perhaps caused them to see the value of preserving Deutschtum.

The German-American also depended heavily upon the German-language newspapers which further inspired Deutschtum through articles stressing German language, customs, traditions, pride, and love for the Fatherland. Like other institutions and like the people themselves in the German-American community, the German-language press had a long history and had experienced its own problems with assimilation. Before World War I there had been twenty-six newspapers owned and operated by German-American editors in the larger German communities boasting a substantial number of subscribers, but by the 1930's nine remained, only six of which were considered important. The First World War accelerated their decline. The very existence of any such newspaper indicated that there was still support for preservation of the German language and continuation of ties with the Fatherland. The

desire to maintain Deutschtum often resulted in each paper deliberately fighting against Americanization in order to assure its own survival, for each editor knew that with the loss of Germandom, their papers, too, would pass out of existence.

Nevertheless, the assimilation process continued and ironically the German-language press in many instances aided in the prompt Americanization of Germans and the decrease in the number of German-language newspapers. Just as the German churches were forced to resort to some English-language services, the newspapers likewise were forced to use some English in their publications even before the First World War. This led many critics to believe that the German newspapers were rapidly becoming like the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt not German newspapers at all, but United States newspapers in the German language.¹⁷

Carl Wittke has stated:

The German-language press is rapidly dying. Most German churches have long since given up their services in the German language, and German societies of every description find it increasingly difficult to maintain their leadership.¹⁸

Nevertheless, as long as the newspapers in the German-American community had subscribers interested in retaining the German language and as long as they were sponsored by businesses and organizations in their areas, they continued to be the center of Deutschtum. The Freie Presse für Texas of San Antonio, the

largest of the German-language newspapers in Texas, was sponsored by a number of organizations and societies such as the Deutsch-Texanische S ngerbund, the Ost Ungarnischer Verein, the Akademischer Stammtisch, the Germanischer Bund f r den Staat Texas, the Deutscher Jugendbund, and the Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten, Ortsgruppe; the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt was sponsored by the Texanischen Gebirges S ngerbund; and the Texas Herold became the official voice of the Stahlhelm, a military organization which eventually changed its name to the Kyffh userbund.¹⁹

Mottoes of newspapers like the Texas Herold clearly showed their views towards Deutschtum.

A good German-American honors the homeland and language of his forefathers; he maintains this language and speaks it with his children or "a German newspaper in the interest of America, an American newspaper interested in promoting friendly relations with Germany, " and its true motto "Do right and fear no one."²⁰

The assimilation process did continue, but the German press maintained its standing in the community and was a force with which to be reckoned. Some of the German-language newspapers criticized those of the younger generation who had forgotten that their parents or grandparents were born in Germany, and pointed out that by not carrying on the language and customs they were serving as the gravediggers of Deutschtum.²¹ Others also stressed the point that the younger generation should learn the German language in order

to become better United States citizens and in order to be introduced to new fields of literature, art, technology, and the sciences. The Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt struck out at those parents who maintained that to learn two languages was a strain on a child, by stating that "a normal child is able to learn two languages with ease," and further stated that this would enable him to read poetry, novels and other literature.²² The Giddings paper continued to emphasize the advantages of being bilingual saying that

. . . the best friend of Deutschtum was, is, and remains the German newspaper. As long as they read of the German homeland, of parents and children, they can and will not give up our Volkstum in America. The strongest props for maintaining the German language are the German family, the German Church, and the German newspaper. Every German-American should realize at present that the preservation of the German newspaper is important. Preserve your German newspaper. Do your best to maintain the businesses which support the German paper. Do not forget to mention that you have read their advertisements in the German newspaper whenever you make a purchase.²³

Each German-language newspaper contained letters from all parts of the state, as well as articles from other German-language newspapers in the nation. Selma Metzenthin Raunick of Mason informed readers in Das Wochenblatt of Austin that in her area there was a large German element, but no German-language courses were offered in the local high school because of lack of interest. She criticized them for their shameful attitude.²⁴ One reason for the lack of interest in the German language was the

anti-German feeling during and after the First World War, the results of which could be easily seen in such German communities as Galveston, Waco, Brenham, La Grange, Bellville, Weimar, Shiner, Schulenberg, and Hallettsville.²⁵ Many Germans were discriminated against merely because of their German descent, and consequently many desired a quick Americanization, even if it meant anglicizing their names. In Houston, Fredericksburg, and New Braunfels, German was still read and spoken, but these areas could be regarded as exceptional, and even here there were many who spoke a German patois, an indication that perhaps the language was disappearing.²⁶

The German-language paper sought to ward off this deterioration of the language by sponsoring Sommerschulen in various communities to re-educate the German-American in the fundamentals of language. Nevertheless, more and more advertisements in the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt and other papers appeared in English, and in San Antonio one did not hear the German language spoken so frequently on the streets or see German-language signs as often as before the war.²⁷ Partly to continue their fight for Deutschtum many of these newspapers encouraged German-Americans to subscribe with the stipulation that subscribers would receive discounts or extensions on their own subscriptions if they obtained a certain number of new readers.²⁸

The pride of the German-American and his feeling for Deutschtum remained, however, and as late as 1932 was clearly illustrated in Das Wochenblatt of Austin in which one writer stated:

We Germans in foreign countries are the outpost of the German language and culture. We are the apostles of German thought in the world. We are the binding bridge for many people in cultural and economic relations. Through us one can see these relations much clearer. . . . We will be the eyes of Germany, speaking to the German people and they in turn will influence us. . . . When the Imperial German look around, they are astonished that after more than one hundred years of separation from the Fatherland, without further relations with the homeland, the German language still remains intact and customs and traditions still remain in their original form.²⁹

This sense of pride was the reason that Deutschtum lingered on, not easily shaken by the forces of assimilation, partly because of the efforts of the German-language press. The spirit of Deutschtum remained in the German community in a way which other United States minorities found hard to duplicate.³⁰

Yet the shadow of assimilation always hung heavily over the German-American community. One newspaper printed a letter in 1931 from a man who stated "Unfortunately only the older Germans read German newspapers. Today with automobiles, funny papers, and sports news, no one seems to have enough time for the German language. What are Schiller and Goethe when compared to fights, football and baseball?"³¹ Remarks like this angered the older generation, because there was much truth in them. The younger

generation often was interested in other things and did not bother with learning the German language. Many articles appeared discussing what one paper referred to as "the great battlefield." It reemphasized the same basic theme that

. . . the survival of Deutschtum depends upon the German retention of the mother tongue. With the German language goes a spirit lost to the fathers. It is a moral duty to retain the mother tongue. The preservation of the German songs and the cultivation of the German socialbility are ways of maintaining the strength of Deutschtum. In this way the process of Americanization of thousands of Germans would not be so fast, if the Germans of North America were to remain together. The Deutschtum of America must remain strong. . . . Then they can meet the future. The best strength flows from the depth of the German Volk consciousness. There is much to be done, but many are once again on the path of love for the old homeland.³²

Letters were not the only means by which love of German culture and fear of assimilation were expressed; poems were also in evidence throughout the pages of each newspaper expressing praise for Deutschtum.³³

There were also many accounts concerning eminent German leaders and artists. There were articles on Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Steuben, Carl Schurz, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Gotthold Lessing. These articles were aimed at informing the German-American of his rich cultural heritage and creating a sense of pride in all that was German.

In addition to articles such as these the German-language press contained news concerning visits by dignitaries like the German consuls of New Orleans, Galveston, or San Antonio, the visit of a German ship, and articles from Germany concerning news about the old country. Articles which the editor thought might be of interest to his readers were also printed from German-American newspapers of other communities. In the early 1930's the emphasis was basically on local, state and national news, but there was a trend during the later years toward greater concern with international news. The German-language press also provided services for its subscribers by publishing information concerning deportation, naturalization, and registration laws, enabling the new German immigrants to be informed on matters which concerned them and helping them to get better acquainted with their newly adopted homeland.

In addition to the newspapers which served the various communities there were a number of organizations and societies which also worked to preserve Deutschtum. It was frequently said that "when three Germans get together they form a Verein, and it was often this habit which contributed to maintaining German character and German life in Texas.³⁴ In the nineteenth century there had been a number of patriotic societies in the United States which had sought to further the endeavors of a liberal movement in

the German states and aid those Germans who had fled to the United States.³⁵ Various societies and clubs were also established throughout Texas for the sole purpose of strengthening the German Church and awakening an interest in German literature. There were organizations such as the military societies, shooting clubs, insurance associations, glee clubs, lodges, theater clubs, and aid societies, which were either transplanted to this country from the Fatherland or were created by the German-Americans after they arrived here.³⁶ There was also the Turnverein, a type of gymnastic society, which had been brought over from Germany in the nineteenth century in an attempt to improve their members in both body and mind and to create a new feeling of unity among them.³⁷ For the most part these societies became social organizations in the German-American community and sometimes included people of non-German origin. There were also a number of politically liberal organizations which owed their existence to new immigrants, and which created a flourishing Germanism for the greater part of the nineteenth century and up to the First World War.³⁸ These various associations enabled the German-American to express his Germanism and to organize an effective force for preserving the spirit of Deutschtum. They celebrated during the Schiller and Goethe festivals and German Day, the holiday commemorating the day German immigrants first landed on United States soil.³⁹ In addition to this, historical groups

contributed to research and to the publication of histories of Germans within the United States, which appeared in the German newspapers throughout the country.⁴⁰

Of all the organizations, the singing societies were among the most important. Although they had existed in some areas prior to the 1840's, practically no German community was without its glee club after the sizeable immigration of the 1840's and 1880's. Some of these glee clubs were sponsored by other organizations such as the gymnastic clubs or newspapers. By 1900, many critics felt that both the national and local singing groups had passed their zenith, but some continued to function.⁴¹ The various associations were important because they provided organization and were able to draw German settlers to the state. Then after new arrivals gained citizenship, the clubs were used to gain political objectives, such as increasing the number of Germans in the Texas legislature and on school boards.⁴² The singing groups attempted to attract the young people and increase in them an interest in preserving the German language and love for the Fatherland. Parents encouraged their children to join the glee clubs because they believed that if it were not for such organizations, their children might never learn the language and songs of Germany.⁴³ Young people were attracted to the singing groups, for they often toured the state to attend choral functions, to welcome German students to Texas, or to

attend special events such as the arrival of the Karlsruhe, a German warship, in Galveston, or to sing for honored guests like the Consul General of New Orleans.⁴⁴

Other local and state organizations, such as the Youth League helped provide entertainment and recreation for the youth in the community and at the same time created an interest in German language and customs.⁴⁵ An article in the Texas Herold mentioned another organization called the "Association for the Cultivation and Maintenance of Deutschtum," which only people of German descent were allowed to join.⁴⁶ The Stahlhelm Bund, an organization of German war veterans, was established in Houston in 1931. It declared that they would fight for Germany's liberation from the chains of Versailles and would stand together in Ausland. They adopted as their motto "einer für alle, alle für einen."⁴⁷ The Stahlhelm hoped to gain respect for Germany, to fight for her future, and to cooperate with the American Legion.⁴⁸ At their height there were thirty-nine cultural groups, thirty-one musical organizations, four military groups, six agricultural associations, one gymnastic club, seven mutual aid societies, thirty-two lodges, and three rifle clubs. An indication that German-Americans were indeed interested in their organizations which to some degree worked for the preservation of Deutschtum.⁴⁹

The activities of these organizations included the celebration of German Day with each community selecting the month and day, according to the date German settlers came to their area. San Antonio often held its German Day in September while Houston held its celebration in October.⁵⁰ German-Americans from all over the state attended these events. They met with friends, dined, danced, sang, and listened to speeches in English and German. During the 1930's, the German Reichspresident and ambassador sent greetings from Washington, D. C., and the German General Consul of New Orleans arrived to take part in the festivities.⁵¹ In earlier years even Kaiser Wilhelm II had sent his greeting to G. F. Neuhäuser, editor of the Freie Presse für Texas, to wish San Antonio success on their German Day celebrations.⁵²

Reacting to such celebrations, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt ventured the hope that German Day helped the person of German origin realize the great deeds of his forefathers and would make him aware of the need of learning the German language, for "who honors the mother tongue is a good American citizen. . . ."⁵³ These newspapers were trying to do what they considered their moral duty: maintaining the interest of Germans in preserving German art, literature, and customs and in holding true to the German friendliness which had held the American-Germans together.⁵⁴ The Austin newspaper mentioned that because of anti-German hysteria

during World War I, some areas had faltered in their support of German Day, but that some areas like Austin had remained proud of their German heritage.⁵⁵ In addition to German Day, many communities still celebrated the birthdays of Goethe, Beethoven, and other outstanding Germans by putting on plays, dressing up in traditional costumes, and showing movies donated occasionally by the German Library of the Information Office or some other agency.⁵⁶

Besides the local and state organizations, there were national organizations which attempted to contribute to Deutschtum, working with various agencies within each state to preserve the German heritage and to aid in the preparation of German Day celebrations. Such organizations as the Steuben Society of America, the Carl Schurz Memorial Association, and the National Alliance stressed the importance of German language instruction in schools and universities because of its importance in such fields as chemistry, technology, art, music, and the sciences.⁵⁷ As a whole, most of the national organizations were culturally oriented and so for the most part took little interest in politics. The national organizations sponsored cultural exchange programs for students and educators of German descent and often played a part in providing various organizations with films, German-language publications, and speakers.⁵⁸ The national agencies also aided immigrants to become naturalized

as quickly as possible in order to increase their political influence, to protect them against jingoism, and to further the good relations between non-Germans and Germans everywhere.⁵⁹ In 1911 at a convention of the National Alliance, it was stated that "the general purpose of the Alliance was the assimilation of the best German ideals with our American ideals."⁶⁰ As a result, many American jingoists were frightened because such statements appeared to suggest that the German national organizations had as their goal the establishment of a national German state inside the United States, even though German-Americans everywhere said that they had no ulterior motive connected with German nationalism.⁶¹ Some Texans of non-German descent disliked these organizations which united the German community in the preservation of Deutschtum and also disapproved of the stand by these associations against prohibition. As a result, some national organizations such as the National Alliance were attacked as being political pawns for brewery interests and were criticized for encouraging the teaching of German in public schools and churches.⁶² This criticism resulted in a tendency on the part of the leaders of the Alliance to advance the cause of Deutschtum in a way which could antagonize the non-German population as little as possible, but could satisfy the liberal German element which had already succumbed to the public school system.⁶³ Overall the national association was successful in

encouraging an interest in preserving the German heritage, defending Deutschtum, aiding state and local organizations on school issues, and maintaining German holidays.

Deutschtum was a spirit, a feeling, a loyalty which was both manifested and encouraged by many institutions and organizations in Texas. It was this concept which caught the eye of the National Socialist movement in Germany. Nazi organizations were established in some parts of the United States after Hitler's Putsch in 1923 and only awaited the time when they could play their part in uniting all Germandom into one massive movement. They were particularly interested in those areas of Texas which still sang with pride Deutschland Über Alles, spoke the German language, retained German newspapers, and tried to maintain German culture. The Nazis realized that Wilhelmian Germany had failed to recruit these people in World War I and had suffered from this failure. The Nazis thus wished to reawaken or reinforce the feeling of Deutschtum in the German-Americans and to make them realize that they were not German-American, but Amerikaner-Deutschen, just as other Germans were Sudeten-Deutschen or Polen-Deutschen. With the rise of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Party, German-Americans of Texas became a part of the Nazi plan for Weltdeutschtum.⁶⁴ The response of the Germans of Texas to Nazi overtures remains to be investigated.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Arthur L. Smith, The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States (The Hague: The Hague, 1965), p. 153.

² Wolfgang zu Pultitz, "Your German-American Neighbor and the Fifth Column," Harpers Magazine, Feb. 1942, p. 323. ✓

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 133. ✓

⁶ Ibid., p. 137. ✓

⁷ Arndt and Olson, p. 615.

⁸ Bischoff, p. 147.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 137.

¹² Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 22 Jan. 1931, p. 4, col. 1.

¹³ Bischoff, p. 148.

¹⁴ Ibid. Some of these schools even practiced Fraktur, the old German script. The eventual loss of this course in the schools caused the decline of the German-language newspaper, since fewer people could read the German newspapers printed in this script. This resulted in all of the German-language newspapers printing some of their articles in English characters and the English language.

¹⁵ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 14 Aug. 1930, p. 5, col. 6.

¹⁶ Bischoff, p. 168.

¹⁷ John A. Hawgood, The Tragedy of the German-American (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), p. 303.

¹⁸ Roucek, p. 472.

¹⁹ The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, and the Das Wochenblatt of Austin did not have sponsorships listed on the front pages of their issues. It is interesting to note that the Stahlhelm, a military organization, was susceptible to the Nazi movement and did lean towards this movement when the Nazis came to power. On March 4, 1939 members voted to change its name to the Kyffhäuserbund. Texas Herold, 9 March 1939, p. 5, col. 4.

²⁰ These are found on the front pages of every issue of the Texas Herold. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung stated that it was the oldest newspaper in the state; the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt stated that its motto was "To all areas where Germans live," and also advertised that a German-American should be loyal to town and country. This last statement from the Giddings paper had an effect upon its position in the later years.

²¹ Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 17 Sept. 1932, p. 2, col. 1.

²² Ibid., 3 Sept. 1931, p. 8, col. 1.

²³ Ibid., 4 June 1931, p. 10, col. 4.

²⁴ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 22 Sept. 1932, p. 2, col. 1.

²⁵ Ibid., 1 Dec. 1932, p. 2, col. 1.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 30 Jan. 1930, p. 4, col. 1.

²⁸ Ibid., 11 Aug. 1932, p. 2, col. 2.

²⁹ Ibid., 28 April 1932, p. 5, col. 2.

³⁰ Bischoff, p. 146.

³¹ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 17 Dec. 1931, p. 2, col. 1.

³²Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 7 May 1931, p. 1, col. 4.

³³Poems were found in Das Wochenblatt, but are similar to others found in various German-language newspapers throughout the state: Der deutsche Vater an seinen Sohn, 20 Feb. 1930, p. 2, col. 1; Vergesst die deutsche Sprache nicht, 20 July 1931, p. 6, col. 1; O bleibe deutsch, dass jeder Dein sich freue, 8 Sept. 1932, p. 3, col. 1. All of these poems revolve around the same theme concerning Deutschtum; namely that the German-American youth should honor his forefathers by maintaining the language, culture, and heritage of the Fatherland and being proud of what they have done.

³⁴Bischoff, p. 137.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 137, 144. With the freedom and revolutionary societies there was momentarily greater success, partly because many of the Germans involved in this movement were interested in concrete aid in the United States. This enabled them to finance the radical cause in Germany and after the expected German revolution of 1848 would clear the way for their return to Germany.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁷*Ibid.* Because of the political implications, Prussia prohibited such organizations and although nonpolitical, Turnvereins were founded in Prussia by 1828. Many of the most ardent followers of the movement fled to the United States with the hope that their idea of Turnverein might be realized.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁹Moritz Tiling, The German Element in Texas 1820-1850 and Historical Sketches of the German Texas Singer League and the Houston Turnverein (Houston: Moritz Tiling, 1913), p. 177.

⁴⁰Bischoff, pp. 149, 158.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴³Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 30 Jan. 1930, p. 4, col. 1.

⁴⁴Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 11 Feb. 1932, p. 1, col. 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 10 Nov. 1932, p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁶ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 6 Feb. 1930, p. 1, col. 2.

⁴⁷ Freie Presse für Texas, 8 July 1932, p. 4, col. 2.

⁴⁸ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 4 August 1932, p. 4, col. 6.

⁴⁹ Arndt and Olson, p. 615.

⁵⁰ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 4 Aug. 1932, p. 4, col. 6;
Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 18 Aug. 1932, p. 1, col. 2; Tiling,
pp. 178-179.

⁵¹ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 22 Sept. 1932, p. 4, col. 3.

⁵² Ibid., 14 July 1932, p. 1, col. 3.

⁵³ Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 18 Aug. 1932, p. 1, col. 2.

⁵⁴ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 14 July 1932, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 16 April 1932, p. 5, col. 2.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 18 Feb. 1932, p. 5, col. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 23 April 1931, p. 8, col. 1. They asked that parents maintain the language and require their children to take the language in the schools. Most public schools and universities were willing to offer the German language if there was a demand for it.

⁵⁸ Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 27 Jan. 1931, p. 8, col. 1.

⁵⁹ Bischoff, p. 157.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., p. 160.

⁶³ Ibid. The National Alliance was forced to drift with the tide and finally acknowledged the fact that the German and English languages could not be on an equal footing in the United States.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 174.

