

BOTH HITLER AND JIM CROW:  
LOST CAUSES AND IMAGINED FUTURES  
IN INTERWAR BAVARIA AND  
THE NEW SOUTH, 1919-1939

by

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(Under the Direction of JOHN H. MORROW, JR.)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the complicated interplay of white supremacist thought, nationalist politics, and segregationist impulses that influenced everyday whites to support racial hierarchies. The Jim Crow South and Third Reich won support by making a variety of appeals to the realization of privileged and stable futures that everyday people hoped to achieve. *Both Hitler and Jim Crow* puts the U.S. South into conversation with the south-German state of Bavaria as two sites that had thoroughly realized racialized inequality. Many reasons justify the combination of Lost Cause and Lederhosen that drives this work, but their shared identification as distinct, unreconstructed, and therefore exceptional in comparison to their larger national cultures fostered a sense of entitlement to a desirable future that made everyday white Bavarians and white Southerners more susceptible to the pervasive segregationist ideology of the Interwar Era.

During the years of 1919 to 1939, everyday white Southerners and Bavarians clung to their perceived uniqueness, believing it provided them the advantages necessary to achieve their desired future. *Both Hitler and Jim Crow* unearths a transnational system of future expectations

that everyday whites passionately internalized that provided the basis for forming, maintaining, and advancing racist cultures predicated on exclusion, oppression, and violence. This dissertation explores the formation, nature, manipulation, and consequences of these expectations as they existed individually in the U.S. South and Bavaria. While each phase of these expectations differed in their specifics, everyday white expectations in both the U.S. South and Bavaria ultimately supported conceptions of tradition, privilege, and entitlement that operated at the foundation of the everyday enforcement and promotion of Jim Crow and the Third Reich. This work ultimately contends that everyday whites in Bavaria and the U.S. South of the Interwar Era adopted intense expectations for stable futures that left them susceptible to white supremacist messaging and nationalist politicians who mobilized these expectations to advance their own agendas, agendas that radicalized beyond bifurcated racial societies. Nonetheless, in trading their common decency in exchange for attaining a stable and privileged future, everyday whites made themselves complicit in vast systems of systemic inequality and unprecedented brutality.

INDEX WORDS: Racism, White Supremacy, Transnational History, Nazi Germany, Jim Crow, Segregation, Heritage, Future, Memory, Bavaria, U.S. South, Ku Klux Klan, Nazi Party, Eugenics, Suffrage, Lost Cause, Lederhosen, Nationalism.

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2019

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the countless victims of racial discrimination past, present, and future.

The mechanisms of inequality highlighted in these pages are far from unique to the Interwar World (1919-1939). Expectations of the future, both good and bad, have long drawn people to support prejudiced systems and agendas not only to the detriment of their own self-interests, but, more importantly, in contradiction to their own humanity.

The future, like our present, is filled with untold and unlimited potential. We can all be kinder to one another and, only together, will we succeed.

This work is also dedicated to Joan and Joe, my grandparents, and Steven, my best friend.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every dissertation is a journey, one filled the love of family, the support of colleagues, the drama of the field, the many frustrations of life within capitalism, and a constant stream of clichés. I would be remiss to not acknowledge the numerous people who played meaningful roles in the construction of this work. Many unnamed people proved vital at various ups and downs that constituted *Both Hitler and Jim Crow*. Below is just a small sample of people who I am in debt to for their kindness, encouragement, and warmth over the long and arduous journey to complete this work. To everyone else, thank you for your contributions both big and small. They are all appreciated.

To begin, I must thank the Amanda and Greg Gregory for their generosity that funded significant segments of this ambitious transnational endeavor. I also want to express gratitude to the United Holocaust Memorial Museum for its support and repeated interest in my work. Additional thanks must be given to the University of Georgia Graduate School and History Department, The Wilson Center, the Virginia Historical Society, and the Berlin Seminar in Transnational European Studies for their financial contributions to this project and my broader academic career. Without their support I would never have been able to assemble the diverse materials necessary for this work. Thank you for your repeated assistance and kindnesses. I hope to pay it all forward.

A dissertation puts you in contact with numerous people outside of the profession who become essential to your project, career, and experience. In that spirit I would like to first thank Laurie Kane who has proven time and again to be so truly helpful, knowledgeable, and essential that she

assuredly holds up LeConte Hall through sheer force of her genuine strength of character. I would also like to thank Barbara Christopher; her constant kind soul frequently lifted my spirits. I also want to thank Cilla Cartwright, Timothy Cheek, Bobbi Snodgrass, Sharon Cabe, and Sheila Barnett for helping me navigate the variety of red tape and bureaucracy one must face in the process of earning a doctorate. Thanks to you all - the bureaucracy never won out.

Assembling this work involved visiting sixteen archives spread over two continents over years. In the process I have met many archivists who have all treated me with the utmost kindness. They have my gratitude and respect for allowing me access as I swiftly went through small pamphlets, brochures, massive collections, troubling writings, and so much more. I also appreciated the curious, probing questions about my projects in effort to make sure someone with a distinctly German surname pulling Klan and Nazi material did not himself support white supremacy. I particularly want to thank Herr Florian Schmidt for introducing me to Hans and Erna Schnabrich; he did not need to extend me such a kindness as they were not part of my research agenda, but now they have become key elements of this project.

Over the span of my doctoral work I have had the opportunity to meet a wide range of fellow graduate students whose work has never ceased to amaze me. Over the past eight years I have laughed and commiserated with my fellow scholars and friends at the various steps of earning an MA, PhD, and attempting to acquire gainful employment. To name and thank all of you in the flowery rhetoric you deserve would be an exhaustive endeavor, one longer than the dissertation in front of you. I hope we all find success in this world, whatever that may look like.



Many faculty beyond my committee deserve recognition for making profound impacts on my career and helping shape the academic I am at present. Outside of my department I want thank Jake Newsome, Kierra Crago-Schneider, Martin Kagel, and Nicholas Allen for their significant contributions to my broader academic career. I'd like to thank Reinaldo Román and Dan Rood for their help as Graduate Coordinators allowing me to excel and maximize my opportunities within this department. Brian Drake, thank you for your enthusiasm, energy, and kindness. I learned a lot about being an educator and person from you. Jennifer Palmer, thank you for constantly advocating for me and for providing an academic model of excellence to strive towards. Ben Ehlers, thank you for your personalized email so long ago welcoming me to the History Department and for the many opportunities you helped me realize over these past six years. And to Steve Soper thank you for your constant guidance, support, and treating me very early on as a colleague and friend.