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN VIEW OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM 1933-1935

The spirit of Deutschtum continued to be an important force throughout the 1930's and had an important influence upon the German-American attitude toward the National Socialist movement. The feelings and attitudes of German-Americans were also influenced by events and developments from 1914 to 1933, and combined with Deutschtum to provide a very fertile soil in which the seeds of pro-National Socialist sentiment might grow. Whether Nazism could take root in the United States in general and in Texas in particular was a real question up to 1935.

Before the United States entered World War I, most German-Americans hoped that the United States would continue to remain neutral and that an embargo would be placed on arms shipments to either side.¹ Many continued to sing Deutschland Über Alles, the German national anthem, to the discomfiture of Anglo-Americans, who began to question their loyalty. A large majority of German-Americans voted for Woodrow Wilson in 1916 because of his promise

to keep the United States out of war. After the election, however, they attacked Wilson's policy because there was no embargo on arms and munition shipments and because they believed the policy of the United States had encouraged British interference with neutral shipping.²

When the United States entered the war, the German-Americans felt betrayed by false promises of neutrality and often stated their anti-British feelings, but for the most part they followed their new homeland reluctantly into war against their beloved Germany. In spite of their loyalty to the United States, various kinds of discrimination against people of German descent and German culture appeared. In Texas the German language was banned in public, and German language courses disappeared from the curriculum of schools and universities everywhere.³ The state legislature of Texas voted to outlaw German language instruction and required that all medical and science students be required to take a Romance language instead of German.⁴ German-Americans also were disturbed to find that German-American faculty members were dismissed, representatives in the State Legislature were not reelected, and that henceforth the German language could not be spoken or used in the Churches.⁵ In addition, the public schools were told to teach students about the atrocities committed by the German soldiers, details of which were supplied by the English and French news services. Because of

these teachings, students of German descent turned against their own parents; they even refused to learn, speak, or write the German language.

Anti-German feeling resulted in a hatred for German people, German clubs and organizations, and German-language newspapers, many of which were forced to translate all or part of their issues into English and send a copy of each issue to a governmental control board.⁶ Because of this demand, many German-language newspapers in Texas were either forced out of business or compelled to merge with other newspapers because they could not afford the high cost of translation or meet government standards. Thus the number of German newspapers in Texas dwindled from twenty-six in 1914 to fifteen in 1919, indicating that the war had taken a heavy toll of the German-language press in Texas.⁷ This was a hard blow for Deutschtum in the years to come and finally contributed to its death after the Second World War.

Some German-Americans spoke out openly in support of Germany before the United States involvement, and many hoped for a German victory but were forced either to change their views or to hold back their remarks after 1917 for fear of deportation. Many less outspoken were discriminated against merely because they had German names or were suspected of having German sympathies.⁸

Some people in Texas regarded every German as a potential spy who might confide some bit of information to the enemy.

These were not the only examples of anti-German feeling which was sweeping the country. Quotas for contributions to the war effort and to the American Red Cross were established by committees in each of the counties, and whoever refused to contribute was subjected to violence and persecution.⁹ Some German-Americans refused to buy war bonds because they believed that they could not help kill their blood relatives in the Fatherland, although they stated that they would gladly give to the Red Cross fund.¹⁰ As a result of such beliefs, many German-Americans suffered the wrath of those obsessed with anti-German war hysteria. Several such instances occurred throughout the state, and sometimes German-Americans were murdered with no reports of punishment ever recorded.¹¹

One of the most important results of the experiences of the war years was the decline of Deutschtum. It was natural that the German-American desired to retain his culture and had welcomed assistance from German organizations such as the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland during the pre-war period.¹² There was evidence that some segments of the German population had cooperated with the Pan-German League and the German Colonial Society, but the patriotism of most German-Americans after 1917 indicated that

these organizations did not have many supporters when their views conflicted with those of the United States.¹³ Most German-Americans remained impervious to attempts of German extremists to win them over, and ironically Deutschtum was only able to recover some of its earlier fervor as a result of injustices suffered by them during the Great War. For the most part German-Americans had been stunned by the United States' entry into the First World War, but most remained loyal citizens. Deutschtum immediately after the war was superseded by loyalty to the United States and a greater assimilation into the United States culture. The German element now appeared to be definitely German-American and not American-German as before. The spirit of Deutschtum was becoming the spirit of Volkstum which emphasized the cultural rather than the political ties with Germany.

In the 1930's, however, Deutschtum gained momentum once again, especially in regions where recent immigrants had settled, although quota laws and the depression cut by half the immigration from Germany.¹⁴ Nevertheless, in spite of setbacks and perhaps because of them and the natural process of assimilation, newspapers such as the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt throughout the 1930's reminded its readers of the importance of retaining Deutschtum through the preservation of the German language in the homes and schools.¹⁵ The main evidences of the new Deutschtum were to be

be found in the German-language newspaper, the German Church services, the various German organizations, the "summer schools" and the German language courses now offered again in the secondary schools and colleges. The few remaining German-language newspapers led the fight against loss of the German cultural heritage with the support of the German-American communities which insured their existence. The fifteen newspapers which had survived the war, declined during the early 1930's until 1937, at which time only eight remained.¹⁶ Nevertheless, at least Volkstum was alive and many German clubs and organizations reappeared, and the German language was spoken, read and sung. The German-Americans again showed their pro-German sentiment and expressed a desire to aid a defeated Germany. Many were convinced the United States had been tricked into entering the war by the allied powers and hoped people would come to realize this.¹⁷ The German community attacked the jingoistic feeling which was prevalent throughout much of the state but hoped that the majority of people would change their attitudes toward the people of German descent who lived among them.

More specifically the German-Americans attacked the Treaty of Versailles as too harsh. They protested against outrages purportedly committed by French Negro troops upon German women in the Rhineland during the occupation after the war.¹⁸ The German-language press in Texas also questioned Germany's war guilt, the

Dawes Plan, reparations, war debts, the proposed adherence of the United States to the League, and the loss of German's colonial and European territories.¹⁹ German-language newspapers in Texas throughout the 1930's reported news pertaining to the depression, the high unemployment, the German war-guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty, all of which had resulted in an unjust enslavement of their beloved Fatherland.²⁰ From 1920-1935 all of the German-language newspapers of Texas were in agreement that there must be a revision of the hated Versailles Treaty, and that the right be given to Germany to participate in disarmament talks. They called for an end to reparation payments and a revision of the German eastern border with Poland.²¹

From 1933 to 1935 Das Wochenblatt of Austin, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, the Freie Presse für Texas of San Antonio, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung all continued to report news from various other German-language newspapers from other sections of the United States and from the Fatherland.²² Articles, pictures, and even advertisements kept the German-Americans of Texas informed on German life in other parts of the United States and in the German Reich. They carried articles on the international Jewish boycott of German goods, criticism of anti-German propaganda, and of course Church and organizational activities in the various states.

News agencies supplied the German-American press with articles from Germany on such topics as the new National Socialist movement and its leaders, the struggle against Communism, the problems of German minorities in other countries, economic conditions in Germany, and local and national news. The articles on these topics in the German-language press in Texas were sympathetic to Germany but the news stories were not too dissimilar from their counterparts in the English-language press.

Gradually after 1933 this neutral tone changed as anti-German propaganda in the United States and the Jewish boycott of German goods irritated the German-Americans. The proposed boycott of the Olympic Games in 1936 also angered them, but the lessons of the First World War induced them and the editors of their newspapers to refrain from political activities on the behalf of German-Americans.²³ Many publishers were convinced that they would do well to avoid controversial issues, although there were those who did give support to the National Socialist movement and its leadership in the years after Hitler's rise to power.

Many German societies remained in existence and were very active in predominately German sections, but pro-German political sentiment was played down. It was significant that English was used more frequently than before in the gymnastic clubs, glee clubs, and even in the German-language press in Texas throughout

the 1930's.²⁴ Regional gatherings and festivals continued to take place and were used to the fullest to interest young people and cause them to realize the value of maintaining Volkstum if not Deutschtum per se.²⁵ The Steuben Society of America, which had once again come upon the scene, also aided the maintenance of Deutschtum, but it stressed maintaining liberty and the principles of the Constitution, equality of citizenship regardless of origin, the recognition of contributions by the German element to the new land, and the education of its members in the proper performance of their civic duties.²⁶

Newspapers like the Freie Presse für Texas, while noting certain injustices to Germany in the Versailles Treaty, urged German clubs, organizations and societies to contribute to the German Red Cross and to the United States Relief Fund in order to send food and clothing to their comrades across the sea.²⁷ Various counties with large numbers of Germans contributed to church organizations and in addition sent their own packages to relatives in the homeland. All the German-American newspapers were concerned with the economic situation in the Fatherland and urged their readers to contribute to the Winterhilfe fund which also sent much food, clothing, money, wood and coal to the unemployed in the Fatherland. German-American churches, the German Red Cross and German-American Jewish organizations collected for Winterhilfe.²⁸ Thus political

partisanship on behalf of the Reich- Germans and condemnation of the peace settlement were toned down, and emphasis was placed upon help for victims of the war and later on victims of the depression. German-Americans appeared to be trying to destroy the basis for such derogatory terms as "Hun" which the First World War had attached to everything German.²⁹ They hoped to improve relations with non-German elements by calming fears and assuring people that German-Americans could remain proud of their heritage and language and still be good United States citizens.

The German-American newspapers did not usually take a stand on National Socialism prior to 1933, although they continued to criticize the Versailles Treaty, the vengeful allied powers and the conditions which had brought Germany to her knees. Throughout the Nazi era the majority of German-language publications continued to carry the texts of Hitler's speeches, but they appeared principally on the back pages before 1933 indicating that they were not of primary interest to German-Americans in general. Occasionally the editor believed Hitler's arguments important enough for the front pages of the newspaper, although no real opinion was given favoring the National Socialist views.³⁰

However, from 1933-1935, German-Americans gradually became more and more interested in Hitler's views towards the issues of the post-war period. The German element in Texas

became more sympathetic to the Führer as he awoke in them a renewed sense of pride and the hope that at last Germany might recover from economic depression, shake herself free from the chains of Versailles, recover much that had been lost after the war and once again find an honorable place among the family of nations. The German-Americans of Texas believed that possibly Hitler had something to offer and might be the only man who could lift the Fatherland from the ashes and restore their pride in Deutschum.

Soon after Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, the German-language newspapers began to attack those who criticized the new government and its leaders. It appeared to them that there were persons in this country who sought to alienate the people of the United States from him. The German element of Texas and the German-language newspapers thus began to take their own stand on the new issues created by the rise of National Socialism.

The German-American community having experienced the anti-German discrimination of the First World War realized how it frequently degenerated into anti-German hysteria. In the 1930's some German-Americans believed that similar anti-German feeling once again was appearing in various newspapers and magazines in the United States and the German-language newspapers acted quickly to counter this movement which they believed sought to create hatred within the United States for the new Germany. When stories

concerning Hitler's anti-Semitic policies and rearmament program appeared in English-language newspapers in the United States, all of the major German-language newspapers attacked the groups and institutions which they believed were responsible for these accounts and denounced all publications which carried anti-German propaganda.³¹ Usually they blamed Communists, jingoists, the British and French news services, and a segment of the Jewish community as the sources of these unjust stories.³²

At the same time, some English-language newspapers attacked the German-American communities because they were afraid that German-Americans favored the Nazi Revolution and thus had to be controlled.³³ There was indeed sympathy for the new National Socialist government in the German-American people in the 1930's, but there were some non-Germans in the United States who were also sympathetic toward the National Socialists and their leader. Thus it would be impossible to conclude that German-Americans alone were pro-Nazi or that such pro-Nazi inclinations as did exist pointed to disloyalty to the United States or even to ideological support of the Nazis.

Newspapers such as the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt rose to the defense of Germany and the National Socialist regime between 1933 and 1935. One issue of the Fredericksburg newspaper stated that the allies were trying to prevent Germany from getting on her

feet, and it defended German rearmament by stating that Germany was only taking precautionary measures for her own defense.³⁴ German rearmament, it was admitted, was a clear violation of the Versailles Treaty, but most German-language newspapers emphasized that the Allies had also violated the treaty by refusing to disarm.³⁵ The newspaper also stressed the failure of the allies to abide by the Fourteen Points and concluded that the United States should keep out of European affairs. They dismissed tales about the persecution of Catholics in the Reich by declaring that Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen, was a devout Catholic who would never permit any ill-treatment of the Catholics in Germany.³⁶ This point was indeed important since many German-American communities in Texas had a considerable Roman Catholic population.

The Freie Presse für Texas did more to attack propaganda against Deutschtum and the Fatherland than any other newspaper. It revealed to the German-Americans of Texas that there were un-American elements in the United States supported by a dishonest press which deliberately stirred up anti-German sentiment.³⁷ The Freie Presse appealed to the citizens of the United States not to permit such elements to deprive this country of a good friend and buyer of United States goods because of their false accusations. The San Antonio newspaper printed an article in 1933 by Oscar C. Pfause, who had written a letter to the Texas Jewish American attacking an

anti-German letter by J. Harris. Pfause wrote:

We won't attempt to defend the rights of Germany against your kind. Germany did one wrong and is therefore, not in need of any defense. We only want to tell you that the new German government was created by the desire of the German people and as such it is a government which we sincerely admire. New Germany fights for her rights with the weapons of right and justice and not with the despicable weapon of slander and lies which it seems are intensely loved by your kind.³⁸

Most German-Americans agreed with the attitudes of Pfause because they had relatives and friends living in Germany and believed from their letters that the German people were not enslaved or terrorized by the new German government.³⁹

In response to what the German-American papers regarded as anti-German propaganda coming from Britain, France, and the United States, they asked some pertinent questions: "Why always pass judgment on Germany for sins which it never committed? What was done when hundreds of thousands were being tortured to death in Russia? What was done to stop the suffering imposed by the Poles on defenseless Germans? What was done to prevent the oppression of German minorities in Czech Slovakia [sic], Poland, Danzig, and the Saar district?" They also stressed that "the Red wave will not stop at your boundaries once the German Reich is broken down. You should acknowledge Germany's demand for equal rights; only then can Europe enter on a new era of peace."⁴⁰ German-Americans believed that if the anti-German propaganda continued

unopposed it would strain United States German relations as it did in the First World War, and they were determined to prevent this from happening.

Stories in the English-language press which were specifically concerned with the racial policies of the Third Reich also elicited a response in the German papers of Texas. Neither the German-American community nor the German-language press condemned the Jews as a race, but they did condemn that Jewish minority which allegedly was spreading exaggerated reports concerning the suppression of the Jews in Germany. Once again, the Freie Presse für Texas led the attack against this so-called minority fringe of the Jewish community. In the issues published between 1933 and 1935, this newspaper often vociferously condemned articles in the Texas Jewish American and castigated prominent Jews like Rabbi Ephraim Friesch of San Antonio, who had spoken out against the injustices and murders perpetrated against the Jews within the Third Reich, although he had condemned only the German government and not the German people.⁴¹ The Freie Presse für Texas accused him of creating his facts out of thin air and said that because of such false accusations, it would be no surprise that friends of Germany believed the Jews to be responsible for political unrest inside the Third Reich.⁴² Although the Freie Presse attacked some Jewish leaders and agencies, it also attempted to show that it was

not anti-Semitic by publishing articles, letters, and editorial comments by prominent Jews in the German-American community who upheld the Third Reich. For example, Leo Mayer of San Antonio attacked an article by Gustav Strohmeier, who had claimed that there was indeed persecution of Jews in the new Germany.⁴³ Mayer said this was untrue, and, upon learning that many Jews in the United States were holding a fast day in mourning for Jews killed by the Hitler government, made the following statement:

I explained to them my opposition as a German Jew. This explanation from first to last word stinks and is untrue. It can spread only lies to the people, and I can only wish that they starve to death on fast day. Then they can spread no more lies about the Fatherland and its national government. As a German Jew, I wish this of all liars and gossipers.⁴⁴

The Freie Presse also reported an interview with Dr. Max Naumann, honorary President of the Association of National German Jews, in which he stated his opposition to anti-German propaganda, which was only a continuation of World War I propaganda. He further remarked that it did the Jews a great disservice, since the German government was only attempting to maintain law and order.⁴⁵ The San Antonio newspaper admitted to the German-American community that there were great men of Jewish blood who loved Germany and protested against those who sought to belittle the homeland, and it concluded that things would eventually work out.⁴⁶ Although most of the articles in the German-American press appeared to condemn

the so-called radical fringe of the Jewish community which was clearly anti-German, there were occasional articles which condemned the anti-Semitic movement in Germany.⁴⁷

As more and more news was reported from abroad concerning anti-Semitism and persecution within the Third Reich, a movement was started in the United States by Samuel Untermyer, a Jewish lawyer in New York, who attempted to organize in 1933 an economic boycott of German goods.⁴⁸ The German-language press in Texas opposed the boycott vigorously, since it adversely affected many Texas business and agricultural interests.⁴⁹ The Freie Presse für Texas contained an editorial in 1934 which best expressed the opinions of many German-Americans at the time:

Any boycott on German goods is bound to lose German trade. An example of this is clear to the Texas cotton growers who formerly sold large quantities of cotton to Germany. The Germans want to trade with our Texas growers, but are compelled to divert their orders to countries who deal on a more equal basis of exchange with them. The boycott is a double-edged sword. It is a menace to the peaceful relations between nations.

The boycott is contrary to President Roosevelt's Recovery Program which looks towards the extension of foreign trade and not restrictions. The boycott is detrimental to the interests of the American people.

When making purchases ask "Are you boycotting German goods?" Patronize and buy only from those merchants who do not proclaim boycotts.

The basis on all foreign trade is a balanced exchange of goods which each country produces in abundance and which other countries need for their home consumption.⁵⁰

In addition to this, readers were urged not to support newspapers which printed anti-German propaganda, supported the boycott and besmirched Deutschum.⁵¹

Newspapers such as Freie Presse also asked their Jewish supporters to state their opinions, and some Jews did condemn the aggressive tactics of the boycott group as a grave danger to liberalism in this country adding that Samuel Untermyer did not express the true opinions of the Jewish community.⁵² The boycott of German goods failed, the newspaper said, because Untermyer and other leaders of the anti-German boycott failed to realize that the economic interests of the United States would not have been served.⁵³

Various newspapers also condemned the proposed boycott against United States participation in the Olympic Games in 1936 and the boycott failed because of lack of support and because people hoped to keep politics out of sports.⁵⁴

The German-American community steadfastly opposed throughout the twentieth century anything or anyone who threatened the Fatherland or Deutschum, but there began to be several different points of view on National Socialism.⁵⁵ Das Wochenblatt of Austin took a resolute stand as early as 1932 against remarks concerning the Jews and other groups and even remarked that Hitler had promised a better future for Germany, but the road he pointed to led only to disaster.⁵⁶ This newspaper opposed Hitler and

attacked Nazi organizations already established in the United States. However, all German-language newspapers at that time did not share this view. Others appeared interested in what Hitler had to say but refused to commit themselves. Many encouraged by reports of progress in Germany waited to see what Hitler's programs might achieve and if he would be able to better Germany and its people. There were still others who favored Hitler and his policies from the start. The best example of the latter would be the Freie Presse für Texas.⁵⁷

The German-language newspapers which cautiously favored Hitler and the National Socialist movement published speeches of Nazi leaders from 1933-1935, but made few comments concerning these speeches. Nevertheless, there was some evidence that German-Americans believed that Hitler was the only man who could save Germany from depression, chaos, and Communism. They believed that Hitler had brought law, order and unity to the Fatherland, had decreased unemployment and had placed Germany on the road to economy recovery.⁵⁸ Germans in Texas believed that the Nazis had restored their pride in Deutschtum. They were convinced Hitler had recovered much for Germany which had been lost at Versailles, and they stressed that the new German government should be allowed to settle its own affairs.⁵⁹ Many German-Americans also believed they should support Hitler because he allegedly stood for international

peace, a belief which was reinforced after Germany made several security treaties and signed a ten-year non-aggression pact with Poland.⁶⁰ Thus throughout the period from 1933-1935 the German-language press printed articles, pictures and speeches concerned with the new German Reich and its leaders, but there was usually no strong opinion expressed in them.