To my committee, each of you have made meaningful contributions to this work and my academic career. To Jim Cobb, thank you for pointing me in the direction of this topic; it is important work and I cannot imagine having pursued it without your guidance and help. Hopefully I don't sound too much like a stuffed shirt. To Scott Nelson, thank you for your suggestion of the Future as an analytical lens. Your advice, in addition to the variety of guidance you have provided, helped crystallize many thoughts and observations I have made in this work. To Stephen Fritz, thank you for taking yet another key step with me on this academic career. To earn your approval on my work gives me hope that perhaps I can achieve half of your success, a therefore be unbelievably accomplished. To Jake Short, I want to thank you for the kindness of your intellect. When I was seeking out PhD programs a return to UGA was my top choice in part

because I felt that if, by the end of my doctoral program, I could maintain a semi-coherent conversation with you, I could succeed anywhere. I feel I have accomplished that much, and this work, my knowledge, and my career are stronger from having known you. And to John Morrow: words cannot appropriately convey the depth of my appreciation for your help over the many years we have known one another. It has been a long road, but perseverance has won out and your support has been key. Thank you for everything, absolutely everything. It has been an honor.

Friends and family make life in a doctoral program far more palatable and to this constantly growing group I owe a lot of thanks and appreciation, far more than can be conveyed in this moment. I want to thank all of the Angermeiers, Richiers, Gunters, Gatess, Daughertys, Baileys, Durkins, Kims, Brizendines, Jefferses, Jameses, Greenlees, Greenes, Peteri, Bradleys, Patels, Andersons, Sammonsese, Enriquezes, Newells, and so many others for oh so much that I struggle to fully convey.

I want to thank Dana and Sherryl Richier for their constant support, encouragement, respect, and for welcoming me into their home.

To my Grandparents, Joe and Joan Angermeier, the act of you meeting, falling in love, and starting a family over sixty years ago has brought so much life and love into this world. You are owed a lot and this work operates as a just a small part of a vast legacy you have perpetuated.

To my mother Debbie Angermeier, thank you so much for your constant support. You made the silly, but perfect decision to encourage your son to pursue whatever dream he wanted, even one as crazy as this. I owe you more than I can say. Always know that you are appreciated and valued.

To my sister, Taylor Baird, it was a pleasure to share Athens while I started working on my doctorate and you finished your undergraduate degree. Many factors pulled me back to Athens, but the chance to spend more time with you made the decision all the easier. I am proud to know you and look forward to all of your future accomplishments.

I need to thank my wife, Dr. Leah Richier. you became part of my life as I began the doctoral program and quickly became integral to my life, happiness, and career. You suggested I take Jim Cobb's Southern History course despite my then-staunch Europeanist identity. You accompanied me on my first trip to Germany, helping me navigate the ins and outs of Bavaria. You brought me to Lexington, Virginia where I wrote my Lost Cause chapter within eyesight of Stonewall Jackson's resting place. You are an amazing, constant source of inspiration and wonder. Without a doubt you are my favorite person. Thank you, Leah, for being you.

To close, I want to thank Joseph Angermeier, Sr. and Franziska Engel who, as newlyweds in their mid-twenties, left Bavaria and sought a life in the United States, arriving in Baltimore, Maryland in 1888. A doctorate is a generational endeavor, and I hope I have helped further validated that decision made so long ago. This dissertation is personal in many ways, but the

opportunity to get in touch with my familial homeland of Bavaria as a transplanted Yankee-turned-Southerner has been special.

Thank you to everyone past and present who shaped this work.

It has absolutely been a team effort.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction: Lost Cause and Lederhosen

#### **Heritage not Hate**

On October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1837, Eilenburg, Prussia witnessed the likely unremarkable birth of musician Herman Frank Arnold. The son of a music professor, Arnold grew up with a love of music and a talent for composition. In 1854, at barely seventeen years old, he joined a small orchestra that aspired to be the “first European orchestra ever to arrive on American soil.”<sup>1</sup> It did not take long into his American tour for Arnold to decide he would not be returning to Prussia. Arnold favored the U.S. South, settling in Memphis, Tennessee, a town now famous for music. Arnold used the site to build a small musical career catering to a predominantly Southern fanbase. His performances mostly occurred in small venues, where he performed for audiences up and down the eastern seaboard. As if he lived inside a cliché, Arnold’s path to fame began on a famously cold night in New York City, in the winter of 1859.

That evening, Arnold heard a performance from Dan Emmett, “the famous Ohio Minstrel,” who performed “his own impromptu and improvised air.”<sup>2</sup> Arnold became obsessed with one of Emmett’s numbers, immediately scrawling out its notes and lyrics on the very wall he leaned against. When asked later about the song, Arnold claimed it reminded him “of an old German hymn [he] had heard many times in his childhood.”<sup>3</sup> The two men did not formally meet that evening, both going their separate ways until a later concert in Montgomery, Alabama,

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<sup>1</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Mrs. L.E. Fisher, *The Story of How “Dixie” Was Set to Music*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 8.

where Arnold found out he and Emmett had both been booked to perform. At the intermission, a determined Arnold introduced himself and insisted that Emmett hum the tune from his New York performance. Steadily, Arnold turned Emmett's melodies into a musical score, something the improvisational Emmett had never done.

In 1861, Jefferson Davis, the newly minted President of the Confederate States of America, planned his inauguration ceremony, the very first of the new Confederacy. Montgomery, Alabama would be the first capital of this new nation. Having installed his own White House in a bustling southern city, Davis wanted to lend further legitimacy to his rebel government by ensuring his inauguration would be remembered as the social event of the season. Music being a vital component of any Southern soiree, Davis hired Arnold, whose songs featured prominently on most ears in this new Confederate capital. Arnold felt the pressure to perform, understanding the importance of the moment. His wife suggested he play Emmett's tune, which had, in the past two years, gained popularity throughout the South. Arnold agreed and so, when the Confederacy swore in its first President, Arnold played that song, providing the confederacy its very own anthem. Arnold's song, "Dixie," became a Southern institution, forever associated with the romantic visions of the Confederacy, the South's most significant lost cause. On various occasions white Southerners have long trotted out "Dixie" to identify their own exceptional superiority, believing that no matter what ills they faced, nothing could destroy their Southern way of life. Debutante balls, football games, Civil War reenactments, parades, and a vast cavalcade of other events prominently featured "Dixie" in an attempt to tap into the glorified memories of a South before defeat and Reconstruction. That said, before the most Southern song in the world had earned that distinction, it had been performed by an Ohio minstrel, in New York City, and composed by a Prussian musician.