Naturally the editorials and letters to the editors revealed more clearly the opinions of the German-American community than the news stories. Some readers in reporting to the editors of their newspapers about trips they had made to Germany sought to convince the German-Americans of Texas that conditions had greatly improved under the new German government. One such letter appeared in the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt:

I have spent much time in Germany and I am astonished over the large numbers of improvements which have taken place since my last visit. The people are in good health and satisfied, since the factories are now in full operation and there is work. I did not see a single beggar on this visit and overall there seemed to be a splendid order in things. There is discipline, cleanliness, peace and German friendliness is superb.

Adolf Hitler is loved by his people. They adore him and every day one can see the masses before the Reichchancellery on the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin, waiting for hours to get a small glimpse of their Fuhrer. . . .⁶¹

According to this writer it appeared that Hitler had the backing of most Germans who were satisfied with the National Socialist

government, and, although there was some feeling against the Jews in Germany, most Germans were not anti-Semitic. This kind of report led German-Americans to believe that hardships suffered by the Jewish community were only temporary and would improve.⁶²

The German-language newspapers also published poems written by German-Americans which reflected the opinions of their communities. One of these entitled "Wir Auslanddeutsche und Adolf Hitler" by Pastor Reinhard Sanberzweig of Three Rivers, Texas, expressed a positive attitude towards the Führer of Germany. Sanberzweig compared Hitler to Siegfried, the mythological hero of the poem, Das Nibelungenlied. He stated that God had sent Hitler to save Germany from Communism, discord, and the treachery of the Versailles Treaty. Because of his heroic deeds, Ausland Germans were once again filled with pride for the Fatherland and their German heritage.⁶³

Many German-Americans in Texas received from their relatives and friends in Germany letters which were also published in the German-language newspapers. These letters allowed the German-Americans in Texas to analyze what the German people themselves thought of the National Socialist government and Hitler. These letters were from all over Germany, and so they appeared to provide a good cross section of opinion and a variety of viewpoints on the new regime. Almost every letter expressed the same attitude:

praise for Hitler, who had done wonders for Germany.⁶⁴ The letters contrasted the unemployment, inflation, hunger, chaos, misery, and especially the Communist threat before the National Socialist Revolution to the improved conditions after 1933. The Mark had been stabilized. Factories had again become operational. New jobs had been created. Unemployment had declined. Law and order had been restored, and the Communist threat had been removed.⁶⁵ The German people had all they wanted now in food, clothing, housing, and jobs, thanks to their Führer's desire for peace, his brilliant leadership and massive building programs. Some letters also significantly began with the Nazi salutation Sieg Heil! or Heil Hitler!⁶⁶ Although letters from Germany revealed widespread support for the German government and its programs,⁶⁷ one wonders if some Germans wrote as they did only because they feared that a Nazi censor might possibly inspect the mails and turn writers in to the Gestapo if they were critical of the Third Reich. There were occasional letters concerning the Jewish problem. Some stated that, although many Jews had been removed from some professional jobs, this action had been undertaken only because their race dominated in these fields for so long that the government believed there should be a change in the ratio of Jews to non-Jews in certain professions.⁶⁸ It was also reported that accusations of anti-Semitism and cruelties to Jews within the Third Reich were nothing but lies. Although some

Jews had experienced hardships, most were unmolested and carried on their businesses undisturbed.⁶⁹ German citizens urged their relatives in Texas to support the Fatherland and also to oppose the boycott against German goods, since it would only undermine the relations between the United States and Germany and deprive people of jobs.⁷⁰

Although there were many letters to various German-language newspapers favoring Hitler and his National Socialist government during the period from 1933-1935, a few German-language newspapers published material which questioned many of the Nazi programs. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung all began to criticize the policies of the Reich towards the Jews in Germany.⁷¹ They all believed Hitler had done much to help the German people, but with the increase in anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews, these three publications began to turn away from supporting the National Socialist government. William Trenckmann, the editor of Das Wochenblatt of Austin, condemned racial hatred and demanded toleration for all races and religions within the Reich.⁷² The Fredericksburger Wochenblatt also condemned the restrictions imposed on Catholic and Protestant Churches and recalled that earlier Otto von Bismarck had attempted to regulate the Catholic Church and had failed.⁷³ It also stated that Hitler was attempting

to do even more harm than Bismarck by opposing both Catholic and Protestant groups, a combined force of some 40,000,000 people. If Hitler continued, he would find his days numbered.⁷⁴ These three newspapers thus began to oppose Hitler on religious grounds, but there were other criticisms as well.

While praising Hitler's good deeds, Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung also began violently to attack him on some issues. These two publications upheld the liberal ideas of freedom and democracy which had inspired Germans to leave the Fatherland after the failure of the Revolution of 1848 and opposed those who were against these ideals.⁷⁵ Das Wochenblatt of Austin sharply attacked Hitler for his regulatory and censorship policies and condemned the violation of the basic freedoms of speech, religion and assembly which the paper believed to be basic rights of all peoples. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung stated its opposition to rearmament on the belief that Hitler was planning for war.⁷⁶ Thus while a few newspapers like the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt continued to avoid issues concerning the Nazi government, an increasing number of newspapers such as the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung took a stand against anti-Semitism, interference in religion, intolerance and rearmament. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung stated that it would

attempt to present both sides of the news so that its readers could readily see for themselves the truth about the Third Reich.⁷⁷

Thus it appeared that the German-American press in Texas with the exception of the Freie Presse für Texas during the period 1933-1935 was neither totally for, nor totally against Hitler and National Socialism. It reported both the achievements and weaknesses of the new German government, although there was a growing criticism of particular policies of the Third Reich in the period from 1934 to 1935 which suggested that ultimately a split between the German-American community in Texas and National Socialism might come. Nevertheless, Deutschtum remained strong as shown in towns such as New Braunfels which still preserved the German language, German theater, German music and German songs. Therefore by 1935 there was reason to believe that the German-Americans in Texas were going to be compelled to decide between their love of the Fatherland and their loyalty to the United States, between their pride in German achievements and their disapproval of much in Nazi ideology and policy.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Bischoff, p. 157.

² Ibid., p. 165. In 1918 the German-American community had advocated acceptance of Wilson's Fourteen Points, fairness in the treatment of Germany and Austria, protection from jingoists, and recognition of Deutschtum as a true ingredient for the making of a better United States. They turned against Wilson soon after they learned the terms of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, because of his betrayal of the Fourteen Points. The Senate's refusal to ratify the treaty was proclaimed by the German-language press as a victory for Deutschtum. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 12 Oct. 1934, p. 10, col. 5.

³ Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 8 Sept. 1932, p. 4, col. 3.

⁴ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 20 Oct. 1932, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 8 Sept. 1932, p. 4, col. 3. This was mainly concerned with articles pertaining to the war and foreign news.

⁷ Etzler, p. 428.

⁸ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 20 Oct. 1932, p. 4, col. 1.

⁹ Bischoff, pp. 161-162.

¹⁰ Bischoff, pp. 161-162; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 16 March 1934, p. 2, col. 6.

¹¹ In some cases, courts allowed the guilty party to go free, even praising him for his evil deed, which some people considered a patriotic gesture. As the anti-German feeling continued during the war years, every German was suspected of planning to blow up troop trains going between Austin and New Braunfels or other German-American areas of Texas. Many Texans believed German-American communities had their own radio with receivers and transmitters, which might be used to relate information to German agents. Bischoff, pp. 161-162.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Some people in Texas regarded every German as a potential spy. This was in evidence in 1918 when the National Alliance's charter was cancelled because of its pro-German position. Most German national, state and local groups were looked upon as un-American. Bischoff, pp. 151, 161-162.

¹⁴Carl Wittke, The German-language Press in America: A History of the German-American Press 1732-1955 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), p. 283. With the halt of immigration, except for refugees who were victims of Hitler's Germany, it was evident that normal processes of assimilation would continue without interruption; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 17 Aug. 1934, p. 2, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 26 April 1934, p. 8, col. 2.

¹⁵Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 3 Sept. 1931, p. 8, col. 1, 5 Sept. 1935, p. 5, col. 5, 14 Feb. 1935, p. 1, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 31 May 1935, p. 5, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 26 Dec. 1935, p. 1, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 7 Dec. 1934, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁶There had been an attempt by Houston to establish another German-language newspaper, but it was doubtful that even the largest city in Texas could gather enough subscribers to maintain such a paper. The article stated that it would be best to form one German newspaper from the many small local newspapers, but this probably would have been unsuccessful because it would not have had the appeal of a local newspaper that many of the readers wanted. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 17 Aug. 1934, p. 2, col. 1.

¹⁷Bischoff, p. 164.

¹⁸Thomas A. Bailey, The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 19.

¹⁹Bischoff, p. 166; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 12 Jan. 1933, p. 8, col. 2, 25 Jan. 1935, p. 9, col. 1; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 5 July 1933, p. 7, col. 5, 5 June 1935, p. 6, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 3 March 1933, p. 4, col. 1, 14 Dec. 1934, p. 1, col. 1, 29 March 1935, p. 1, col. 4; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 12 Jan. 1933, p. 4, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 26 Jan. 1933, p. 4, col. 2, 23 May 1935, p. 6, col. 2.

²⁰Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 15 April 1931, p. 4, col. 5, 25 Jan. 1935, p. 9, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 3 March 1933, p. 4, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 7 May 1935, p. 4, col. 2.

²¹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 15 Dec. 1932, p. 3, col. 2, 30 Nov. 1934, p. 2, col. 1, 8 Feb. 1935, p. 3, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 14 April 1933, p. 1, col. 3, 29 March 1935, p. 1, col. 4. The Freie Presse stated that the disarmament was one-sided. Germany had disarmed and the Allied Powers failed to carry out their promise to do likewise. 5 April 1935, p. 1, col. 4, 19 May 1933, p. 1, cols. 1, 2.

²²The Taylor Herold and Waco Post, later to become the Texas Herold in 1936, probably reported the same news as the other Texas newspapers, although there are no records available pertaining to issues during this period.

²³Bischoff, p. 166.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 169. Basically English had come into some use in order to attract more of the younger generation. Publications such as the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt and the Freie Presse für Texas were examples of newspapers using more and more English in their columns. In 1936 the Texas Herold would also begin using more English; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 8 March 1934, p. 4, col. 2.

²⁵Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 19 July 1935, p. 5, col. 2, 18 Oct. 1935, p. 1, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 23 July 1933, p. 4, col. 1.

²⁶Bischoff, p. 172.

²⁷Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 31 March 1932, p. 4, col. 1.

²⁸Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 31 March 1932, p. 6, col. 4; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 30 Oct. 1935, p. 4, col. 2; Freie Presse für Texas, 1 Feb. 1935, p. 1, col. 1. For other information see: Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 May 1930, p. 1, col. 1. In San Antonio money was collected to purchase several bales of cotton for the Winterhilfe fund.

²⁹Freie Presse für Texas, 7 Oct. 1930, p. 2, col. 2, 11 Dec. 1931, p. 1, col. 4.

³⁰ This is in evidence in these articles from 1933-1935. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 9 Feb. 1933, p. 2, col. 2, 7 Sept. 1934, p. 4, col. 2, 22 March 1935, p. 1, col. 6; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 19 Sept. 1933, p. 5, col. 2, 25 Oct. 1933, p. 2, col. 2; Freie Presse für Texas, 31 March 1933, p. 1, col. 1, 5 Jan. 1934, p. 4, col. 1, 20 Sept. 1935, p. 4, col. 2; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 31 January 1935, p. 1, col. 3, 29 Aug. 1935, p. 1, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 29 May 1935, p. 7, col. 4.

³¹ Freie Presse für Texas, 5 Jan. 1934, p. 4, col. 1.

³² Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 21 Sept. 1934, p. 11, col. 4; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 19 Sept. 1933, p. 5, col. 2, 4 July 1933, p. 3, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 18 May 1934, p. 1, col. 1, 20 July 1934, p. 1, col. 4.

³³ Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 26 Jan. 1934, p. 2, col. 1. The German-language press in turn stated that many English-language newspapers refused to treat Germany fairly.

³⁴ Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 26 Sept. 1934, p. 4, col. 3.

³⁵ Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 10 April 1935, p. 4, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 18 Aug. 1933, p. 1, col. 1; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 5 Oct. 1934, p. 13, col. 1, 17 May 1935, p. 9, col. 2.

³⁶ Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 10 April 1935, p. 4, col. 3; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 March 1935, p. 6, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 12 May 1933, p. 4, col. 2.

³⁷ Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 13 June 1933, p. 4, cols. 3, 4.

³⁸ Freie Presse für Texas, 23 Feb. 1934, p. 1, col. 4.

³⁹ Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 26 Sept. 1933, p. 4, col. 1; The Freie Presse reminded its readers not to forget the outrages committed by foreign troops in the Rhineland, broken promises of the Allies, thankless attitudes of nations which had been saved by the United States, armaments of other European nations, Germany's right to be treated with respect, the un-American boycott of German goods and the non-involvement principles of George Washington. Freie Presse für Texas, 14 April 1933, p. 4, col. 4, 16 Nov. 1934, p. 1, col. 4.

⁴⁰Freie Presse für Texas, 16 Nov. 1934, p. 1, col. 4.

⁴¹Freie Presse für Texas, 12 May 1933, p. 4, col. 2, 20 July 1934, p. 1, col. 4; The United States newspapers were upset over thirty people being executed in Germany, by the New Order and forgot that twenty-one people were killed in the United States by lynchings alone, according to this newspaper. Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 27 Dec. 1933, p. 4, col. 5.

⁴²Freie Presse für Texas, 22 Sept. 1933, p. 1, col. 5, 16 Nov. 1934, p. 1, col. 4, 7 April 1933, p. 4, col. 1. The Freie Presse printed a letter from the Texas Jewish American which showed its readers the type of hate propaganda being published during this period of time against Germany, 14 April, p. 4, col. 3.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 20 April 1933, p. 4, col. 2.

⁴⁵Freie Presse für Texas, 14 April 1933, p. 4, col. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid., 13 Oct. 1933, p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 16 Nov. 1934, p. 1, col. 4, 12 May 1933, p. 4, col. 2.

⁴⁸Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 23 March 1933, p. 8, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 31 March 1933, p. 4, col. 2; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 14 April 1933, p. 1, col. 5.

⁴⁹Freie Presse für Texas, 11 Aug. 1933, p. 1, col. 2.

⁵⁰Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 18 Aug. 1933, p. 2, col. 2, 9 Feb. 1934, p. 2, col. 5, 21 Aug. 1935, p. 4, col. 3; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 17 May 1933, p. 4, col. 1, 18 Sept. 1935, p. 1, col. 2. Germany buys four times as much from the United States as the United States buys from Germany, and the boycott stands to cost organized labor heavily. The boycott was definitely hurting U. S. exports of cotton to Germany. Sales were off 914,000 bales, a loss of thirty-five million dollars. 27 Feb. 1935, p. 4, col. 1. For other information see these issues: Freie Presse für Texas, 13 Oct. 1933, p. 1, col. 1, 16 March 1934, p. 4, col. 3, 7 Dec. 1934, p. 1, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 13 July 1933, p. 8, col. 5, 15 March 1934, p. 8, col. 3.

⁵¹Freie Presse für Texas, 11 May 1934, p. 4, col. 3, 2 Nov. 1934, p. 4, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 5 April 1934, p. 4, col. 4.

⁵²Freie Presse für Texas, 2 Nov. 1934, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵³Freie Presse für Texas, 16 March 1934, p. 4, col. 2, 9 Nov. 1934, p. 1, col. 4, 16 March 1934, p. 1, col. 4.

⁵⁴Freie Presse für Texas, 13 Oct. 1933, p. 1, col. 1, 23 Feb. 1934, p. 1, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 21 Dec. 1934, p. 4, col. 4, 13 Dec. 1935, p. 4, col. 2; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 6 Feb. 1935, p. 4, col. 3. Germany began producing products the United States had sold her earlier. As the U. S. reduced her trade with Germany, the Germans cut trade with the United States.

⁵⁵Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 29 Aug. 1935, p. 1, col. 3, 12 Dec. 1935, p. 4, col. 2; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 2 Aug. 1935, p. 9, col. 1, 13 Dec. 1935, p. 4, col. 2.

⁵⁶Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 26 May 1932, p. 2, col. 1.

⁵⁷Ibid., 3 March 1932, p. 6, col. 4. For other information see: A List of Newspaper Periodicals Principally Representative of German Groups Outside of Germany: Collected by the Deutschland Ausland Institut (Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1946), pages not listed. This document contained a record of two German-language newspapers in Texas. They were the Freie Presse für Texas of San Antonio and the Texas Herold of Taylor. Apparently they were listed because of their favorable views towards the new Germany.

⁵⁸Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 19 May 1933, p. 4, col. 2, 9 March 1934, p. 3, col. 2, 12 April 1935, p. 1, col. 6; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 26 April 1933, p. 3, col. 3, 25 Oct. 1933, p. 4, col. 1, 29 May 1935, p. 4, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 31 March 1933, p. 1, col. 1, 4 May 1934, p. 3, col. 2, 1 Feb. 1935, p. 3, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 1 June 1933, p. 4, col. 3, 18 Oct. 1934, p. 4, col. 3, 2 May 1935, p. 1, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 13 April 1933, p. 5, col. 1, 19 April 1934, p. 10, col. 5, 20 June 1935, p. 12, col. 1.

⁵⁹Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 16 Jan. 1935, p. 4, col. 1.

⁶⁰Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 9 March 1934, p. 2, col. 1, 1 Feb. 1935, p. 3, col. 1; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 30 Jan. 1935, p. 4, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 4 May 1934, p. 3, col. 2, 5 April 1935, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶¹Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 22 April 1935, p. 4, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 21 Sept. 1934, p. 1, col. 4, 12 Oct. 1934, p. 1, col. 3.

⁶²Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 8 Sept. 1933, p. 5, col. 5.

⁶³Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 Aug. 1933, p. 9, col. 6, 22 Feb. 1935, p. 6, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 14 April 1933, p. 8, col. 5, 12 Jan. 1934, p. 3, col. 5, 11 Jan. 1935, p. 6, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 18 Jan. 1934, p. 8, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 11 May 1933, p. 3, col. 1, 15 March 1934, p. 4, col. 3, 19 Dec. 1935, p. 8, col. 2.

⁶⁴Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 Aug. 1933, p. 9, col. 6, 22 Feb. 1935, p. 6, col. 1.

⁶⁵Freie Presse für Texas, 10 Nov. 1933, p. 3, col. 3, 10 Aug. 1934, p. 5, col. 1, 8 March, p. 4, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 18 Oct. 1934, p. 4, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 11 May 1933, p. 3, col. 1, 8 June 1933, p. 5, col. 1.

⁶⁶A refugee from Germany, Gerhard Seger, spoke in the lecture hall on the University of Texas campus and told the audience that under the new Nazi government, a letter could be opened and newspapers shut down if they contained material opposing the government. This would explain why all letters coming to Texas from Germany expressed only favorable views towards the Hitler government. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 19 April 1935, p. 2, col. 1.

⁶⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 1 Sept. 1933, p. 7, col. 3.

⁶⁸Freie Presse für Texas, 14 April 1933, p. 8, col. 5, 9 Feb. 1934, p. 7, col. 2, 8 Feb. 1935, p. 6, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 20 April 1933, p. 2, col. 2.

⁶⁹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 Aug. 1933, p. 9, col. 6; Freie Presse für Texas, 25 Jan. 1935, p. 2, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 11 May 1933, p. 3, col. 1.

⁷⁰Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 26 May 1933, p. 2, col. 2, 26 Jan. 1934, p. 2, col. 1, 25 March 1935, p. 1, col. 6; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 29 May 1935, p. 4, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 20 April 1933, p. 8, col. 2.

⁷¹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 25 March 1935, p. 1, col. 6.

⁷²Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 31 July 1935, p. 1, col. 7, 29 May 1935, p. 4, col. 2.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 26 May 1933, p. 2, col. 2.

⁷⁵Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 13 Oct. 1933, p. 2, col. 3, 5 Jan. 1934, p. 2, col. 2, 25 March 1935, p. 1, col. 6; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 13 July 1933, p. 6, col. 1.

⁷⁶Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 11 May 1933, p. 8, col. 1.