In 1930, Mrs. L.E. Fisher wrote the above history, published as a pamphlet no larger than thirteen pages, one of which included the original version of Dixie as sung by Dan Emmett in New York City. This small history carries firm value, although not as an accurate charting of the historical record. For example, Fisher included a genealogy of Arnold's wife that claimed she descended from Napoleon Bonaparte. While not necessarily false, the claim that her father shared a boat to America with Marshall Ney leaves a lot to be desired; for one, such a trip would have involved Ney dodging his famous 1815 execution. Further doubt can be cast, however, as Mrs. L.E. Fisher served as the president of the Asheville, North Carolina Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a vast Southern enterprise that specialized in perpetuating idealized versions of the Confederacy. The UDC, as her organization was called, developed countless glorified histories that romanticized the Old South while whitewashing the institution of slavery. Despite this philosophy, Mrs. L.E. Fisher could be considered a pioneer far ahead of her years; in many ways her pamphlet heralded applying the transnational lens to U.S. Southern and German history. She laid out a history of Herman Frank Arnold, citizen of Prussia who moved to the U.S. South and became the originator of that region's most famous ballad. Fisher wrote a transnational narrative that briefly compared a beloved Southern tune with "German hymns." More importantly it stumbled, however accidentally, on a profound connection between U.S. Southern and German cultures, one that remains under-explored in the historical profession.

That is not to say that other historians have not transnationally engaged the U.S. South and Germany. In 1989, John Haag noticed an interesting overlap in Southern and German fascination with a novel that, by 1937, flew off German and Southern bookstore shelves at breakneck pace. Within two days, Germans purchased twelve thousand copies, a staggering number made more impressive by the fact that the book exceeded one thousand pages. This tome

offered Germans a chance to transport themselves to an era of the German past that relied on “a wonderful, strictly regulated life.”<sup>4</sup> Reviewers praised the book not only for glorifying the past, but for highlighting the problems that weighed on the present: “madness, war profiteering, inflation, license, partisan conflicts, [and] of sweeping disintegration.”<sup>5</sup> The novel spoke to Germans facing their own adjustments to an ever-changing world aggravated by the confusion of defeat and the pain of peace. The book, *Vom Winde verweht*, was originally published in the U.S. on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1936 under the title *Gone with the Wind*.<sup>6</sup>

Scarlett O’Hara’s effort to seize stability in a tumultuous, unrecognizable Georgia turned upside down by Civil War and Reconstruction captivated German readers who, fewer than two decades earlier, experienced their own catastrophic defeat. By 1941, 276,900 copies had sold in Germany despite a substantial amount of anti-American criticism from the Nazi government. Why did this paradox persist in Hitler’s Germany? Quite simply, Haag argued, everyday Germans could tell that the U.S. South stood as a distinct, familiar region struggling with its position in the United States of America. The “moonlight and magnolias” picture of the exceptional South attracted German readers, much as it had American readers who bought up the novel faster than presses could issue them. Germans sympathized with the position of the Reconstruction South as they found themselves neither part of Western Europe nor Eastern Europe, long internalizing the notion that German culture remained distinct and special in the heart of the European continent. Both Germans and Southerners fondly reflected on the belief that their homeland, their culture, and their people embodied true exceptionality. That belief has

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<sup>4</sup> Bruno E. Werner, “Der Roman einer Amerikanerin,” *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 20, 1937, morning edition, in John Haag, “Gone with the Wind in Nazi Germany,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 2 (Summer 1989), 282.

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Rasche, “Und Frauen verfassten dies?” *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, October 18, 1937, in John Haag, “Gone with the Wind in Nazi Germany,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 2 (Summer 1989), 283.

<sup>6</sup> John Haag, “Gone with the Wind in Nazi Germany,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 278–304.

long persisted, permeating nationalist discourses in both areas well into the twenty-first century.

Haag's research stumbled on familiar ground for scholars individually studying Germany or the U.S. South: exceptional nationalism. In U.S. Southern history much has been said about the notion of an exceptional South that differentiates itself from the rest of the United States. For German history, historical debate had long pivoted on whether or not Germany was "peculiar" in comparison with the rest of Europe. Transnational history has provided scholars in these fields with very useful tools for highlighting pervasive cultural parity that has long transcended socially constructed national borders. By keeping German historical analysis in conversation with other European experiences, and the U.S. South with other states, German and Southern historians have ruthlessly and copiously rejected notions of exceptionalism adopted throughout the historical record. Scholars seldom tackle exceptionalism academically anymore, having felt an appropriate fatigue for the topic. With a wide-range of controversial and messy topics to study in both fields why waste any breath, much less another three hundred plus pages discussing exceptionalism, which scholars nearly universally agree has no intellectual validity?

Despite exceptionalism's thoroughly weakened state at the academic level, historians of Germany and the U.S. South nonetheless find themselves frequently educating and critiquing the public and politicians who perpetuate racist politics and propaganda based on nationalist exceptionalism. Historians have been further pressed into these battles since the twenty-first century resurgence of white supremacy, right-wing populism, and nationalist politics in the U.S. and Europe. For the purposes of clarity moving forward, nationalism informed by exceptionalism will be referred to as "Heritage." The term better reflects the overlap between regional discourses of Southern nationalism and more national narratives across Germany. Radical racists and their

nationalist political enablers often elevate Heritage to gain credence amongst everyday people by providing them a means to avoid discussions of the ways racial prejudices inform their worldview.

The novel *Gone with the Wind* provides an excellent case in point. The novel is crowded with racial imagery that promoted the status and abilities of southern whites versus southern blacks, however it has been so lumped in with Southern Heritage that many people in the past and present cherish the work without acknowledging its racism. Even the moniker “Southern” has been so maladapted that people often casually use it to mean “white Southerners” ignoring not only the African-Americans who constitute a large and vital part of the U.S. South, but the increasing presence of other people of color that make Dixie their home. Similarly, “German” reads as white, ignoring the diversity of the European Union’s economic powerhouse. Citing a love of a supposedly race-neutral Heritage has allowed many people to argue that their patriotism is devoid of prejudice. This reality is most famously embodied in the phrase “Heritage not Hate,” commonly used in the U.S. South to defend the prevalence of Confederate iconography. Despite flagrant uses of racial stereotypes, exclusionary discrimination, and outright violence against people of color, radical racists, nationalist politicians, and their everyday supporters insist that not only are they not racists, but neither are the institutions, past and present, that have undermined non-white opportunity.

However unlikely it would seem, radical racists and nationalist politicians quickly adopted arguments that society had advanced to a point where white men no longer had to hold leading positions in society. For the sake of clarity moving forward radical racists and nationalist politicians shall be referred to as “Segregationists.” Race scholar Ibram Kendi used the term “Segregationist” to refer to “powerful and brilliant men and women [who] have produced racist

ideas in order to justify the racist policies of their era, in order to redirect the blame for their era's racial disparities away from those policies and onto Black people."<sup>7</sup> In this work Kendi's use of "Segregationist" creates a useful nuance to differentiate racists and political enablers from the everyday people whose prejudiced proclivities are mobilized into support for Segregationist agendas.

In 2005, Germans lauded the rise of Angela Merkel to the Chancellorship as a step towards a more inclusive and elevated society. Similar claims rang throughout the U.S. in the wake of Barrack Obama's 2008 election to the U.S. Presidency, where many people got carried away with dreams of a post-racial society. Segregationists then divided on two fronts, one camp which predictably took umbrage with this new reality and grew to resent these societal advances. Another group welcomed these cases of advancement, as other Segregationists before them had, happy to use an exceptional individual's success to ignore the many institutional hurdles preventing such successes from being regular occurrences. The former community found most of its success online, where digital white supremacy survived and thrived, hiding itself on the fringes of a vast interconnected digital world, steadily enflaming and radicalizing many people across the globe. The latter group continued to maintain presence in civic authority, forwarding racialized identity politics that could simultaneously disadvantage people of color, elevate white opportunity, and say – with straight faces – that they did not have a racist agenda. The 2008 global recession allowed an opportunity for both camps to unite, spreading white supremacist messaging and race-neutral rhetoric that captivated a variety of everyday people who felt alienated from globalism. Heritage offered up an attractive return to national sovereignty as an alternative to globalism. In the U.S. South and Germany, Segregationists issue propaganda and

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<sup>7</sup> Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*, (Nation Books, 2016), 9.

policy that signal to everyday adopters of Heritage that their exceptionalism is not only valid but being undermined. The only means then to maintain Heritage in the face of global assimilation is to adopt their Segregationist policies. Everyday people felt the pressures of the recession and found Segregationist ideas attractive because they both validated Heritage and lent a perceived legitimacy to their own inherited racial and cultural prejudices.

Heritage drove the spread of racial prejudice in the twenty-first century. Historians, seen as arbiters of the past, have been asked to assume a greater responsibility in the public sphere as of late. Various Segregationist movements and the everyday people adopting their messages spread racially-charged rhetoric and policy while refusing to acknowledge the prejudice behind them. The problem for historians, however, is that they deal in a world reliant on historical inference, facts, and well-sourced information, while Segregationist Heritage seldom shares such obligations. *Alternative für Deutschland*, the closest political movement Germany has seen to the Nazi Party since the end of Second World War, published election posters equating their self-identification as a resistance movement to the Order of the White Rose, a group of Munich University students who resisted the Nazis during the Second World War. Ignoring the concept of political realignment and party turnover, the *Alt-Right*, the catchy name given to radical racist internet trolls in the United States, frequently equate the Democratic Party of the 1960s that voted against the Civil Rights Bill with the Democratic Party of the twenty-first century. Faced with opponents who do not fight with reason or logic, historians find themselves, not powerless, but expending far too much energy while hardly making a dent in a growing tide of alienation from the historical record.

Perhaps part of the problem is that historians have spent considerable effort in the twenty-first century trying to argue that Heritage is a social construction. In the U.S. South, that effort

has primarily taken form in the fight over Confederate memorialization made more pronounced by the 2017 A12 white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. In response to the city of Charlottesville's discussion that favored removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee from its prominent position in the city's public park, Emancipation Park, which had once been named Lee Park, white supremacists from across the U.S. marched into this southern city, wielding a confusing amalgamation of Nazi and Neo-Confederate iconography. Such prevalent white supremacist imagery, combined with fatal violence and Nazi marching songs, undermined the previous defense of confederate memorials "Heritage not Hate." In the case of A12, Heritage absolutely meant hate. However, many people throughout the Segregationist network denied the idea that standing up for these monuments – stones that recognized a glorified interpretation of a rebel nation that splintered from the U.S. in the defense of slavery – meant that they were racist. No matter how much effort has been expended combatting the glorification of the Confederacy or the minimization of Nazi racial thought, Segregationist thought has remained relatively unscathed.

Segregationist thought backed by Heritage will not crumble if historians demonstrate its falsities. Radical racists who adopt and value Heritage rely on it to such an extent that to discard it would be equivalent to death. Nationalist politicians remain fully aware of the fictitious nature of Heritage but prop it up to gain political capital. The largest population maintaining Heritage, the everyday people who incorporate Heritage into their worldview, could possibly abandon it, but will not do so in the name of a historical record they could care less about. Accurate history has its uses, but Heritage comes ready with a vast network and community-oriented lexicography that can ameliorate existential problems everyday people face. Until the historical record can

provide everyday people with a more immediately valuable frame of reference, Heritage will provide Segregationist mindsets an enduring space in the public sphere.

This dissertation seeks to understand the how and why behind everyday participation in and endorsement of Segregationists. While the Alt-Right, the *AfD*, Nazis, the KKK, and other Segregationists have roles to play in this work, this history does not center on these dramatic figures. Segregationists have come and gone in the historical record with such frequency that prolonged examination eventually undermines the effort to diminish their standing, lending them further analytical and mental space. They are ephemeral, despite academic and public fascination with their existence. The everyday people who enabled their rise and lent support to their racist agenda, however, have proven far more enduring than the demagogues they followed. This work contends that historians waste their time combatting Heritage by waging factual battles with bad-faith Segregationists. The idea of fighting demagogues in the hopes that the historical record will “trickle down” to the masses has yet to make a lasting impression within everyday racism and the systematic inequality it has long permitted. New tactics are required, ones that deploy a variety of historical lenses to provide a historical context to everyday complicity in racialized inequality. Most important however, the problems of everyday racism must be situated transnationally, in this case emphasizing its prevalence in the U.S. South and Germany, two societies plagued by the legacies and realities of white supremacy.