⁷⁷It is interesting to note at this time that the Nazi government tried to exploit German Deutschtum as much as possible. As a result, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities conducted an intensive investigation to determine the extent of Nazi activity in areas like Texas. Some German-Americans resented these investigations because they felt they threatened Deutschtum. Others supported such action because it gave them a chance to prove their loyalty to the United States. Nevertheless, the Nazis failed to win the majority of German-Americans to their cause. For further information see: Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 18 Jan. 1935, p. 5, col. 4; Freie Presse für Texas, 6 April 1934, p. 4, col. 2.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES OF THE GERMAN-AMERICANS TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM 1936-1939

After 1935 German-Americans increasingly adapted themselves to Texas customs and institutions. Many German churches no longer offered their services in the German language, and German-language newspapers were forced to print more articles in English.¹ Many German-Americans neglected or refused to teach their children the German language or else taught them how to speak the language but not how to read it. Because many could no longer read the fraktur script in which German-language newspapers once had been printed, some newspapers which continued to use the German language began to print a few of their articles with English characters.² This only temporarily slowed down the assimilation process, for many children of German descent began to read the English-language newspapers more often than before.³

Yet there were still segments in the German-American community which managed to hold on to their German cultural heritage a little longer by maintaining the summer schools, the German movie theaters, the German organizations and societies,

the German songfests and the celebration of German Day. Because there were people still interested in the German language and culture, certain towns and cities such as San Antonio presented on daytime radio some German-language radio programs.⁴ As a result of a growing interest in science and technology there was also a greater emphasis placed on the German language in high schools, colleges and universities. Thus the sentiment for Deutschtum did not disappear, and the German-language press was still supported by a substantial number of subscribers and by advertisements from the business community.

From 1933 to 1936 all six of the German-language newspapers of Texas were in agreement on several issues: the necessity for preserving Deutschtum, condemnation of the Versailles Treaty, mistreatment of Germany by the Allied Powers, opposition to anti-German propaganda, opposition to the Jewish boycott of German goods, and the boycott of the 1936 Olympic Games.⁵ Most of the German-language publications also held similar views regarding the political and economic achievements made in Germany from 1933 to 1936. From 1936 to the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, however, German-language newspapers and German-American organizations in the various German communities began to split into two distinct groups over policies of the German Reich. There

were those who favored the National Socialists and those who opposed them.

During this period the various German-language newspapers continued to report local, state, and national news, as well as events occurring across the seas. All of the German-language newspapers carried speeches by Hitler and other German leaders and a large number of photographs of events and people in the Third Reich. For the most part these speeches and photographs were presented with little or no editorial comment. Since English-language newspapers also carried Nazi speeches and photographs of men who were important figures in the news, the German-language press cannot be called pro-Nazi just because it printed such items. It is important to note, however, that many of the news stories which appeared in the German-language newspapers were contributed by the Deutsches Ausland Institut, an official adaptation of the old Verein für die Deutschum im Ausland, Weltdienst, the German Transoceanic News Agency; and Reich-German newspapers. These articles for the most part stressed the improved conditions in Germany, criticism of anti-German propaganda and communism, unfair treatment of German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the Jewish and Church questions within the Third Reich.⁶ These articles which emphasized the Nazi viewpoint were reproduced without editorial comment. Nevertheless, the fact that they were published in the Texas

newspapers is of importance because it indicated a continuing interest in Germany and sympathy for her.

Letters, editorials and advertisements also revealed something of the position of the various newspapers and their communities on the issues of the day. Letters from Germany continued to reveal to the German-Americans of Texas that their relatives and friends abroad were satisfied for the most part with what Hitler had done for Germany and her people. They continued to praise Hitler and the National Socialist government, their achievements in the economic sphere, Germany's peaceful intentions, Germany's need for colonies, the need for a settlement of minority problems in the succession states, and criticism of anti-German propaganda.⁷ At this time there were also a number of letters from the Sudeten German region of Czechoslovakia and Austria, which revealed the turmoil, persecutions, and suffering of the German minorities and the desire for Anschluss.⁸ German-Americans again deplored the injustice of the Versailles Treaty and believed that the Sudetenland and Austria should be given to Germany.⁹ German-Americans for the most part believed that Hitler came to power because of the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and were quick to agree that he had indeed saved Germany from chaos.¹⁰ The German-American element did not fear condemnation for their support of Hitler on many issues because a large segment of the non-German population in the

United States agreed that Austria and the Sudetenland were predominately German and should be returned to Germany. They viewed this as a correction of one of the many injustices which had resulted from the peace settlement after the First World War. The German-language press and the German-American community believed that Hitler wanted peace and that his goal was to carry out the Wilsonian concept of self determination of peoples.¹¹ Thus, throughout the period from 1936-1939 the German-language press was filled with editorials, letters, and articles defending the foreign policy of Germany vis-a-vis Austria and the Sudetenland and the desire of Germans living in these areas to rejoin Germany.¹² The German-language press also revealed the suffering of Germans in these areas and attacked the governments which were responsible for the persecution of and discrimination against German minorities under their jurisdiction.¹³ In addition to this, editorials and letters revealed the desires of Germans in other regions such as Memel and Danzig who also wished to be part of the German Reich.¹⁴

Specifically, the Texas Herold stated that Germany needed the return of areas populated by Germans as well as the African colonies in order to meet the economic and industrial needs of her people.¹⁵ Letters and reports from Texas Germans who had visited Austria and the Sudetenland were published to inform the German-American community of the intolerable conditions existing in these

areas.¹⁶ Other letters emphasized the improved economic situation in Germany, the love and respect of the German people for their Führer, and the importance of including former territories within a rapidly expanding German Reich.¹⁷ The Texas Herold stated that only Hitler could save Austria and the Sudetenland from economic chaos and the threat of Communism.¹⁸ Newspapers such as Das Wochenblatt of Austin attempted to calm the fears of those people who were frightened by a possible German threat to England by emphasizing that the areas demanded by Germany represented only the rightful unification of all Germans, which posed no threat to the existence of the British empire.¹⁹

When Germany did annex Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938, the German-Americans for the most part were happy to acknowledge that one of the injustices of Versailles had been erased and expressed their joy, emphasizing that plebiscites in these two areas had shown overwhelming support for reunification.²⁰ However, Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Freie Presse für Texas did acknowledge that Germany was wrong to force the Czechoslovakian government to give up part of its territory, but also admitted that Hitler had been right in demanding the return of an area which had once belonged to Germany.²¹ The German-language press appeared relieved that a second world war had been avoided and often stressed that Hitler and the German people desired to live in peace.²² In

fact, the belief in Hitler's peaceful intentions had gained him the admiration of some segments of the German-American community. The German-Americans thus appeared to favor Hitler's early conquests. They either spoke favorably of his foreign policy or said little against it.

There were other issues, however, upon which there was only partial agreement in the German-American press. These issues were the Communist threat, the religious question, racial hatred, the Jewish boycott of German goods, and anti-German propaganda. The German-American press attacked Communism throughout the 1930's and supported Hitler because it believed he had saved Germany and Europe from being overrun by the Communists.²³ During the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt tended to favor Italy and Germany because it actually believed they were attempting to save Spain from being taken over by the Communist armies.²⁴ The German-American press accused the Communist of advocating atheism and criticized them for spreading propaganda against Germany. The Fredericksburger Wochenblatt printed articles concerning nations which were having problems with Communists and pointed out that Germany was hated primarily because she alone had blocked a Communist takeover in Europe.²⁵ Although the German-American people agreed

with Hitler on the issue of Communism, they did not always support his views on religion.

The German-American element in Texas was composed mostly of Lutherans, Catholics and Mennonites, with a smattering of other denominations, and to all of them the question of religion was important. The Freie Presse für Texas and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung often published articles attacking Hitler's persecution of the Protestant and Catholic Churches. They criticized the arrest of hundreds of priests and Lutheran pastors who had refused to support Hitler's policies.²⁶ Organizations such as the Katholischer Staatsverbund and the Mennonite Church also made known their opposition to certain Nazi principles and practices.²⁷

The separation of Church and State in the United States was approved by many German-Americans who believed mistakenly that this was the policy of the National Socialist government. These German-Americans saw nothing wrong in Hitler's demands that the Church stay out of politics.²⁸ The Texas Herold, for example, stated that there was no religious persecution, since the Nazi government only interfered with the Church when it failed to follow this principle.²⁹ This newspaper and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung criticized those who called Hitler an atheist and Germany a nation of heathens.³⁰ In one instance, the Texas Herold went so far as to state that Christianity had joined with the Jews in damning the

German government.³¹ Thus there were various opinions concerning the religious question, but the biggest issue related to religion concerned the Jewish question in Germany.

Ultimately anti-Semitism became a principal factor determining the position which each German-language newspaper in Texas took toward Nazi ideology and policy. The tensions created by the German annexations of Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938 had already impaired relations between the United States and Germany, but the widespread anti-Jewish programs carried out in Germany in November 1938 aided materially in the breaking off of diplomatic relations.³² Almost all of the German-language newspapers of Texas disavowed anti-Semitism with the exception of the Texas Herold which upheld racism as one of its basic beliefs.³³ The majority of the German-language newspapers, however, began criticizing racism wherever it occurred in Germany or in the United States itself.³⁴ The Freie Presse für Texas and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung became the principal opponents of Nazi principles at this time even going so far as to oppose anti-Semitism in the Texas Herold. Eventually this caused the various German-language newspapers to form into two camps which waged journalistic war against each other. The Freie Presse für Texas continually stressed its opposition to race hatred and intolerance and emphasized its belief in the rights of all people to have religious freedom.³⁵

This San Antonio newspaper declared that it had never witnessed an anti-Semitic demonstration within Texas, and it often praised the works of such world renowned German Jews as Heinrich Heine, Felix Mendelssohn, and Paul Ehrlich.³⁶

The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung upheld the same views as the Freie Presse in denouncing racial hatred but went even farther identifying those who followed such doctrine as being un-American and un-Christian.³⁷ Five synods of the American Lutheran Church, also protested against the lies and slander being spread against Jews inside and outside the United States.³⁸ The Church stated that anti-Semitism was contrary to the teachings of the Bible and therefore un-Christian.³⁹ As a result, Lutheran ecclesiastics also criticized the Texas Herold because of its racist policies.⁴⁰ In addition, both newspapers often denounced the German Consul General Freiherr von Spiegel, his predecessor Ernst Wendler, the German-American Nazi Bund, and Hans Ackermann, editor of the Texas Herold, for attempting to spread such ideas among the German-American communities of Texas.⁴¹ Yet some German-Americans such as Selma Metzenthin Raunick writing in liberal newspapers argued that if the German government was guilty of racism, then the United States must also plead guilty because of the existence of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the various Fundamentalists sects which preached hatred against Negroes, Jews and Catholics.⁴² The

German-American community for the most part, however, agreed that Jews, Negroes, and other groups should be treated as human beings and at least tolerated because of Constitutional laws guaranteeing rights regardless of religion or race. However, there were elements within Texas which agreed with the racist opinions expressed by the Texas Herold.

The Texas Herold stressed preservation of the white race and condemned the Jews for spreading hatred against everything German.⁴³ This newspaper upheld Hitler's policies against the German Jews who it claimed had lost the First World War and created chaotic conditions prior to Hitler's coming to power.⁴⁴ Furthermore the Texas Herold spoke out against Jewish merchants at the Texas Centennial Exhibition in 1936, condemning them for what it called "ugly behavior."⁴⁵ Much of the hatred of the German-Americans for the Jews stemmed from the belief that Jews in the United States had sought to boycott German goods and prevent the United States participation in the Olympic Games in an effort to support Jews who were being persecuted in the Third Reich. Although the boycott had virtually ended, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Texas Herold continued to publish articles denouncing the boycott and its supporters.⁴⁶ The Texas Herold, however, was the most vociferous opponent of the Jews and their boycott throughout the period from 1936-1939,

and contended that the Jews managed to gain a lobby strong enough to persuade the United States government to stop the selling of helium gas to Germany.⁴⁷ At the same time it reacted to those people who accused Germany of race hatred by reminding the public that the United States had itself practiced race hatred and genocide upon the Indians.⁴⁸ One typical racist article in February 1939 stated:

Jews have weakened their own race through birth control. They came to America to take Negro wives and use their descendants as workers. These descendants are self-evident in the Jewish volk body. The suicide of the Jew should teach us a lesson. We have nothing against the colored race. We ask only that Nordic people not mix with them as the Jews did.⁴⁹

Although the Texas Herold denounced the Jews for their actions against Germany, it did point out that Texas Jews were on better terms with German elements within Texas.⁵⁰ Thus the various German-language newspapers of Texas stated their positions on the question of anti-Semitism. The appearance of some anti-Semitism in Texas was an indication that Nazi propaganda had filtered into the German-American community. It may be noted, however, that racism had existed for a long period in Texas and throughout the South and offered the National Socialists a fertile soil in which to work. They hoped to win German-Americans to their cause and through emphasis upon the supremacy of the white race they believed they could win the support of both German and non-German elements. Racism, however, ultimately split the

German-American community, for after 1936 a substantial segment expressed an opposition only to groups which criticized Germany unjustly or threatened the existence of Deutschtum.

Between 1936-1939 the German-language press in Texas became hostile toward many English-language newspapers, radio stations, and the motion picture industry for their real or imagined anti-German bias. The German-language newspapers opposed what they thought to be malicious slander, and exaggerations of the truth, which they felt poisoned public opinion against the Fatherland.⁵¹ Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, for example, criticized newspapers for publishing such World War I slogans as "Death to the Hun" and "Down with the Barbarians" and for reviving old atrocity stories.⁵² Many German-Americans attributed this sort of propaganda to the English, French and Polish newspapers or to visiting lecturers who were seeking to get the support of the United States against Hitler.⁵³ Some German-Americans again began to fear the renewal of pro-British sentiment in the United States which could possibly lead to anti-German hysteria and even the involvement of the United States in another world war. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Texas Herald each contained a number of articles questioning English and French attempts to win the support of the United States for their anti-German policies.⁵⁴ A number of German-language newspapers also condemned England

and France for accusing Germany of atrocities but failing to remember their own war-time brutalities.⁵⁵ In addition to these criticisms, German- American newspapers charged England and France with attempts to isolate Germany, violate the Versailles Treaty, and hinder the return of German African colonies.⁵⁶ As a result of the purported activities of the English and French, segments of the German- American community began to side with isolationist elements within the United States.

Newspapers such as the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung stressed that the German people should be allowed to have whatever type government they wanted. In fact the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Texas Herold both believed that Hitler had become dictator through democratic means, and it was not the business of the United States or any nation to interfere, since the majority of Germans appeared satisfied with the National Socialist government.⁵⁷

The Freie Presse für Texas joined the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung in condemning stories with anti-German bias, but stated it would publish the opinions of all factions in the community, although it decried insults to the German- American community.⁵⁸ It stated that those who accused German-Americans of Nazism were no better than the anti-Semites who referred to Jews as Bolsheviks. In any case, it was unfair to condemn the whole German- American community for the actions of a few radicals who preferred a foreign

political system.⁵⁹ Yet, the radicals were also unfair because they condemned all German-Americans who refused to say Heil Hitler or who associated with or bought from Jews.⁶⁰ The pro-Nazi radicals also it was believed were behind the boycott of tolerant German-American newspapers.

Although there was much support for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, there were indications that not everyone agreed with his policies. The Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt and the Texas Herold criticized many of his policies for being directed only against the Fascist nations.⁶¹ The Texas Herold even went so far as to call Roosevelt a "German hater" and to criticize Roosevelt's and Cordell Hull's demands that Germany pay Austrian debts incurred before the Anschluss. It further demanded all propaganda against Germany, Italy, and Japan should be stopped.⁶² The Taylor newspaper denounced Roosevelt's condemnation of these nations and praise for Communist Russia and the so-called democracies.⁶³ It even urged that the President emulate Hitler, who had improved the economic situation in Germany.⁶⁴ In addition to this, the Texas Herold condemned the Anti-Nazi League in New York which it charged with spreading slander and hatred against Germany.⁶⁵ The Amerika-deutschen Volksbund was defended by the Texas Herold which stated that the organization was not connected with the National Socialists since Reich citizens were not allowed to be members.⁶⁶ Thus the

Texas Herold denounced what it considered to be injustices to the Nazi cause and was even supported by other papers at some points.

In one such instance Das Wochenblatt of Austin and the Texas Herold both criticized the motion picture and publishing industries. They condemned the so-called "March of Time" films, such as "Inside Nazi Germany" which they charged was strictly anti-German propaganda.⁶⁷ The Texas Herold contended that the picture had not been filmed in Germany at all, but mostly in the state of New York, and that professional actors were presented as actual German leaders.⁶⁸ In regard to the motion picture entitled "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," the Texas Herold, repeating its charges of anti-German propaganda, stated that it was only another lie concerning Nazi activities in the United States.⁶⁹ It also protested against the fact that books against Jews were taken off the market while books against the Third Reich were not.⁷⁰ The Texas Herold thus believed that anti-Nazi groups failed to see that the true enemies of the United States were not the Nazis but the Communists.⁷¹ As the issues concerning the Nazis became clearer, however, the split within the German-American community widened.

This cleavage became more and more evident in the journalistic wars which began in the period from 1936 to 1939. The conflict arose when various towns within the German-American areas of Texas began to raise funds in order to pay tribute to their

German pioneer forebearers by erecting monuments in their honor. Fredericksburg and New Braunfels were among the first to build such monuments in their communities.⁷² It was at the unveiling ceremony in New Braunfels on August 21, 1938, that a rift in this German-American community was clearly evident.⁷³ At the ceremony a controversy developed concerning the display of the swastika and the Reich flag. Although German dignitaries were invited to the unveiling ceremonies, the town Council of New Braunfels, nevertheless, voted against the display of the swastika.⁷⁴ It appeared that the city fathers and other German-Americans did not believe that the swastika was the flag of Germany but only an emblem of a political party, and as such should not be displayed as the symbol of the entire German people.⁷⁵ Because of their decision not to play "Horst Wessel," a Germany hymn at the ceremony, Dr. August Ponschab, the German representative, departed angrily to New Orleans.⁷⁶ The Texas Herold immediately launched an editorial attack upon the town of New Braunfels and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung.⁷⁷ This resulted in counter charges against the Texas Herold and the journalistic wars were on.

The Texas Herold repeatedly criticized those in the German-American community who continued to disregard the Reich-German flag and demanded that German-Americans display their flag just as other nationalities did throughout the country.⁷⁸ The newspaper

also disapproved of the Freie Presse für Texas and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung because it believed they printed distortions in their columns concerning Germany and declared that only the Texas Herold printed the truth about the Fatherland.⁷⁹ The Texas Herold continually condemned these two newspapers for spreading poisonous and malicious lies against Hitler and the German government. It also criticized a number of news commentators for being anti-German and un-Christian because they failed to uphold the honor of the German people and the German nation.⁸⁰ Throughout the period from 1936-1939 the Texas Herold continued its rhetoric against the Freie Presse für Texas and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, charging them with being un-American and spreading lies concerning the Texas Herold and its sponsored organization, the Stahlhelm.⁸¹ The Taylor newspaper also condemned the Freie Presse for insisting that members of the Deutsche Amerikanische Bund of Texas be required to become United States citizens because this policy would bar Reich-German citizens from the organization.⁸² Hans Ackermann, editor of the Texas Herold, argued that he could not understand why a person could not be loyal both to the United States and to Germany.⁸³ He scolded the Freie Presse, which had earlier been pro-Hitler, for now changing its views and charged that it had betrayed the National Socialist movement.⁸⁴ The pro-Nazi Texas Herold continued to praise Hitler, to preach anti-Semitism, and to condemn

what it considered to be lies spread by the German-language press and other newspapers throughout the state.⁸⁵

This position of the Texas Herold was attacked by Martin Dies, chairman of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities, who stated that it was "merely a repetition of the idea which has been propagated from Hitler's Germany since the beginning of Nazi rule, namely, that persons of German origin or descent, no matter what their present citizenship status may be, are first of all subjects of Hitler's domain, a German Volkstum which extends to any part of the world where those of German blood may reside. The Texas Herold has made it clear that the German Weltanschauung is an essential part of the German culture. 'Whoever,' said the Herold, 'stresses the preservation of German cultural values and refuses to acknowledge the German Weltanschauung does not know what he is talking about. The Weltanschauung of Hitler is something entirely different from the Weltanschauung of Goethe and the other creators of the true German culture.' It is the 'World View' of Nazism which the Texas Herold insists is an indispensable part of German culture. With a flourish of complete contempt for our American intelligence, the Texas Herold announces "We see exactly that Reichsführer Hitler is no dictator."⁸⁶ The pro-Nazi stance of the Texas Herold was confirmed too in advertisements that urged German-Americans to buy German-Reich Bonds and

purchase such Nazi publications as Hitler's Mein Kampf and George Sylvester Viereck's The Kaiser on Trial.⁸⁷

The Freie Presse für Texas and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, launched their own criticisms of the Texas Herold. Both newspapers objected to the harsh attacks made upon them stating that everyone was entitled to his own opinion in the United States because of the basic freedoms of speech and press.⁸⁸ They condemned those people who resorted to slanderous letters and offensive postcards in their fight against opposing views.⁸⁹ The Freie Presse and Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung agreed that it was proper to have differences of opinion, but these differences should not be allowed to interfere with the preservation of German music, German friendliness, German cultural works and the German language.⁹⁰ They were afraid that the extreme hostility which was building up might sever the ties of the German communities and lead to the destruction of Deutschtum.⁹¹ Yet they could not tolerate attacks on their communities by the increasingly vindictive Texas Herold, which labelled its opponents Communists, liars, and enemies of Germany. Finally, both German-language newspapers retaliated by accusing the Texas Herold of being un-patriotic, un-American, racist, anti-Semitic, and opposed to the ideals and traditions purchased by the blood of Texas pioneers of all nationalities.⁹²

Thus German-language newspapers lined up in two groups. The leading proponents of anti-Nazi arguments, the Freie Presse and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung were eventually joined by the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt and Das Wochenblatt of Austin. Against this grouping stood the Texas Herold dedicated to the principles of defending National Socialism and the German people from what it believed to be false accusations. Eventually the journalistic warfare had a direct effect upon the attitudes of various organizations within the German-American community.