This dissertation provides historical context for understanding every racism the United States and Germany. Acquiring that context involves looking at the anxious and insecure futures everyday people envisioned for themselves. While a nostalgic past and a dangerous present have often been blamed as mechanics of racism, this dissertation argues that the fraught and unpredictable future many everyday people worry over has long provided a powerful pipeline for



justifying the perpetuation of racist cultures. Take the example of the *AfD*'s 2017 campaign in Germany's national elections where this Segregationist political movement received over twelve percent of Germany's votes. Part of that stunning electoral upset came from mobilizing everyday German desires for a stable and familiar future as well as exacerbating fears over the future's decline. One *AfD* poster featured two women in two-piece bathing suits with the caption "Burkas? We Prefer Bikinis," directly playing on both increased Islamophobia in Germany and concerns over a future devoid of standard gender constructs. In a similar vein, another poster featured a pig with the question "Islam? It does not fit in with our cuisine," a reference to restrictions on the consumption of pork in Islamic religious jurisprudence. The runaway popularity of the Doner Kebab in Germany speaks to how little fear everyday Germans have about the incompatibility of cuisine from Islamic-majority countries. Another poster featured a pregnant white woman lying happily on a picnic blanket with the header: "New Germans? We'll make them ourselves." While causing controversy, this poster campaign and similar *AfD* messaging warning of a future Islamic-driven Germany carried weight amongst everyday white German voters who provided an alarming amount of political legitimacy to the *AfD*'s Segregationist mindset.

While successful, much of the *AfD*'s political messaging did not originate from an inherently German nationalist ideology, but instead came from a white U.S. Southerner with a successful track record of converting fear of a changing future into political capital. The *AfD* hired Harris Media, a Texas-based marketing firm with ample experience in Segregationist political messaging. The firm's founder, Vincent Harris and his team that developed the *AfD*'s controversial posters. Harris had helped the campaigns of Ted Cruz and Donald Trump, assisting

the digital presence of their Segregationist charged political messaging. In Germany, Harris Media wanted to go further at times than the *AfD* was willing, as seen in on episode:

“Above all, though, the advertising professionals make clear to their German clients that far from all Americans are fans of political correctness. One Harris staffer is reported to have asked an *AfD* politician why the party isn't campaigning with "Germany for Germans" as its slogan? It put the *AfD* staffer in an awkward position. Germany for the Germans? No, he said, that's a nationalistic slogan that even the *AfD* would prefer not to use.”<sup>8</sup>

The phrase “Germany for Germans” would actively acknowledge the *AfD*’s true historical ancestors, the Nazi Party which had popularized that slogan in their own bid for power. The U.S. based marketing firm cared little about such problems, having operated in political climate where such nationalist rejections of globalism, diversity, and political correctness often resulted in greater political support, not less. Regardless, the *AfD* and Harris Media’s cooperation demonstrates a major reality at the heart of this work: Everyday white Germans and Southerners shared an affinity for Segregationist messaging that prioritized securing a familiar, white, nationalist future from the clutches of globalism and racialized others.

Make no mistake, historians still hold the key to undermining everyday racism, having engaged the narratives of exceptionalism that operate at the heart of prejudice in countless ways. Understanding the complex forces at the heart of everyday anxiety over the future will hold the key to countering the ways Heritage informs racial prejudice. History remains the best vehicle for such an endeavor because as unique as a 2017 cooperation between Harris Media and the *AfD* or Charlottesville marchers yelling Nazi chants may seem, the overlap between German and Southern racism is by no means new. In fact, their transnational prejudice has a long history. By exploring everyday anxiety of the future historically, we can better understand the features that

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<sup>8</sup> Melanie Amann, “Germany for Germans: U.S. Ad Agency Boosts Right-Wing Populist *AfD*” Melanie Amann Spiegel Online August 30, 2017. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/u-s-ad-agency-boosts-right-wing-populist-afd-a-1164956.html> (accessed April 5, 2019)

have survived to inform twenty-first century intolerance. Establishing a historical context of everyday futures therefore provides scholars useful tools for better comprehending the motivations behind supporting systems of inequality. Before exploring this proposed analysis of historical futures however, it is important to discuss previous historians' efforts to combat Heritage to better differentiate the present endeavor from other valuable scholarly works.

### **A Savage Ideal**

Talking about exceptionalism in any degree must elicit groans throughout the German and Southern historical communities. Take German history. Almost all scholars of Germany are familiar with the *Sonderweg* thesis, the idea that Germany went on a special, divergent path of development from Great Britain and France, who both had socio-political revolutions that Germany did not.<sup>9</sup> Delve deeper and Germanists will come across religious histories discussing the extent to which Protestantism informed Germany's development. The brave soul who tackles that exhaustive scholarship will no doubt come across Catholic histories and their efforts to remind academics that much of southern Germany was in fact rural and Catholic. Digging further into Catholic literature, the German scholar will, to wildly varying extents, find some mention of Catholicism's experience of Nazism. Those debates pivoted on whether Catholicism had a strong impact in the Third Reich or whether it constituted its own *milieu*, an independent culture isolated from and thus not culpable in Nazism's brutality.<sup>10</sup> When looking at

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<sup>9</sup> The Sonderweg thesis will be explored later in this work, but those interested in a solid summation of this vast historical field see Jürgen Kocka, "German History Before Hitler: The Debate about the German Sonderweg," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1988): 3–16.

<sup>10</sup> For *Milieu* Catholic Complicity, see Oded Heilbrunner, "The Place of Catholic Historians and Catholic Historiography in Nazi Germany," *History*, vol. 88, no. 290 (2003): 280–292. O. Heilbrunner, "Catholic Plight in a Rural Area of Germany and the Rise of the Nazi Party," *Social History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1995): 219–234. Michael E. O'Sullivan, "An Eroding Milieu? Catholic Youth, Church Authority, and Popular Behavior in

Catholicism's role in the Holocaust, the determined historian will then fall down the side of a sizable hill containing every scholarly work on complicity and resistance in Nazi Europe. Never recovering from such a tumble, this injured academic will seek to forget why they ever opened a book on German history at all.

Not to be outdone, Southern historians will, at some inevitable point in their career, find themselves pondering, perhaps by choice, the battle between W.J. Cash and C. Vann Woodward over whether the twentieth century South endured significant changes or if nothing had changed from the days of the antebellum South.<sup>11</sup> Supposing one poor soul dared believe that the South had in fact changed, they would undoubtedly try to learn more about the New South that supposedly replaced the antebellum. Said scholars would be disappointed though to find that much of that discussion involves contrasts to the Old South and condemnation of those who uphold continuity. So, they take a new approach and find the New South in smaller histories confined to individual states, cities, and rural communities. Again, disappointment. Those scholars take the New South as a given and spend all too much time trying to assert how the South in their little corner differs from the South in another corner.<sup>12</sup> So, the bedraggled Southern historian will dust off an edited collection hoping that focusing on a specific topic will help make sense of the South, only to come across the much-needed revisionist chapter reminding readers that much of the history written to this point fails to address the South that

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Northwest Germany during the Third Reich, 1933-1938," *The Catholic Historical Review* vol. 90, no. 2 (2004): 236-259.

<sup>11</sup> See W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1941). C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Louisiana State University Press, 1971). Charles W. Eagles, ed., *The Mind of the South: Fifty Years Later* (The University Press of Mississippi, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Urban histories of the New South are considerable, but a few typical histories in this mode include Thomas W. Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Robert H. Gudmestad, "Baseball, the Lost Cause, and the New South in Richmond, Virginia, 1883-1890," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, (1998): 267-300. N. D. B. Connolly, "Timely Innovations: Planes, Trains and the 'Whites Only' Economy of a Pan-American City," *Urban History* 36, no. 02 (August 2009): 243-261.

women, African-Americans, and an increasing number of Asian-Americans and Latinos experienced. In then slamming the collection shut, the Southern historian contemplates the vastness of the universe and reconsiders the value of their efforts. If nothing else, Southern and German historians share the following in common: copiousness, breadth, and a wake of frustrated academics. However, they also share an affinity for questioning the supposed distinctiveness of their respective regions; the effort to combat exceptionalism has defined these historiographies.

Even as *Gone with the Wind* was being written, the U.S. South experienced a Literary Renaissance defined by an outpouring of self-reflection on the South and its bizarre position in the Union it had rebelled against over fifty years prior. Southern authors, most notably William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, and Caroline Gordon, spun Southern yarns that questioned their surroundings while simultaneously glorying in their personal identity struggles. Rejecting this spirit, a group of intellectuals from across the South gathered together and wrote essays in a combined collection published in 1930, titled *I'll Take My Stand*.<sup>13</sup> These authors, famed throughout Southern intellectual history as the Nashville Agrarians, went against critical views of the South espousing a vision of a South bed rocked in agrarian, Old South values. Seen as reactionary by many, challenges arose quickly, none more notorious than the “Chapel Hill Sociologists,” led by Howard W. Odum who published *Southern Regions of the United States*. That work, as well as Rupert Vance’s *Human Geography of the South*, proposed solving the

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<sup>13</sup> Donald Davidson et al, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (Louisiana State University Press, 1930).

South's peculiar problems via modernization. While this debate rolled on, these scholars always asserted, whether an agricultural South or a modern equivalent, that the South was truly unique.<sup>14</sup>

German scholars had long considered Germany a nation without peers. In the 19th century many scholars saw "*Kultur*," the one-word term meant to encapsulate everything distinctly German, as a positive. Germany, settled in the middle of Europe, constituted its own Central European power that contrasted sharply with its neighbors. This positive exceptionality had many proponents noteworthy among them Ernst Troeltsch, a religious scholar who often asserted that Protestantism, particularly the German brand, helped slow down the dangerous forces like liberalism that "jeopardized" the West.<sup>15</sup> Notions of *Kultur* survived in various forms throughout Germany's nineteenth and twentieth centuries heading into World War I. Much is made of the "Spirit of 1914," the exaggerated outpouring of nationalistic enthusiasm for the First World War expressed in dramatic gatherings in a few German cities. While enthusiasm for the war was hardly universal, the belief that Germany was exceptional was only further endorsed in blood spilt on both Western and Eastern Fronts.

Turning the exceptionality argument on its head, intellectuals began to argue that Germany and the U.S. South, while seemingly unique, should not have been so proud of that belief. Directing a thorough criticism of Southern culture, W.J. Cash's *Mind of the South* excoriated the South for sharing with Nazism a "Savage Ideal" that revolved around "binding emotional and intellectual power" to determine "what one must think and say and do."<sup>16</sup> Cash's disdain for German nationalism and Southern worship of antebellum lifestyles represented a

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<sup>14</sup> Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (University of North Carolina Press, 1936). Rupert Bayless Vance, *Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources, and Human Adequacy* (University of North Carolina Press, 1932).

<sup>15</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit Des Christentums Und Die Religionsgeschichte* (Mohr, 1902); Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung Des Protestantismus Für Die Entstehung Der Modernen Welt* (Oldenbourg, 1911).

<sup>16</sup> Cash, *The Mind of the South*, 134.

unique overlap in two academic worlds that have remained fairly separate. On one hand, the Second World War made such cooperation impossible because many white American intellectuals failed to make any meaningful comparison between the Third Reich and the Jim Crow South. On the other hand, the disarray that faced German scholarship trying to find stability in various universities across the world made comparison a low priority.

A multitude of reasons help explain the lack of intellectual curiosity in comparison, but, perhaps most importantly, by 1945 each of these scholarships faced complex issues of their own. The postwar industrial boom forced American scholars to contemplate what a rising U.S. superpower meant for the South. Meanwhile, the African American veterans' "Double Victory" movement, organized to assert a prominent and equal place for African Americans across the nation, further pulled scholarly attention to the U.S.'s individual racial injustices. For Germany, everybody, academic and otherwise, dealt with issues of dictatorship, complicity, global war, and genocide against a backdrop of a devastated nation-state fracturing in the early Cold War. These scholarships did not take glances at one another because they needed all eyes focused on the historical issues at hand. While Cash lamented the similarities between the Third Reich and Jim Crow, most academics focused on two seemingly distinct and presumably unrelated national cultures.

In Germany, scholars sought their answers to how Germans could perpetuate intolerance by establishing the *Sonderweg* thesis. The *Sonderweg* emerged from the writings of Max Weber and Friedrich Engels, who critiqued nineteenth century Germany for failing to bring about a bourgeois revolution akin to those experienced in France and Great Britain. Historians used those arguments to assert that Germany took a unique developmental path from the rest of Western Europe, one that post-1945 historians believed led straight to the Third Reich. This argument

took many different forms as various scholars weighed in on this critical thesis. Ralf Dahrendorf and Fritz Stern pioneered this front, tracing a track of “illiberalism” in Germany.<sup>17</sup> They argued that a distinctly German rejection of the tenets of democracy endured from the nineteenth century that lent credence to Nazism. Hans Ulrich-Wehler defended the *Sonderweg* differently, asserting that an entrenched nobility limited social mobility and access to education to such an extent that the populace had been rendered ripe for Hitler’s fanatical promises.<sup>18</sup> More recently, Paul Rose argued that anti-Semitism, not illiberalism, embodied the special path Germans took from Martin Luther’s anti-Semitic writings all the way to Nazism.<sup>19</sup> While criticizing the determinism that typified the *Sonderweg* school, Jürgen Kocka nonetheless considered the thesis a useful model for explaining the collapse of the Weimar Republic, Germany’s ill-fated government between the World Wars. Unable to forcibly reject the “illiberalism” prevalent throughout the Weimar Republic on both the right and left, the experimental republic, Kocka argued, had enemies on all sides hindering any chance at establishing permanence.<sup>20</sup> Many other scholars have made extensive use of the *Sonderweg* school, but it is important to know that such arguments actually entrenched notions of exceptionality in German historiography that any conversation about German history must reckon with exceptionalism.