There were still a number of singing societies and cultural organizations, which generally attempted to remain outside of political controversies.⁹³ These organizations attempted to stress unity, but controversies over National Socialist policies and principles continued to splinter Deutschtum even here.⁹⁴ In the period from 1936-1939 there were a number of new anti-Nazi cultural organizations such as the Deutschamerikanische Bund of Houston, the Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung of Texas in San Antonio, and the Stahlhelm, a pro-Nazi organization of war veterans.⁹⁵ These groups clashed over the Nazi issue just as the newspapers did, and the anti-Nazi faction attempted to protect the Deutschamerikanische Bund and the Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung from being infiltrated by the pro-Nazi Stahlhelm organization which was supported by the Texas

Herold.⁹⁶ Yet a number of members of the first two organizations were also members of the Stahlhelm for which they were sometimes denounced by the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Freie Presse.⁹⁷ As anti-Nazi sentiment increased, the Deutschamerikanische Bund was forced to change its name because of being mistaken for the anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi Amerikadeutschen Bund.⁹⁸ It changed its name to Deutschtexanische Vereinigung, Inc., thus limiting itself to the state of Texas and permitting some political activity in state and local politics.⁹⁹ Although this organization was opposed to National Socialism, it promoted the feeling for Deutschtum. It welcomed German dignitaries such as the German Consul General of New Orleans, and expressed gratitude for the many books and films donated by the German consulate.¹⁰⁰

Although much anti-Nazi sentiment had developed in Texas, the National Socialists had already found a home in the state. It was from Texas that the Nazis in Germany tried to launch their programs and to seek out promising adherents for their cause. The Stahlhelm and its mouthpiece, the Texas Herold were the center of pro-Nazi activities. The Stahlhelm of Texas was under the leadership of Helmuth von Bose of Jasper, Texas, who stated that his organization sought to preserve the ideals of Deutschtum and create a better understanding of the Hitler movement.¹⁰¹ The Stahlhelm

also established branches throughout other German-American communities in Texas.¹⁰² This organization stated, however, that it was independent of the National Socialist movement and the Stahlhelm in Germany which was dissolved in November 1935 by the Hitler government.¹⁰³ Because some German-Americans and anti-Nazi elements continued to associate the two organizations, the Texas Herold in February, 1939, persuaded the Texas Stahlhelm to change its name to the Kyffhäuserbund.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, there was a strong indication that the two groups were closely connected, since the Kyffhäuserbund continued to hold summer solstice celebrations like those held in the Fatherland. At one such celebration on June 26, 1936, at the farm of George von der Goltz one could have seen bonfires and heard praises for Hitler followed by numerous Nazi salutations of Sieg Heil.¹⁰⁵ Later the Stahlhelm and the Texas Herold both declared their support for Fritz Kuhn's German-American Nazi Bund and defended themselves against criticisms from the anti-Nazi elements of Texas.¹⁰⁶ The Kyffhäuserbund like its predecessor came under increasing criticism and was constantly forced to combat what it called false accusations of being a Nazi organization.¹⁰⁷ The Kyffhäuserbund sought cooperation with other pro-Nazi and/or anti-Semitic groups such as the Silver Shirts, the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Christian Movement.¹⁰⁸ Members of the Kyffhäuserbund were usually given membership books by their organizational

leaders which urged them "to promote rifle and pistol practices" and to do "confidential work" for the organization.¹⁰⁹ To many people this suggested an endorsement of National Socialist policy.

Because of the existence of such pro-Nazi sentiment, the Deutsches Ausland Institut attempted to set up an Amerikadeutschtum in 1938.¹¹⁰ Gustav Moshack, head of the Amerikaabteilung in the Deutsches Ausland Institut, decided to designate a native German-American representative in Texas to establish contact with groups and individuals helpful to a Nazi-directed Deutschtum.¹¹¹ Moshack believed that the only way National Socialist ideas could make headway in areas such as Texas would be through the German-American community itself.¹¹² Thus it was decided to send agents into the various centers of German population to gather information and study opinions.

As a result of increasing evidence pointing to Nazi activity in Texas, investigations were begun in major metropolitan areas of the state by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.¹¹³ The investigations conducted by Congress proved without a doubt that there were definitely Nazi activities in Texas especially in and around the cities of San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Austin, Galveston, Stonewall, and Taylor.¹¹⁴ Other investigations of the Amerikadeutsche Bund revealed that Fritz Kuhn, its leader, had openly boasted that there

were indeed units of the Nazi Bund and Nazi sympathizers in several of these areas.¹¹⁵ It was also disclosed that such prominent officials of the Bund as Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze had visited several cities in Texas with the sole purpose of establishing branches of the Nazi Bund, and there had been several instances in which anti-Jewish publications were circulated within the San Antonio area.¹¹⁶

Although the Nazis had established a foothold in the state, many German-Americans agreed with the Freie Presse which stated that there were no Nazi Bund organizations at all, or very few at most. The Freie Presse favored, however, the continuation of investigations to prove the loyalty of German-Americans as a whole, and to expose those who were disloyal.¹¹⁷ There apparently were many German-Americans who favored this position, but there were also some who condemned the investigation and favored the views of the Texas Herald, which criticized the Dies Committee stating that it was unjust and only helped to spread hate and slander about the German-American community.¹¹⁸ Some Germans condemned those who attempted to discredit Deutschtum, but chose not to criticize the German government or its laws.¹¹⁹ Many of these people probably had relatives in the Fatherland and were afraid to speak out against the National Socialists because of possible reprisals against their relatives if their views were made known in Germany. Thus, by 1938 the German community had split into three distinct

groups: those against the Nazis, those for the Nazis, and those who chose to remain out of politics completely.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, as investigations of National Socialist activity increased, the German-American community began to show stronger opposition to Nazi policies and greater loyalty to the United States. The German-American community was determined that the anti-German feeling which had manifested itself during the First World War would not be repeated.

From 1936 to 1939 most German-language newspapers in the Texas area began to publish articles, editorials, and letters which they hoped would prove their loyalty to the United States in thought, word, and deed. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Freie Presse für Texas continued to dominate as the voices of freedom and loyalty within the German community. The Fredericks-burger Wochenblatt and the Das Wochenblatt of Austin also published a variety of articles on such subjects as freedom, tolerance, and the loyalty of German-Americans to the United States Constitution and government.¹²¹ The Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt went even further by printing articles in support of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his policies and emphasized the importance of devotion to the United States flag.¹²² Even the pro-Nazi Texas Herold made attempts to vindicate itself with several articles on loyalty to the United States, but its continued emphasis upon dual loyalty and

dual citizenship failed to convince most German-Americans that they could be loyal to two totally different political ideologies at the same time.¹²³ The German-Americans appeared to be more inclined to accept the views of the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, Das Wochenblatt of Austin, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Freie Presse für Texas, since they represented a much larger segment of German-Americans during this period.

The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and Freie Presse not only published numerous articles concerned with freedom, patriotism, democracy, and endorsement of President Roosevelt but also articles criticizing the Nazis and the propaganda of Joseph Goebbels.¹²⁴ Yet these two newspapers attempted to show that German-Americans could still be proud of German cultural achievements, and could maintain much of their Deutschtum.¹²⁵ The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung and the Freie Presse stressed that at most German-American celebrations and organizations one would find neither uniformed Nazi storm troopers, the swastika, the Hitler salute, nor the Sieg Heil, and while some German-Americans still showed their pride in Deutschtum, they were not pro-Hitler.¹²⁶ The Freie Presse für Texas, like so many of the other German-language newspapers, now hoped that because many of their articles were already in the English language they could perhaps prove to non-Germans everywhere

that they were truly loyal newspapers.¹²⁷ In addition to this, the Freie Presse endorsed numerous organizations, clubs, societies, and German-language newspapers partly because they were loyal to the United States and upheld the liberal principles held so dear by the early German immigrants.¹²⁸ Thus the German-language newspapers did their best to show the public that German-Americans were loyal to the United States, although they retained a great love for the Fatherland and Deutschtum. Many were disturbed by Hitler's aggressive policies and hoped the United States would be able to stay out of European war. They were afraid that another war with Germany might wipe out the last remaining strongholds of Deutschtum in Texas, and as a result many German-Americans began to favor isolationism in the hope that the United States government would adopt a policy of neutrality.¹²⁹ They believed for the most part that the United States should follow the advice of George Washington and stay clear of entangling alliances because the United States had no business interfering in the affairs of other nations.¹³⁰ Thus from 1936 to 1939 several articles and speeches appeared in various German-language newspapers in support of the views of such advocates of isolationism as Charles A. Lindbergh, the well-known aviator, and Pat Neff, a prominent Texan and ex-Governor.¹³¹

The German-language newspapers indeed reflected the opinions of the German-American communities in Texas towards National Socialism. The Nazis, although finding some support in the state, were not able to win over the majority of German-Americans to the National Socialist banner as the newspapers clearly revealed. As a result of this failure, German Reich agents were forced to confine themselves to the promotion of isolationism and anti-British and anti-Soviet sentiment in the hope that these policies would result in United States neutrality.¹³² By failing to win the support of the majority of German-Americans in areas such as Texas, the National Socialists had committed the same blunder their predecessors had made in the First World War. They had underestimated the loyalty of German-Americans to the United States and lost much of the support they had in the early 1930's.

FOOTNOTES

¹Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 3 June 1937, p. 16, col. 1; Texas Herold, 27 Jan. 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 14 Sept. 1939, p. 8, col. 2. The disintegration of Deutschtum by assimilation and Americanization had been delayed, but in no way stopped because of the steady stream of German immigrants to the United States. For every German family who was Americanized, came five to take their place. For every reader lost in death came three to take his place, but everything had stopped during the late 1920's and early 1930's because of the Great Depression. Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 2 Sept. 1937, p. 4, col. 2.

²Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 22 April 1937, p. 8, col. 3; Texas Herold, 27 Jan. 1938, p. 5, col. 3, 15 June 1939, p. 8, col. 3.

³Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 13 Oct. 1938, p. 6, col. 3, 27 Oct. 1938, p. 9, col. 1.

⁴Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 8 June 1939, p. 5, col. 4; Texas Herold, 2 March 1939, p. 6, col. 4. These programs were sponsored by the Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung to honor the German pioneers and created a better understanding of German clubs and cooperation with the German Church community. Radio station RMAC of San Antonio carried such cultural programs. Texas Herold, 12 Aug. 1937, p. 5, col. 5. The Texas Herold urged its readers to listen to the German shortwave broadcast since they told the truth about Germany. For additional information see these issues of the Texas Herold: 10 Feb., 1938, p. 2, col. 8, 26 Jan. 1939, p. 8, col. 5.

⁵Das Wochenblatt of Austin, the Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, the Freie Presse für Texas, the Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt and the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung have already been discussed concerning these issues. Issues of the Texas Herold were made available through the library at Emory University covering the period 1936-1942, however, these later issues reveal that the Texas Herold was in agreement over the maintenance and preservation of Deutschtum, condemnation of Versailles, mistreatment of Germany and opposition to Allied propaganda. Texas Herold, 26 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 6. It must be pointed out at this time that the Das Wochenblatt of Austin is not complete. Issues for the years 1936, 1937, and

1939 were not available for this newspaper through the University of Texas. The Fredericksburger Wochenblatt is also lacking in the years 1934, 1938 and 1939. Although these were not available, there was enough information available to make their positions clear.

⁶Articles contributed by these agencies can be seen in any of the six German-language newspapers, although the Texas Herold contained more than any of the others. The Texas Herold admitted to having used anywhere from four to six German Reich News Services. Texas Herold, 18 May 1939, p. 4, col. 3. Also see Charles C. Burlingham et al. Sponsors, The German Reich and Americans of German Origin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. VI.

⁷These letters can be readily found in most of the German-language newspapers during the 1936-1939 period.

⁸Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 11 March 1938, p. 6, col. 3, 8 April 1938, p. 10, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 12 May 1938, p. 9, col. 3. There was even a national Sudeten German Bund of which some Texas Germans were members. Heinrich Helpert of Burlington, Texas was head of the state branch of the organization. Although there were large numbers of German-Americans from Moravia, Silesia and Bohemia only a few were members of the Bund der Sedetendeutschen. Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 5 Jan. 1939, p. 4, col. 3. For more information see: Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 1 July 1938, p. 5, col. 2; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 10 Feb. 1938, p. 1, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 30 June 1938, p. 7, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 24 June 1938, p. 1, col. 3; Texas Herold, 16 June 1938, p. 4, col. 5, 9 March 1939, p. 7, col. 1.

⁹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 23 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Freie Presse für Texas, 1 Jan. 1937, p. 4, col. 1, 1 April 1938, p. 1, col. 1, 13 Jan. 1939, p. 4, col. 2; Neu Braunfelser Zeitung, 10 Nov. 1937, p. 9, col. 1, 10 Nov. 1938, p. 9, col. 1, 1 June 1939, p. 6, col. 1; Texas Herold, 9 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4, 16 March 1939, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁰Freie Presse für Texas, 24 Feb. 1938, p. 8, col. 2, 13 Jan. 1939, p. 4, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 2 April 1936, p. 12, col. 1, 1 Nov. 1938, p. 8, col. 3; Texas Herold, 31 Sept. 1936, p. 5, col. 3, 18 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 16 March 1939, p. 3, col. 3; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 13 Oct. 1937, p. 4, col. 1.

¹¹Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 10 Nov. 1938, p. 8, col. 3, 25 May 1939, p. 10, col. 4; Texas Herold, 24 Feb. 1938, p. 5, col. 5, 27 July 1939, p. 3, col. 3.

¹²Texas Herold, 29 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 18 May 1939, p. 4, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 8 April 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 25 May 1939, p. 10, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 8 April 1938, p. 4, col. 3; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 15 April 1937, p. 4, col. 3; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 1 Sept. 1937, p. 1, col. 7.

¹³Texas Herold, 14 April 1938, p. 7, col. 4, 31 Aug. 1939, p. 4, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 9 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 15 April 1937, p. 4, col. 2, 26 May 1938, p. 4, col. 2, 20 July 1939, p. 4, col. 3; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 6 May 1938, p. 5, col. 3.

¹⁴Texas Herold, 15 Dec. 1938, p. 4, col. 1, 27 July 1939, p. 4, col. 3; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 8 Jan. 1936, p. 4, col. 1.

¹⁵Texas Herold, 24 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 12 May 1938, p. 7, col. 2; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 1 April 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 10 March 1937, p. 4, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 19 Nov. 1937, p. 1, col. 1.

¹⁶Texas Herold, 29 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 27 May 1938, p. 7, col. 3, 30 Sept. 1938, p. 2, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 15 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 3.

¹⁷Texas Herold, 26 May 1938, p. 7, col. 3; 3 Aug. 1939, p. 4, col. 6; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 17 March 1937, p. 3, col. 1; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 17 March 1937, p. 3, col. 2, 15 July 1937, p. 2, col. 2.

¹⁸Texas Herold, 24 Feb. 1938, p. 5, col. 5, 5 Jan. 1939, p. 3, col. 2, 9 Feb. 1939, p. 6, col. 1.

¹⁹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 1 April 1938, p. 4, col. 2.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 15 April 1938, p. 11, col. 5, 23 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Texas Herold, 14 April 1938, p. 4, col. 5, 25 May 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 16 June 1938, p. 4, col. 2, 25 May 1939, p. 10, col. 4; Freie Presse für Texas, 25 March 1938, p. 2, col. 3, 15 April 1938, p. 7, col. 2.

²¹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 23 Sept. 1938, p. 2, col. 1, 30 Sept. 1938, p. 5, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 19 May 1939, p. 2, col. 1.

²²Texas Herold, 26 May 1938, p. 7, col. 3, 24 Nov. 1938, p. 4, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 25 May 1939, p. 10, col. 4; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 27 July 1939, p. 1, col. 2; Freie Presse für Texas, 15 April 1938, p. 7, col. 2, 7 Oct. 1938, p. 4, col. 6.

²³Freie Presse für Texas, 13 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 1, 13 Nov. 1936, p. 6, col. 1, 11 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 12 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 2; Texas Herold, 26 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 6, 1 Dec. 1938, p. 5, col. 2, 27 April 1939, p. 5, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 24 Dec. 1936, p. 8, col. 5, 11 March 1937, p. 8, col. 4.

²⁴Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 9 Sept. 1936, p. 4, col. 1; Texas Herold, 2 March 1939, p. 6, col. 3.

²⁵Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 5 Aug. 1936, p. 4, col. 3.

²⁶Freie Presse für Texas, 17 Dec. 1937, p. 8, col. 3, 17 March 1939, p. 2, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 25 Aug. 1938, p. 10, col. 1.

²⁷The Katholischer Staatsverbund protested against Hitler's suppression of the basic freedoms in Germany, attempts to replace Christianity with a pagan German religion, closure of Catholic schools, mock trials of priests and nuns, totalitarianism, censorship of the radio and the press. Freie Presse für Texas, 30 July 1937, p. 6, col. 3, 30 July 1937, p. 8, col. 5. The Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung asked its readers to read Pastor Martin Niemöller's book, Here I Stand. Niemöller, a prominent German Lutheran pastor, tells of Nazi hostility to the old traditions of Christianity. He was later arrested because he placed loyalty to his faith above loyalty to the Nazi government. Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 8 Sept. 1938, p. 6, col. 1.

²⁸Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 15 April 1938, p. 3, col. 6; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 6 Oct. 1938, p. 8, col. 6; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 22 Oct. 1936, p. 7, col. 2. The Mennoite Church supported Hitler on this basic issue. Texas Herold, 8 Dec. 1938, p. 4, col. 1, 29 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4.

²⁹Texas Herold, 9 Sept. 1937, p. 8, col. 4, 29 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4.

³⁰Ibid., 29 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 31 Aug. 1939, p. 5, col. 5.

³¹Texas Herold, 29 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4, 18 May 1939, p. 4, col. 1.

³²Frye, p. 89.

³³Texas Herold, 17 Dec. 1936, p. 4, col. 1, 17 Dec. 1936, p. 3, col. 3, 17 Aug. 1939, p. 8, col. 1. The Texas Herold did occasionally print articles by William J. Geisler of Waco, who liked Hitler, but criticized his persecution of the Jews. Geisler criticised the Texas Herold for not allowing criticisms of Nazi policy unless the writers were for Hitler. The Texas Herold denied those accusations against Hitler. Geisler told the staff of the Texas Herold "If you like Hitler so much, go to him. We will not miss you?" Texas Herold, 10 Dec. 1936, p. 4, col. 4, 27 Jan. 1938, p. 4, col. 4.

³⁴Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 2 Sept. 1938, p. 5, col. 4; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 16 April 1936, p. 1, col. 2; Freie Presse für Texas, 14 May 1937, p. 1, col. 1, 10 June 1938, p. 4, col. 6, 2 June 1939, p. 1, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 24 June 1936, p. 5, col. 3, 11 March 1937, p. 7, col. 1, 21 April 1938, p. 9, col. 1, 13 April 1939, p. 8, col. 3.

³⁵Freie Presse für Texas, 11 May 1937, p. 1, col. 1, 10 Jan. 1938, p. 4, col. 6, 13 Jan. 1939, p. 1, col. 1.

³⁶Ibid., 7 Oct. 1938, p. 4, col. 6, 7 July 1939, p. 1, col. 4.