The *Sonderweg* school was not without its critics, but few stand out as strongly as David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley. As individual scholars, Blackbourn and Eley found claims that autocracy defined German culture from 1870 forward ridiculous. Rather, Blackbourn asserted that the Kaisers had been shabby absolutists and German courts existed as a strong check on

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<sup>17</sup> Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967); Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: The Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (University of California Press, 1974).

<sup>18</sup> Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire 1871-1918*, trans. Kim Traynor (Berg, 1985).

<sup>19</sup> Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton University Press, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Jürgen Kocka, “Asymmetrical Historical Comparison: The Case of the German *Sonderweg*,” *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (February 1999): 40–50.



institutional power.<sup>21</sup> Eley, taking a different tact, argued that not only did the *Sonderweg* obscure peasants as valuable and varied members of the landed class, it absolutely blunted the rabid diversity found on the right wing of German politics.<sup>22</sup> While these individual assaults were damaging in their own ways, their 1985 combined effort, *The Peculiarities of German History*, thoroughly defined *Sonderweg* criticism. Their contentions were many, but they took particular issue with the notion that Germany alone failed to experience bourgeois revolution.<sup>23</sup> This academic pair particularly resented the idea that the French Revolution and English Civil War somehow constituted “civil” enterprises in comparison to a supposedly “brutal” and “primitive” German experience. Despite penning the consummate critique of the *Sonderweg*, Blackbourn and Eley nonetheless endorsed the idea that Germany was entirely exceptional, but not in a way that necessarily doomed it to the Third Reich. Rather, Germany was exceptional in that its middle and working classes, while not able to throw their weight around politically, left lasting impressions on society in ways that differed from Western and Eastern Europe. Therefore, exceptionality, in this case, remained a good thing.

While many Southerners, white and otherwise, express pride in their uniqueness, their scholars have rarely accepted those sentiments. Recently, historians have increasingly challenged the notion that the South was all that different from the United States at large. Nina Silber argued that heading into the twentieth century the North and South found common ground in the romance of antebellum Southern culture.<sup>24</sup> Silber represented a growing literature of scholars demonstrating Southern reunion with the nation at large, shedding its distinctive nature. Joseph

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<sup>21</sup> David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck* (The University of Michigan Press, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>24</sup> Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

Crespino and Matthew Lassiter have taken the lead on deconstructing “Southern Exceptionalism.”<sup>25</sup> Their arguments are varied, but both cite the fact that mass resistance to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s was hardly a Southern phenomenon. Other scholars question exceptionalism by asking the surprisingly complex question, “what exactly is the South?” John Shelton Reed contended that the South has changed to such an extent that “the South” does not accurately represent the various regions that once owned that distinction. Rather, there are “many Souths.” Reed suggested that Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama constitute the “Southeast” where Atlanta is the capital while Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas constitute “greater Texas.”<sup>26</sup> Many scholars, Bruce Schulman in particular, look at how the South, post-1945, changed into an industrial hub that included California, Florida, New Mexico, and Arizona in a “Sunbelt South.”<sup>27</sup> This historiographic trend represents a sincere effort by Southern scholars to move forward by questioning the exceptionalism of the South in a U.S. that shares more similarities with the South than difference.

Scholars of Germany have similarly tried to integrate Germany and its history into larger European historical narratives. Often these efforts involve, like much of German historiography, contemplating the circumstances and uniqueness of Nazism. Many scholars have asserted that Nazism was not just a “German” problem, but one more indicative of circumstances occurring across Europe. Hannah Arendt used both Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Soviet Union to argue

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<sup>25</sup> Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton University Press, 2009). Joseph Crespino, *Strom Thurmond’s America* (Hill and Wang, 2012). Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, eds., *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism* (Oxford University Press, 2010). Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> John Shelton Reed, “Southern Culture: On the Skids?,” in *The American South in the 20th Century* (University of Georgia Press, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Bruce Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South 1938–1980* (Duke University Press Books, 1994).

that dictators arose out of two very European institutions, anti-Semitism and imperialism.<sup>28</sup> Looking towards Western Europe, Robert Paxton has spent his career explaining that France suffered many of the same “weaknesses” that many historians claimed only Germany experienced.<sup>29</sup> Very recently, Holocaust literature has expanded considerably in demonstration that various nations throughout Europe should recognize their complicity in genocide.<sup>30</sup> These scholars of totalitarianism, fascism, and the Holocaust are not seeking to downplay Germany’s role in these events, but rather to challenge the notion that Germany alone had been susceptible. Germany was only exceptional, as Ian Kershaw would assert, in the existence of Adolf Hitler, but the various features that led to the rise of Nazism – defeat, depression, instability, populism, anti-Semitism, etc. – were in no way unique to Germany.<sup>31</sup>

Southern and German historiographies have grappled with arguments of exceptionality for quite some time. All historical study necessitates marking some subject as distinct. If everything was the same as everything else, what is the point of any historical investigation? That said, these two fields have taken these debates to such extents that they are foundational to any scholarly effort and thus inescapable. Who can advance in Southern history without some knowledge of Cash and the uniqueness of Dixie? Every scholar of modern German history has typed the word *Sonderweg*, even if it were just in a footnote. Controversial legacies of war, defeat, and bigotry haunt these scholarships and in trying to sort out those issues, it is hard not to treat these national cultures as unique. The prolonged fight over exceptionality in both regions,

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<sup>28</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973).

<sup>29</sup> Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Basic Books, Inc., 1981). Robert Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-44* (W.W. Norton & Company, 1975). Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).

<sup>30</sup> Omer Bartov, “Eastern Europe as the Site of Genocide,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 80, no. 3 (2008): 557–93. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton University Press, 2001). Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010. (Basic Books, Inc., 2010).

<sup>31</sup> Ian Kershaw, “Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2004): 239–254.

however, has helped undermine the effort to combat Heritage's role in perpetuating Segregationist mindsets. Even though most scholars reject notions of exceptionality, the many proponents of Germany and the U.S. South's exceptionality, whether perceived as good or bad, lent academic cover to those who propped up Heritage.