³⁷Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 21 April 1938, p. 9, col. 1, 28 July 1938, p. 8, col. 4, 2 Feb. 1939, p. 9, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 3 March 1939, p. 7, col. 3.

³⁸Freie Presse für Texas, 1 Jan. 1937, p. 7, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 4 Feb. 1937, p. 8, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 31 Dec. 1936, p. 7, col. 3. These newspapers in addition to condemning National Socialist policy against Jews, attacked those fundamentalist Churches of the United States who preached anti-Jewish hatred and spread anti-Semitic literature. The Lutherans appealed to members of Scandinavian and German Lutheran Church members to oppose anti-Semitism.

³⁹Freie Presse für Texas, 1 Jan. 1937, p. 7, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 4 Feb. 1937, p. 8, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 31 Dec. 1936, p. 7, col. 3.

⁴⁰Texas Herold, 24 Nov. 1938, p. 4, col. 6.

⁴¹Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 5 March 1936, p. 7, col. 3, 9 Dec. 1937, p. 8, col. 3, 20 Oct. 1938, p. 6, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 3 March 1939, p. 7, col. 3.

⁴²Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 3 Feb. 1938, p. 6, col. 1, 2 March 1939, p. 9, col. 3; Texas Herold, 24 Nov. 1938, p. 8, col. 2, 2 March 1939, p. 6, col. 3.

⁴³Texas Herold, 15 Oct. 1936, p. 4, col. 3, 30 Jan. 1938, p. 1, col. 4, 9 March 1939, p. 4, col. 1. The Texas Herold even accused the majority of United States newspapers and radio stations of being controlled by Jews and preaching nothing but hate against Germany.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 3.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1936, p. 4, col. 3.

⁴⁶Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 13 May 1938, p. 5, col. 1; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 17 June 1936, p. 5, col. 2, 18 Aug. 1936, p. 6, col. 1; Texas Herold, 18 Feb. 1937, p. 5, col. 2, 22 Dec. 1938, p. 8, col. 1, 6 April 1939, p. 5, col. 3. These protests primarily emphasized the damage done to the United States economy, especially through the loss of Germany as a buyer of cotton. Germany had been a primary customer and its loss was a harsh blow still felt by many Texas cotton growers.

⁴⁷Texas Herold, 26 May 1938, p. 1, col. 4, 14 April 1938, p. 2, col. 3. As a result of its racist policy, several German-language newspapers called the Texas Herold a "Jew hater," and a Nazi paper.

⁴⁸Texas Herold, 9 Feb. 1939, p. 6, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 28 April 1938, p. 6, col. 2.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Texas Herold, 26 May 1938, p. 1, col. 4.

⁵¹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 8 April 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 28 Jan. 1938, p. 4, col. 2. This newspaper criticized noticeable distortions in schools. It stated that schools must not be allowed to discredit nationalities which have helped to make up the United States population, Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 23 Jan. 1936, p. 4, col. 2, 14 April 1937, p. 4, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 3 Sept. 1937, p. 3, col. 1, 8 July 1938, p. 1, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 25 Feb. 1936, p. 6, col. 1, 18 Nov. 1937, p. 9, col. 1, 29 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 6, 18 May 1939, p. 7, col. 2; Texas Herold, 14 Jan. 1937, p. 5, col. 3, 22 Dec. 1938, p. 4, col. 2, 22 June 1939, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵²Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 25 March 1938, p. 5, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 17 March 1938, p. 7, col. 1.

⁵³Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 2 Sept. 1936, p. 4, col. 4, 9 June 1937, p. 4, col. 4; Freie Presse für Texas, 18 Nov. 1938, p. 3, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 21 Sept. 1939, p. 4, col. 4; Texas Herold, 17 March 1938, p. 5, col. 2, 27 July 1939, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁴Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 25 Aug. 1938, p. 7, col. 2, 3 Feb. 1938, p. 6, col. 1; Texas Herold, 6 April 1939, p. 5, col. 3, 15 June 1939, p. 4, col. 4.

⁵⁵Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 2 Sept. 1936, p. 4, col. 4, 9 June 1937, p. 4, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 30 Dec. 1938, p. 10, col. 1.

⁵⁶Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 15 April 1936, p. 7, col. 2, 10 March 1937, p. 4, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 28 April 1938, p. 6, col. 2; Texas Herold, 24 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 6 May 1939, p. 6, col. 6.

⁵⁷Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 22 Oct. 1936, p. 7, col. 1, 17 March 1938, p. 6, col. 1; Texas Herold, 31 March 1938, p. 1, col. 3, 26 Jan. 1939, p. 5, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 23 March 1938, p. 8, col. 1.

⁵⁸Freie Presse für Texas, 7 April 1939, p. 1, col. 1. The Freie Presse did state that it would not publish attacks on race, religion, or United States citizens. Freie Presse für Texas, 26 May 1939, p. 1, col. 3.

⁵⁹Ibid., 7 April 1939, p. 1, col. 1, 26 May 1939, p. 1, col. 3, 1 July 1938, p. 7, col. 5.

⁶⁰Ibid., 30 Dec. 1938, p. 4, col. 1.

⁶¹Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 4 Aug. 1938, p. 1, col. 4; Texas Herold, 2 June 1938, p. 5, col. 4, 23 Feb. 1939, p. 4, col. 4.

⁶²Texas Herold, 1 Dec. 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 9 March 1939, p. 4, col. 4.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., 24 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 24 Aug. 1939, p. 4, col. 2.

⁶⁵Ibid., 12 Aug. 1937, p. 1, col. 6, Texas Herold, 12 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 4.

⁶⁶Ibid., 26 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 6, 9 March 1939, p. 4, col. 5.

⁶⁷Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 28 Jan. 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Texas Herold, 10 Feb. 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 6 May 1939, p. 4, col. 5.

⁶⁸Texas Herold, 10 Feb. 1939, p. 4, col. 1.

⁶⁹Ibid., 6 May 1939, p. 4, col. 5.

⁷⁰Ibid., 1 June 1939, p. 8, col. 3.

⁷¹Ibid., 6 May 1939, p. 4, col. 5.

⁷²Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 17 March 1937, p. 1, col. 4; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 30 July 1936, p. 4, col. 2, 20 May 1937, p. 1, col. 5, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 2.

⁷³Freie Presse für Texas, 12 Aug. 1938, p. 1, col. 3.

⁷⁴Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 2, 6 Oct. 1938, p. 8, col. 4; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 9 Sept. 1938, p. 1, col. 5. The proposal was made to display the swastika flag with those of the United States and Texas, but it was voted down by

the town council. Freie Presse für Texas, 2 Sept. 1938, p. 6, col. 1, 2 Sept. 1938, p. 3, col. 5, 12 Aug. 1938, p. 1, col. 3; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 1 Sept. 1939, p. 8, col. 3.

⁷⁵Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 3. This newspaper stated that Germany was not Hitler, and Hitler was not Germany and stated that Nazi attempts to win the German-American community would fail.

⁷⁶Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 9 Sept. 1938, p. 1, col. 5, 29 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 1. Dr. Ponschab stated that since the town of New Braunfels had not made the proper preparations for the visit, he would return to New Orleans. Some members in the German-American community were disturbed over the flag incident, since the towns of Houston, San Antonio and League City had displayed it in accordance with the proper protocol procedures. Freie Presse für Texas, 26 Aug. 1938, p. 3, col. 5.

⁷⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 2 Sept. 1938, p. 6, col. 1; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 8, col. 3.

⁷⁸Texas Herald, 22 Oct. 1936, p. 2, col. 3. The Texas Herald also criticized the cities of New Braunfels, San Antonio and Dallas. It accused them of not inviting German Reich representatives because they would have had to display the German swastika.

⁷⁹Texas Herald, 5 Nov. 1936, p. 5, col. 3. The Texas Herald upheld National Socialist policies and printed numbers of letters with the salutation Sieg Heil! and Heil Hitler!. Texas Herald, 13 April 1939, p. 4, col. 5. The Texas Herald did not wish to disturb Deutschtum and stated it had never attacked United States policies or form of government. Other newspapers also printed letters from readers with Heil Hitler! Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 9 June 1938, p. 6, col. 3.

⁸⁰Texas Herald, 5 Nov. 1936, p. 5, col. 3, 9 Sept. 1937, p. 8, col. 2.

⁸¹Texas Herald, 20 May 1937, p. 1, col. 3, 2 June 1938, p. 2, col. 3. The Texas Herald condemned the newspapers in Austin stating that they were in Jewish hands, as indicated by the large number of articles criticising Hitler and the German government. Texas Herald, 8 June 1939, p. 4, col. 2. The Texas Herald and the Stahlhelm brought such matters to the attention of the German Consul.

Dies stated that the German General Consul of New Orleans, Baron Edgar von Spiegel, wrote a threatening letter to the editor of a German-language newspaper in Texas. This prompted a study by the Committee of Un-American Activities. Martin Dies, The Trojan Horse in America (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1930), pp. 321-322. Also see: Albert E. Kahn and Michael Sayers, Sabotage! The Secret War Against America (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), p. 13.

⁸² Texas Herold, 19 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 2, 17 March 1938, p. 4, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 16 July 1937, p. 4, col. 4.

⁸³ Texas Herold, 22 July 1937, p. 1, col. 6, 22 July 1937, p. 4, col. 4.

⁸⁴ Texas Herold, 20 May 1937, p. 1, col. 3. The Freie Presse and its editor, G. F. Neuhauser stressed that a person could not have dual citizenship. It is interesting to note that the Texas Herold became so pro-Nazi in its views that it was eventually confiscated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its editor Hans Ackermann was arrested. He was eventually deprived of his American citizenship and lives somewhere in south Texas today. This information was revealed in a letter from Alma Lee Holman of the Taylor Daily Press on August 24, 1970. Arndt and Olson, p. 634. The last issue of the Texas Herold was dated July 16, 1942. Also see: Freie Presse für Texas, 14 May 1937, p. 1, col. 1.

⁸⁵ Texas Herold, 12 May 1937, p. 4, col. 5, 6 Oct. 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 27 July 1939, p. 3, col. 3.

⁸⁶ The editor of the Texas Herold went to Germany in 1939. His travel expenses were paid under circumstances which made it perfectly clear that the cost of the trip were paid for from Hitler's propaganda budget. Hans Ackermann returned afterwards to Texas to praise Hitler and his National Socialist policies. Dies, pp. 323-324.

⁸⁷ Texas Herold, 23 Dec. 1937, p. 10, col. 2, 6 Jan. 1938, p. 6, col. 5, 22 June 1939, p. 3, col. 5. The Texas Herold even offered discounts to their subscribers for subscriptions to various Nazi publications mentioned in their newspaper and carried advertisements by the Paul Vasel Company of New York City urging German-Americans to buy German Bonds. Das Wochenblatt of Austin did have a few books listed by Nazi authors in advertisements within its columns,

but they only appeared in 1938. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 2 Dec. 1938, p. 7, col. 7, 25 Nov. 1938, p. 7, col. 6.

⁸⁸Texas Herold, 9 Sept. 1937, p. 4, col. 2, 9 Sept. 1937, p. 6, col. 1, 8 May 1939, p. 8, col. 3. These attacks were directed at newspapers primarily in Waco, Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth. As a result the Texas Herold received several hate letters which were denounced within its columns. Texas Herold, 9 June 1939, p. 4, col. 2, 2 March 1939, p. 6, col. 2.

⁸⁹Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 15 July 1937, p. 7, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 16 July 1937, p. 6, col. 3. The Freie Presse criticized the Texas Herold's condemnation of Emil Jürgens, a correspondent of the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, who had stated earlier that Hitler and Mussolini had no right to interfere in the Spanish Civil War and had warned Hitler that an invasion of the Soviet Union might be a repeat of the Napoleonic catastrophe in 1812.

⁹⁰Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 2 Sept. 1937, p. 8, col. 3.

⁹¹Freie Presse für Texas, 16 July 1937, p. 6, col. 3. They did not particularly want to fight with Hans Ackermann because he had done much for the German-Americans of Texas, but were forced to because of his extreme attacks upon their own newspapers.

⁹²Ibid., 14 March 1937, p. 1, col. 1, 16 Sept. 1938, p. 1, col. 5.

⁹³Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 10 Feb. 1938, p. 8, col. 1; Texas Herold, 10 Feb. 1938, p. 1, col. 1. Even the Conference of Texas German Teachers held in Houston in November 1937 stressed the need to preserve the language and literary works and keep politics out of the cultural picture.

⁹⁴Freie Presse für Texas, 20 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 1, 30 Dec. 1938, p. 3, col. 1, 2 March 1939, p. 3, col. 1.

⁹⁵Ibid., 10 Jan. 1936, p. 1, col. 1, 26 Feb. 1937, p. 3, col. 3. The Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung of San Antonio was established in 1936 and the Deutschamerikanische Bund of Houston in 1935. They had over 56 clubs and lodges. Freie Presse für Texas, 26 Aug. 1938, p. 6, col. 3. Most members of the Stahlhelm, later called the Kyffhäuserbund, had come to the United States since the

First World War and the larger portion of these had become United States citizens. Yet many had indeed sympathized with the Nazis.

⁹⁶Freie Presse für Texas, 4 Dec. 1936, p. 6, col. 2, 30 July 1937, p. 1, col. 2; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 28 Jan. 1938, p. 5, col. 2.

⁹⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 30 July 1937, p. 1, col. 2, 27 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 2. Some members of the Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung and the Deutschamerikanische Bund had been members of the Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands, later called the Amerika-deutschen Volksbund or German-American Nazi Bund. Both the Deutschamerikanische Vereinigung and the Deutschamerikanische Bund stated that these members were unbiased when it came to organizational matters.

⁹⁸Ibid., 1 Oct. 1937, p. 4, col. 3, 17 June 1938, p. 1, col. 3, 7 April 1939, p. 1, col. 2.

⁹⁹Ibid., 6 May 1938, p. 1, col. 2, 17 June 1938, p. 1, col. 3.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 27 Nov. 1936, p. 4, col. 2, 26 Nov. 1937, p. 1, col. 1; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 17 Nov. 1937, p. 6, col. 1, 16 Feb. 1939, p. 7, col. 1; The German Consulate donated over a thousand books on a wide range of subjects to the German-Americans of Texas through the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Berlin and the Volksbund für das Deutschtum in Ausland. These books consisted of such works as Mein Kampf, a large number of books on science, technology, foreign policy, and Nazi history. Many of these were distributed to various towns within the German-American community. Texas Herold, 8 Dec. 1938, p. 7, col. 1, 16 Feb. 1939, p. 8, col. 1. Films donated by the German Consulate and German Railroad Information Office were shown at Sängerfest and organizational meetings throughout the state. Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 9 Dec. 1938, p. 5, col. 2. For additional information see: Colin Ross, Unser Amerika (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1936), pp. 190-197.

¹⁰¹Freie Presse für Texas, 28 Feb. 1936, p. 6, col. 4. Bose was Ortsgruppenführer after his return from Germany. Ibid., 9 July 1937, p. 1, col. 2. The Stahlhelm of Houston was first established in January 1933 by a small group of German-Americans in Rosenberg, Texas and later moved its headquarters to Houston. Texas Herold, 21 April 1938, p. 5, col. 1.

¹⁰²Freie Presse für Texas, 23 July 1937, p. 8, col. 2, 30 July 1937, p. 4, col. 1. The Executive Committee of the United German-American Societies of San Antonio protested against Stahlhelm activities. Ibid., 12 Aug. 1938, p. 6, col. 5. The only major branch established was in Houston, and George von Goltz was chairman. The Stahlhelm in Texas was one of three areas in the Stahlhelm's Midwest District. Texas Herald, 9 Sept. 1937, p. 7, col. 5.

¹⁰³Freie Presse für Texas, 4 Dec. 1936, p. 6 col. 2.

¹⁰⁴Texas Herald, 9 Feb. 1939, p. 7, col. 2. Another reason for the change in the organization's name was probably due to the increase in Congressional Investigations of Un-American activities. Some of these had been brought on by increasing pro-tests by anti-Nazi groups against organizations such as the Stahlhelm.

¹⁰⁵Among those present was Hans Ackermann, editor of the Texas Herald. Freie Presse für Texas, 9 July 1937, p. 1, col. 2, 9 July 1937, p. 3, col. 1. At a Sudeten celebration held in Houston and sponsored by the Stahlhelm, loud cries of "Sieg Heil!" were in evidence, and a number of films were shown concerning the new Germany. Texas Herald, 11 Nov. 1938, p. 6, col. 1.

¹⁰⁶Texas Herald, 12 Aug. 1938, p. 6, col. 5. For additional information concerning the Kyffhäuserbund see: Dies, pp. 316-323.

¹⁰⁷One such instance occurred when a certain Adolph D'Acosta charged that the Kyffhäuserbund was a Nazi organization. The Texas Herald denied this saying that the Federal Bureau of Investigation after a two-year study had concluded there were no un-American activities of any kind involved in the social and cultural work of Kyffhäuserbund. It criticized the Houston Press for printing such untruths. Texas Herald, 25 May 1939, p. 1, col. 6. For more information concerning the D'Acosta accusation see: Freie Presse für Texas, 2 Jan. 1939, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁰⁸"The Un-American Front," The Anti-Nazi Bulletin, Jan. 1940, p. 10; Texas Herald, 14 July 1939, p. 8, col. 1; Frye, p. 92; Dies, pp. 324-330.

¹⁰⁹Dies, p. 319.

¹¹⁰Smith, p. 37.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 322; Dies, p. 322. The identity of this agent was not revealed although Hans Ackermann or one of his staff probably was involved, since the Texas Herold appeared to be in contact with all organizations and people involved with pro-Nazi views. Consuls were instructed to make preparations for exchange programs and various other activities.

¹¹²Smith, p. 52. He also stated that the Nazis had moved in the wrong direction by equating United States Deutschtum with Deutschtum in other countries. Thus they failed to see that Germans in the United States remained a part of the United States, even though they had a strong feeling for Deutschtum.

¹¹³Freie Presse für Texas, 4 Nov. 1938, p. 5, col. 4.

¹¹⁴Freie Presse für Texas, 30 Sept. 1938, p. 4, col. 3, 18 Aug. 1939, p. 8, col. 2; Texas Herold, 17 Aug. 1939, p. 1, col. 6; David S. Strong, Organized Anti-Semitism in America (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), p. 31. All of these investigations dealt with studies of organizations, newspapers, and Consular activities. For additional information see: August R. Ogden, The Dies Committee (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 1945), p. 133; U. S. Congress, House, Nazi Activity in the U. S. Speech by Emmanuel Celler, 75th Cong., 1st. Sess., 1937 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 1444.

¹¹⁵Freie Presse für Texas, 23 July 1937, p. 2, col. 4, 18 Aug. 1939, p. 8, col. 2, 18 Aug. 1939, p. 1, col. 5. The Dies Committee definitely established that there were such Bund Ortsgruppe in San Antonio, Taylor, and Austin. For other information see: U. S. Congress, House, Nazi Activity in the U. S. Speech by Samuel Dickstein, 75th Cong., 1st. Sess., 1937 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 1444.

¹¹⁶Freie Presse für Texas, 8 April 1938, p. 1, col. 3, 7 April 1939, p. 1, col. 6; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 7 April 1938, p. 1, col. 1.

¹¹⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 24 Sept. 1937, p. 4, col. 2, 8 April 1938, p. 1, col. 3, 13 Jan. 1939, p. 8, col. 3, 13 Jan. 1939, p. 6, col. 6.

¹¹⁸Texas Herold, 12 Aug. 1937, p. 1, col. 6, 11 Aug. 1938, p. 4, col. 5.

¹¹⁹Freie Presse für Texas, 9 Dec. 1938, p. 3, col. 1.

¹²⁰Ibid., 12 Nov. 1936, p. 6, col. 1.

¹²¹Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 12 Aug. 1936, p. 2, col. 4, 8 Dec. 1937, p. 4, col. 1; Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 29 July 1938, p. 5, col. 3; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 8 April 1938, p. 7, col. 2.

¹²²Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 12 Nov. 1936, p. 8, col. 4, 20 April 1939, p. 1, col. 1. The Giddings newspaper began in September 1939 to print large pictures of the United States flag and urged its subscribers to show their loyalty by displaying the stars and stripes. Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 4 March 1938, p. 4, col. 1.

¹²³Texas Herold, 12 Aug. 1937, p. 4, col. 4, 14 Sept. 1939, p. 8, col. 1.

¹²⁴Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 30 June 1938, p. 8, col. 2, 9 Feb. 1939, p. 7, col. 5; Freie Presse für Texas, 12 June 1936, p. 1, col. 1, 8 Oct. 1937, p. 4, col. 1, 18 March 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 1 Sept. 1939, p. 8, col. 2.

¹²⁵Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 22 Oct. 1936, p. 9, col. 1, 25 Nov. 1937, p. 8, col. 4, 14 July 1938, p. 10, col. 3, 31 Aug. 1939, p. 5, col. 3; Freie Presse für Texas, 23 Oct. 1936, p. 4, col. 1, 8 Oct. 1937, p. 4, col. 1.

¹²⁶Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 22 Oct. 1936, p. 9, col. 1, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 6, col. 1; Freie Presse für Texas, 2 Oct. 1936, p. 4, col. 1.

¹²⁷Freie Presse für Texas, 30 July 1937, p. 1, col. top of front page, 18 March 1938, p. 4, col. 4.

¹²⁸Ibid., 9 April 1938, p. 4, col. 4, 9 April 1938, p. 7, col. 2, 20 Jan. 1939, p. 3, col. 4.

¹²⁹Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 9 Dec. 1938, p. 12, col. 7; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 17 Jan. 1937, p. 1, col. 3;

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¹³⁰Das Wochenblatt of Austin, 3 June 1938, p. 4, col. 2; Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung, 21 Oct. 1937, p. 8, col. 4; Freie Presse für Texas, 30 Oct. 1936, p. 6, col. 3, 25 Feb. 1938, p. 8, col. 2, 24 March 1939, p. 1, col. 2; Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 17 Jan. 1937, p. 1, col. 3; Fredericksburger Wochenblatt, 10 Feb. 1937, p. 6, col. 4; Texas Herold, 9 June 1938, p. 5, col. 6, 27 July 1939, p. 2, col. 3.

¹³¹Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt, 17 Jan. 1937, p. 1, col. 3; Texas Herold, 31 Aug. 1939, p. 8, col. 2.

¹³²Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, The Plot Against the Peace: A Warning to the Nation (New York: Dial Press, 1945), p. 193.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The majority of the German-American immigrants came to Texas between 1840 and 1917. Many of these people brought with them their love of Germany and a belief in democratic liberalism. These views helped greatly to determine the character and activities of these people in their adopted homeland.

Belief in liberty, freedom, and democracy were so strong that many of the early German immigrants even sought to create their own independent, liberal German state by supporting and sponsoring colonization programs. German noblemen like Prince Solms von Braunfels and Johann von Meusebach actively supported such projects. Yet the Germans failed in their attempts to establish a separate state due in part to the heavy influx of non-German settlers who continually poured into Texas during the nineteenth century.

The German settlers were held together through their common German heritage; that is, by their Volkstum. It was their Volkstum which gave them a sense of identity and caused the Germans of Texas to maintain their love and devotion to the Fatherland, their German Church, and their German-language newspapers.

Assimilation finally destroyed Deutschtum with its political connotation, and German-American parents became principally concerned with the preservation of the German cultural heritage. They were aided in their task by the German-language newspaper, which informed the German-American community of local, state, and national news, as well as news from the Fatherland. Nevertheless, with an increase in English-language reading materials in these areas, some children of German descent began to lose their German language. Assimilation was also aided because the German-American parent often taught his child to speak the language but neglected to teach him how to read or write it. Some newspapers were forced to print articles in the English language and with English lettering for fear of losing many of their subscribers, who were unable to read the German fraktur script in which many of the German-language newspapers had been printed. Nevertheless, Deutschtum was able to survive the early assaults of the assimilation process.

German clubs, German singing and athletic societies, and German radio hours, all helped to maintain the spirit of Deutschtum. They played a very important part in providing entertainment and fellowship to every German-American community and also provided activities for youth and stressed the importance of maintaining language and culture.

With the beginning of the First World War, some German-Americans openly expressed their pro-German sentiment, but the presence of extreme jingoist feelings in many areas of Texas, forced many German-Americans to tone down their views or else face persecution and discrimination. Those who remained outwardly pro-German were beaten or even murdered upon occasion. As a result of anti-German feeling, some German-Americans even anglicized their names. Anti-German hysteria resulted in laws forbidding the teaching and speaking of the German language, bringing about a drastic setback for Deutschtum. The German government had sought to win over the predominately German sections of the country, but ultimately failed to win them for the Kaiser.

German-Americans had hoped that the United States might remain neutral, but this was not to be so. Eventually the United States entered the war on the side of the allied powers, and the majority of German-Americans followed their newly adopted homeland, although reluctantly, into war against Germany. Yet in spite of a world war and despite the drastic setbacks caused by regulatory laws against the use of the German language and against immigration, Deutschtum somehow managed to survive.

After the First World War, German-Americans, angered over the Treaty of Versailles and measures they considered unjust to Germany, stubbornly set out to help relatives and friends in the

depressed areas of Germany. Churches and various organizations, both inside and outside the German-American community, aided them in these efforts. In addition, the German-language press, which had decreased in number due to strict governmental regulations and financial problems, supported such efforts and attacked injustices against Germany. The German-language newspapers also attempted to create a new image of the German-Americans by seeking to eliminate such derogatory remarks as "Hun" and to restore good relations with the non-German community. Because of such efforts the German language once again reappeared in the secondary schools, universities, churches, and organizations in the state. Nevertheless, the First World War had gravely diminished the power of Deutschtum as the assimilation process had made large gains in many areas during the war years. German-Americans, however, were greatly concerned about their old Fatherland and hoped conditions would improve so that Germany could recover her dignity and rejoin the family of nations.

With the rise of National Socialism, many German-language newspapers were reluctant to state their opinions on the Hitler regime during the early 1930's. They remembered too well the anti-German feeling and the harassment they had endured during the First World War. Yet newspapers like the Freie Presse für Texas of San Antonio eventually led the way and printed the text of

many of the speeches made by the Nazi orators of the period. This newspaper favored many of Hitler's views, but changed its position after 1935 due to pressures within the German-American community and federal investigations of Nazi activities conducted at that time. Other newspapers followed the example set by the Freie Presse and stressed that indeed Hitler had much of value to say, but they still would not venture a strong opinion in favor of the National Socialist cause.

Because of the continued existence of Deutschtum in the predominately German areas of Texas, the Nazis became extremely interested in these communities and included them in their plans for world domination. They hoped they could win these communities to their banner and perhaps establish a fifth column movement within the United States itself, as they had done in Czechoslovakia and other areas. For this reason, they viewed with interest the German-language newspapers and those communities which they believed still held sympathies for the Fatherland.

However, the National Socialists failed in their attempts to win the majority of German-Americans to the swastika. They misinterpreted the feelings of the German-Americans and failed to listen to men such as Hans Dieckhoff, the German ambassador to the United States, who appeared to understand the loyalty of the German-Americans of Texas to the United States and their attitudes

towards the National Socialist government. The National Socialists instead, listened to the advice of those who apparently knew little about the areas or had allowed rivalries between various Nazi overseas agencies to interfere with their plans to win such areas to National Socialism. The Nazis still believed they could win Texas Germans with the same strategy that had worked in Austria or Czechoslovakia. If German-Americans in the state had maintained their culture as a separate way of life, as German minorities had done in European areas, the Nazis might have been more successful, but such was not the case. Men like Dieckhoff had warned them that a large number of Texas Germans were descendants of those who had fled Germany in the 1840's because they were advocates of liberalism, tolerance, and freedom. Furthermore if the Nazis were to succeed at all in Texas, they would have had to consider political, denominational, and geographical divisions. This would have allowed them to understand the people and geography of Texas and at the same time would have enabled them to plan their strategy for infiltrating the German-American communities. The German government had indeed carried on intensive studies of German-language newspapers and German communities but had appeared to learn nothing of the customs and attitudes of the areas studied. Some Nazi consular officials even stressed the need for more visits by high-ranking Nazi officials in order to prove to the Germans of Texas that the

Fatherland was truly interested in them. The failure of the German government to inform itself properly resulted in its not understanding the German-Americans. The fact was that Nazi representatives were at times too open, and at other times too subtle in their attempts to win converts to National Socialism. They also failed to realize that they had to sell themselves before they could influence anyone into joining their movement or accepting their ideals. They also failed to realize that pro-Nazi literature, speeches, and films were not enough to win over areas such as Texas. For these reasons the majority of German-American organizations were very little affected by Nazi infiltration.

The policies of the German government against the Jews and on the Church question and Reich-German financial support of such pro-Nazi organizations as the Stahlhelm and the pro-Nazi Texas Herold eventually split the German-American community. Thus, while the Nazis managed to maintain a foothold in Texas, they failed to extend themselves very far. Their failure, coupled with the assimilation process, forced the Nazis to settle for the only path open to them, isolationism.

The German-American of Texas had always regarded Germany as his spiritual home. During the First World War he had been forced to choose temporarily between two loyalties. Yet not until the Second World War did he make his final decision, and it

was the Nazi regime which finally forced the German-American to cut his ties with the old country. Although many saw some good in the Nazi revolution prior to 1935, the majority of the German-Americans looked upon the Nazis as extremists after that period and foresaw that their policies would lead only to war and the destruction of freedom. They also began to identify Hitler and National Socialism with persecution, militarism, intolerance, and autocracy, the very reasons why their forefathers had fled Germany almost a hundred years before.

Because of growing hostility to Nazi policies, the German language once again became less popular in the schools and universities and the German-language newspapers began to disappear one by one as a result of the Second World War. Eventually only the Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung remained. The Nazis had truly contributed to the final decline of Deutschtum in Texas, although a German cultural presence continued to exist in some German-American areas.

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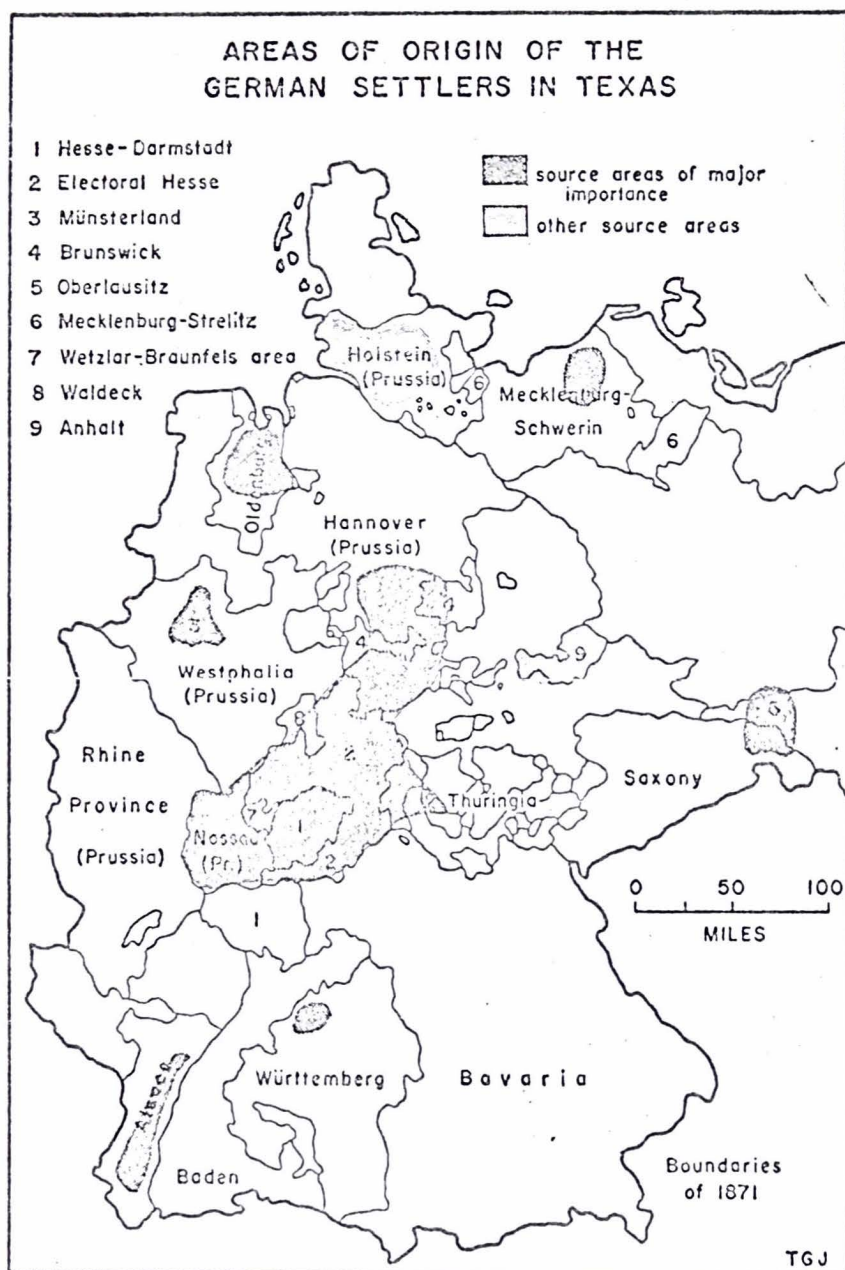
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APPENDIX I

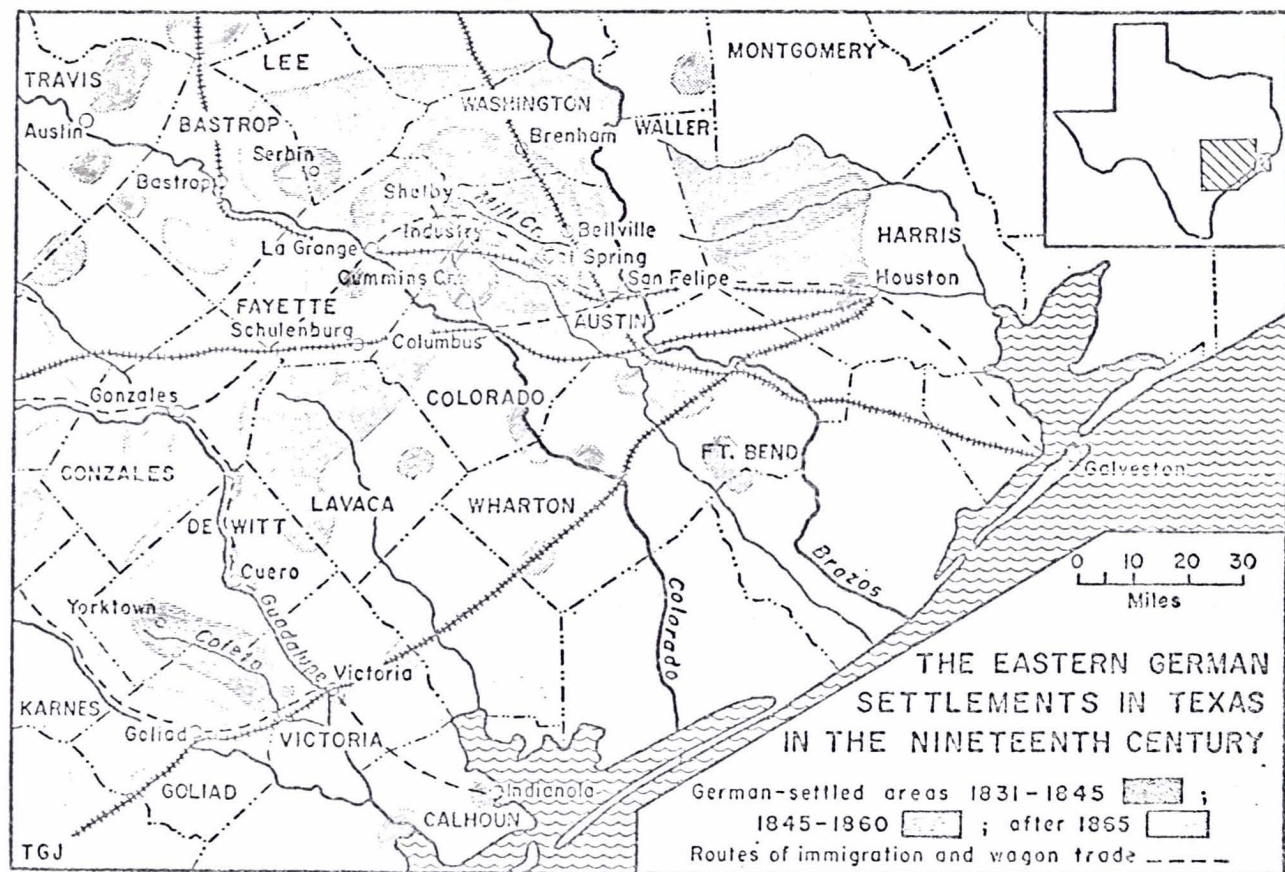
MAPS

MAP I



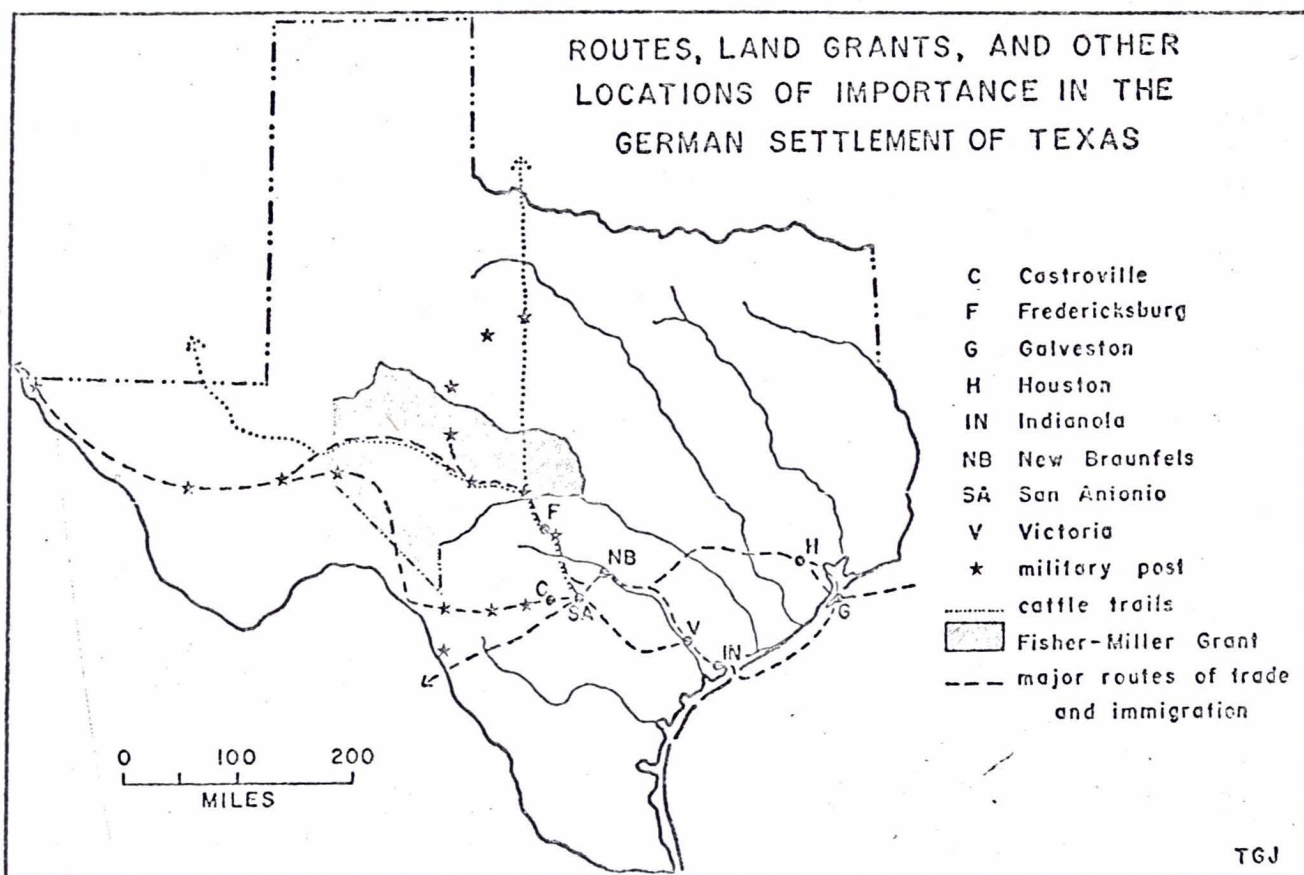
¹ Terry G. Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 32.

MAP II



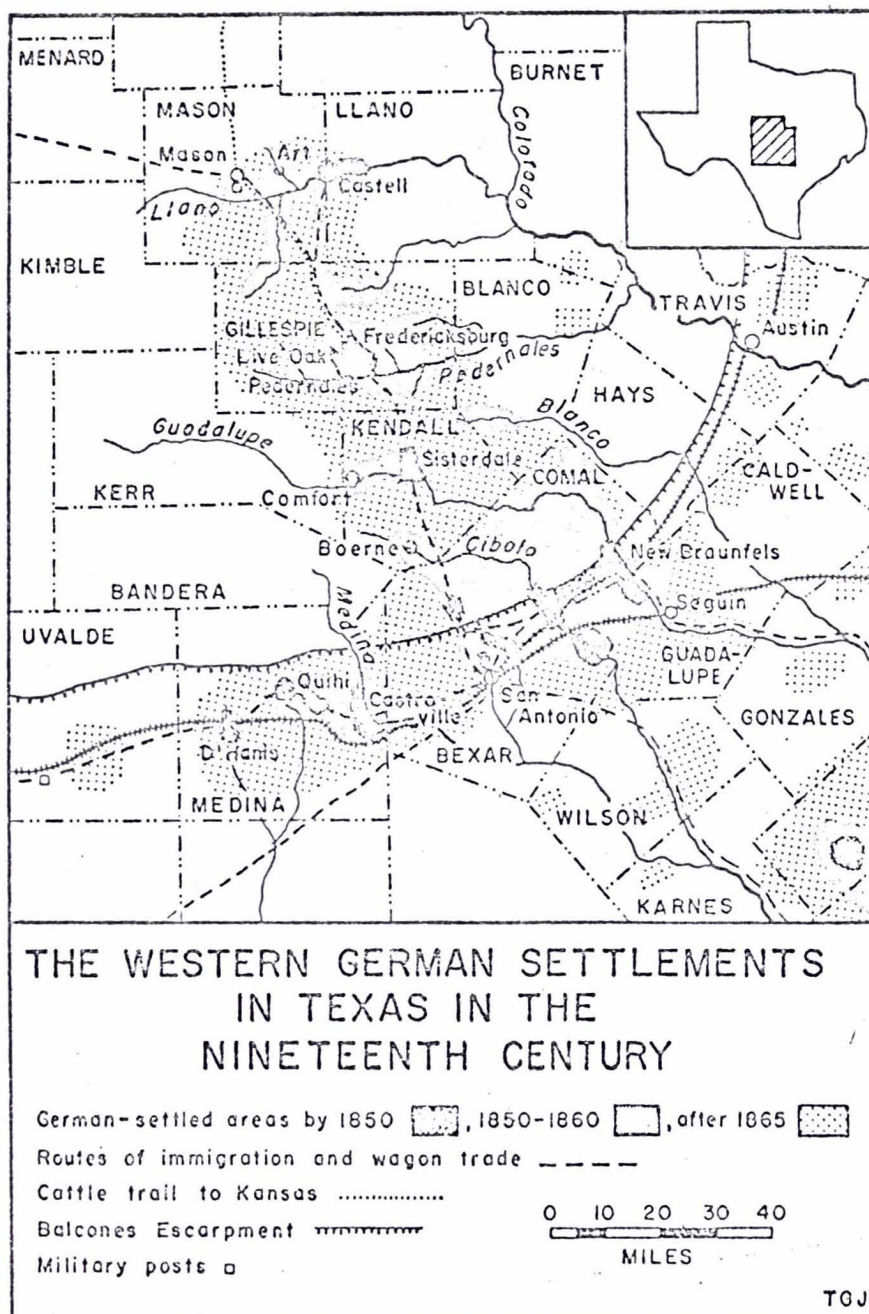
² Ibid., p. 42.

MAP III



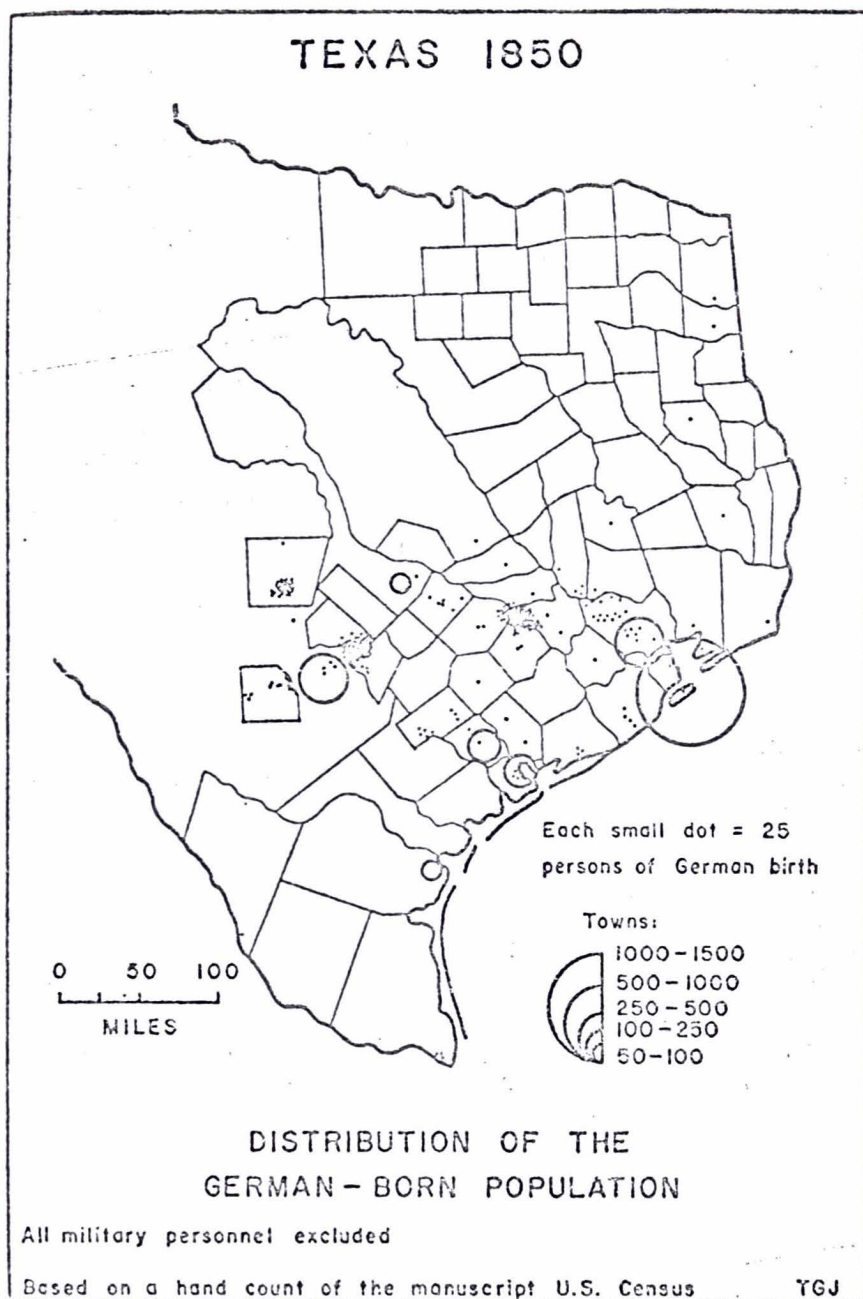
³ Ibid., p. 44.

MAP IV



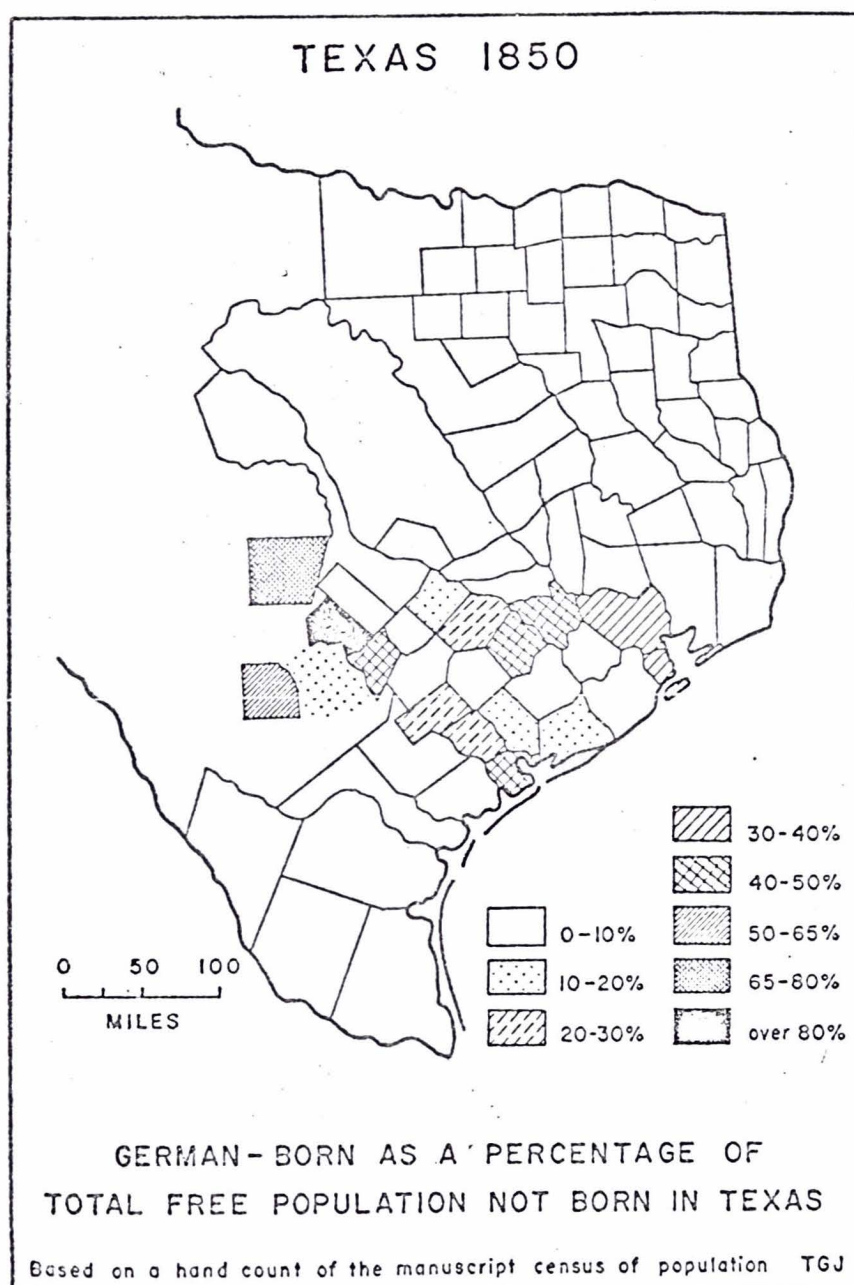
⁴Ibid., p. 46.

MAP V



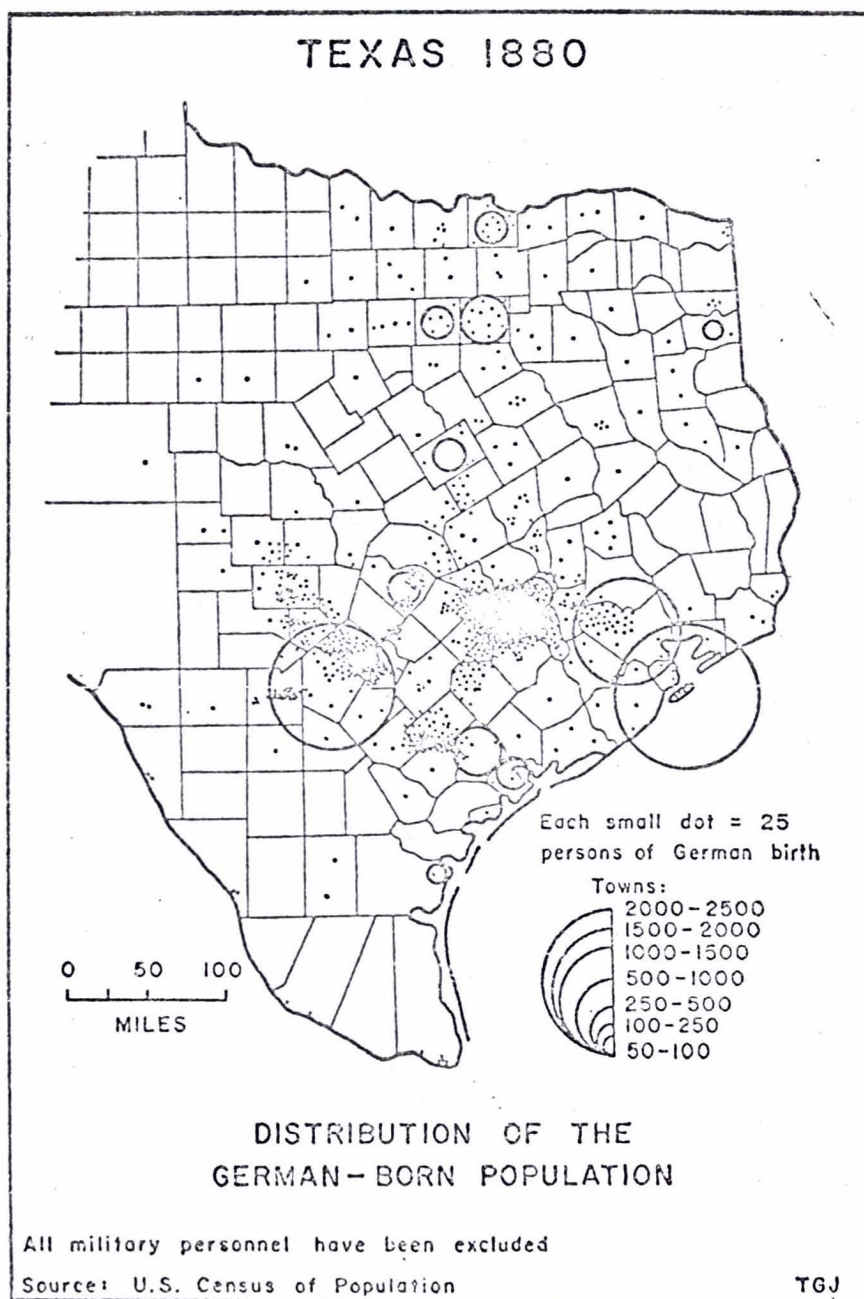
⁵ Ibid., p. 49.

MAP VI



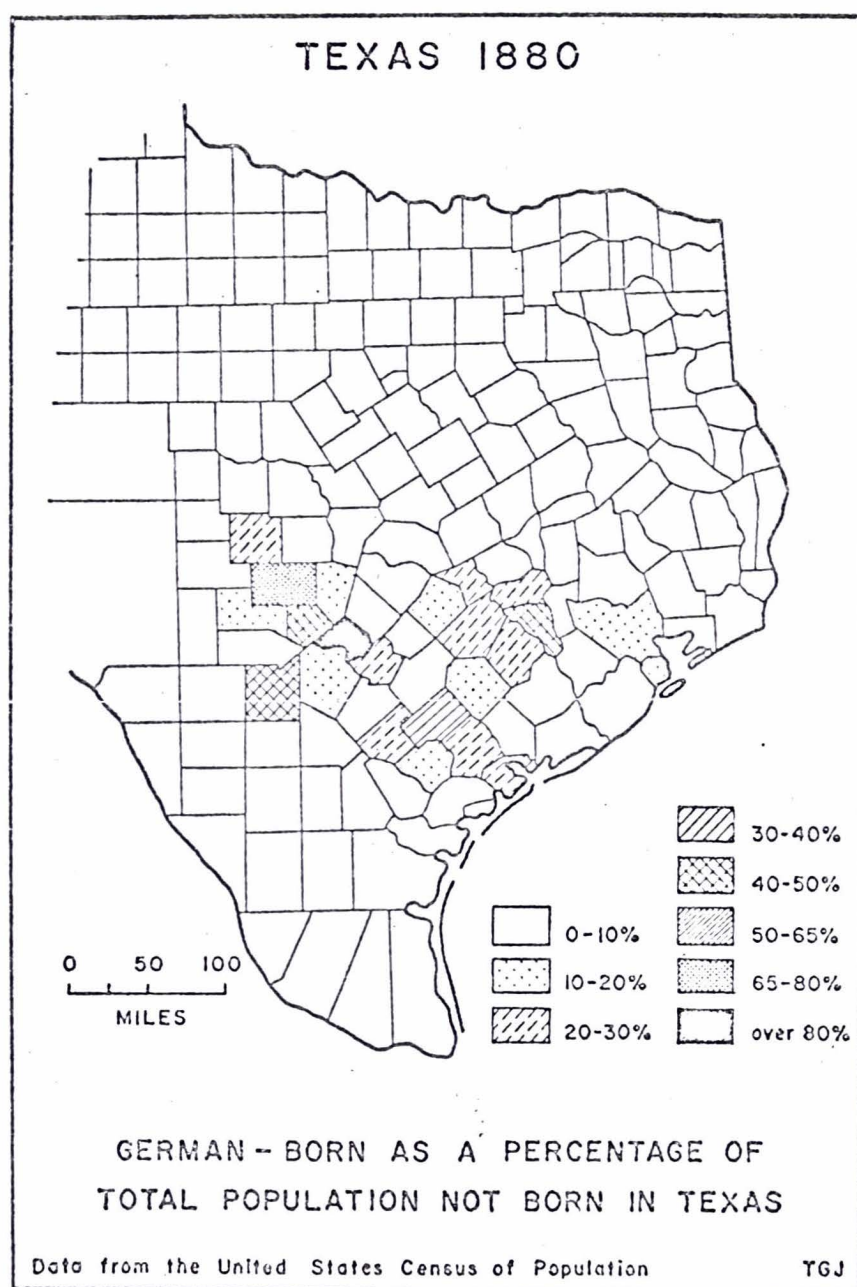
⁶Ibid., p. 51.

MAP VII



⁷Ibid., p. 56.

MAP VIII



⁸Ibid., p. 58.

APPENDIX II

CHARTS

CHART I

THE NUMBER OF GERMAN- LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS AND
PERIODICALS OF TEXAS PUBLISHED FROM 1892-1952

Date	Number of Newspapers and Periodicals
1892	18
1897	28
1902	27
1907	29
1912	25
1914	26
1917	21
1919	15
1922	16
1927	12
1932	9
1937	8
1942	6
1947	2
1952	1

¹T. Herbert Etzler, "German - American Newspapers in Texas with Special Reference to the Texas Volksblatt 1877-1879," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, April 1954, p. 428.

CHART II
THE MAJOR GERMAN- LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS OF
TEXAS AND THEIR CIRCULATIONS

Name of Newspaper	Date	Circulation	
<u>Das Wochenblatt of Austin</u>	1910	2400 (est.)	
Aug. 5, 1909-1940 ?	1935	2851	
Weekly Newspaper	1940	3167	
<u>Fredericksburger Wochenblatt</u>	1878	400	
Oct. 1877- Dec. 1945	1890	850	
Weekly Newspaper	1900	1100	
	1905	1300	
	1915	2250	
	1922	2000	
	1930	2650	
	1940	2600	
	1945	775	
<u>Freie Presse fur Texas</u>	1870	2000 (est.)	
July 15, 1865-Oct. 28, 1945	1880	3500	500 daily
Weekly & Daily Newspaper	1890	9000	850 daily
	1900	7800	800 daily
	1910	7400	790 daily
	1915	9072	
	1925	12000	
	1930	9360	
	1940	12000	
<u>Giddings Deutsche Wochenblatt</u>	1905	515	
Oct. 8, 1899-Sept. 15, 1949	1910	500	
Weekly Newspaper	1920	800	
	1930	950	
	1940	600	
	1944	475	

² Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, Deutsche-Amerikanische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften 1732-1955: Geschichte und Bibliographie: German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), pp. 616, 620, 623, 628.

CHART III

Name of Newspaer	Date	Circulation
<u>Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung</u> Nov. 12, 1852-1954 Weekly Newspaper	1870	400
	1875	680
	1880	700
	1890	1500
	1900	1500
	1910	2000
	1915	2250
	1925	4000
	1933	4000
	1940	3765
	1944	3755
	1948	3308
	1954	2887
<u>Taylor Herold</u> Dec. 19, 1892-1936 Weekly Newspaper	1900	920
	1910	800
	1920	825
	1930	1200 (est.)
<u>Waco Post</u> Dec. 1891-1936 Weekly Newspaper	1900	800
	1910	700
	1913	912
	1920	1250
	1930	7290
	1935	4890
<u>Texas Herold</u> (Taylor Herold & Waco Post merger in 1936) Weekly Newspaper	1940	2400

³ Ibid., pp. 630, 634, 635.

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