### **Continuity or Discontinuity**

W.J. Cash laid out such a complex vision of what he felt plagued the U.S. South that many Southern scholars have felt obliged to offer their own replies. *The Mind of the South* took umbrage that a "New South," a South that had theoretically moved past its agricultural dependence into a new bright (and white) industrial future, ever actually existed. Instead of agreeing with the Nashville Agrarians, who felt the South needed to return to its antebellum roots, or the various schools of sociologists who sought a modernized South, Cash took a different tune. He felt that despite the many advances, nothing fundamental about the Southern mindset or temperament had changed significantly. There was no such thing as a New South, just the same Old South with a new coat of paint.<sup>32</sup>

Striking a similar vein, scholars of Germany were anxious to establish continuity between the Third Reich and other older aspects of German culture. The reasons behind this effort varied. Some sought to shame the Heritage that gave Nazism such a powerful pipeline into the everyday psyche. Others looked to lay blame, hoping to find concrete evidence to use against the institutions of Germany that had survived World War I and the Weimar Republic to take prominent places in the Third Reich. German born historian Fritz Stern emigrated to the United States in 1938, at the age of twelve, with his family, seeking refuge from the increasingly anti-

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<sup>32</sup> Cash, *The Mind of the South*.

Semitic climate in Nazi Germany. Stern spent his academic life exploring the continuity of a “Germanic ideology” from 1870 to 1933. Per Stern, German society internalized a pessimism directed towards the advances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cynicism towards progress could be found in various intellectual works that informed a public sphere which eventually produced National Socialism, an ideology predicated on a rejection of “modernity.”<sup>33</sup> George Mosse, also a German emigre, similarly argued that a durable nationalist ideology, predicated on lament over geopolitics and rapid industrialization, lent credibility to the nationalist aspects of Nazism.<sup>34</sup> Stern and Mosse forcefully asserted that continuity existed throughout the trauma of the early twentieth century and the Third Reich, both hoping to blame Nazism on cultural flaws inherent to Germany.

Opposition to these continuity theses surfaced, perhaps none more noteworthy than C. Vann Woodward’s *Origins of the New South*. Published in 1951, it long served as a bible to many of the scholars who took issue with Cash’s assertion that there was not a New South. *Origins*’s rebuke asserted that, following the defeat of the Civil War and the pains of Reconstruction, Southerners threw off their antebellum agricultural mantle. With a planter aristocracy in utter collapse, enterprising Southerners turned to industry and other business opportunities in efforts to duplicate the booming Northern economy, albeit with a distinctly Southern flavor. For Woodward, this brand-new version of the South made the continuity argument null and void. A rich scholarship developed from Woodward’s work, one that prioritized the industrial character of the New South. Given that these authors lived in the early

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<sup>33</sup> Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*.

<sup>34</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (Howard Fertig, 1964).

onset of the Baby Boomer generation, it is understandable that the South did seem to differ considerably from a South where cotton had been both the once and future king.<sup>35</sup>

That said, New South arguments found trouble establishing themselves against continuity arguments when the Civil Rights Movement came to the foreground. The maintenance of Jim Crow and continued marginalization of the South's African American community highlighted ideas that the New South may not have been the clean break Woodward had maintained. In 1970, Paul Gaston endorsed continuity, arguing that the dichotomy of new versus old had been a vital component of Southern culture. The South, as far as Gaston was concerned, spun its wheels on arguments of continuity and discontinuity to such an extent that all else was ignored. For Gaston, the only true enduring Southern characteristics were "poverty, frustration, and defeat."<sup>36</sup> Taking a somewhat similar tact, William Link, using the racist paternalism at the heart of early twentieth century Southern progressive reformers, argued that "an assumption of black inadequacy and white superiority" constituted a racial hierarchy that operated at the core of Southern society.<sup>37</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage pointed to the "enduring presence of white memory in the South's public spaces and black resistance to it" as fundamental expressions of Southern continuity.<sup>38</sup> These scholars and countless others looked to the New South's maintenance and expansion of Jim Crow racism as endorsement of, at the very least, racial identity politics throughout Southern history.

In German historiography, those who challenged German pessimism have chosen to do so via the beautifully tragic enigma that was the Weimar Republic. Often overlooked by

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<sup>35</sup> Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 11.

<sup>37</sup> William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 240.

<sup>38</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 7.

*Sonderweg* scholars, many of whom put stock in cultural pessimism, the Weimar Republic was a fourteen-year experiment in everything that defined Western conceptions of “modernity.” A liberal republic with near-universal suffrage that featured both outpourings of support and stern, unhinged condemnations, many scholars used this unique historical moment to wage war on the idea that Nazi Germany had not been a direct product of a German dysfunction. Peter Gay looked at the Weimar Republic not as a speed bump, but a moment when German society and politics had been inverted.<sup>39</sup> While the changes Weimar ushered in did not sustain themselves, Gay argued that these brief political tumults represented a stark change. Other historians, notably Eric Weitz and Detlev Peukert, advocated that the Weimar was much more of a break from continuity, notable among these scholars. Both argued, in differing fashions, that the Weimar Republic constituted an experience of modernity, unique to the world, but nonetheless a flowering of elements that Germans supposedly abhorred. Rather than viewing Nazism as an outgrowth of old sentiments, Weitz and Peukert contended that Nazism came about from a catastrophic sequence of events – global depression, economic revenge politics, the pain of defeat, political arrangements – that were in no way predetermined by cultural pessimism.<sup>40</sup>

Southern historians may find fault with aspects of Cash’s continuity thesis, but there are plenty that consider his ideas a valid vehicle for discussion about development and change in Dixie. For example, a 1992 edited collection discussed the legacy of *The Mind of the South*, featuring many criticisms of continuity centered on the idea that Cash compounded the disappointments of his time with an antebellum myth that he found distasteful.<sup>41</sup> A fair number of scholars contend that while the South has clung to these myths, it has certainly changed over

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<sup>39</sup> Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider As Insider* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> Detlev J. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (Hill and Wang, 1987). Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>41</sup> Eagles, *The Mind of the South: Fifty Years Later*.

time to something barely recognizable to distant generations. Other scholars have acknowledged that while remnants of the antebellum remained these memories became tools used to help ease and justify radical transformations. John David Smith argued that postwar pro-slavery arguments wove themselves into the “Lost Cause” – the romanticized accounts and memories of the Confederacy perpetuated since the end of the Civil War – in such a way as to give New South advocates support throughout the white southern community.<sup>42</sup> Taking a similar tack, Bruce Schulman cited a post-1945 political movement using both the Lost Cause and New South rhetoric to gain support for federal investments into infrastructure that transformed the South.<sup>43</sup> James C. Cobb also stressed that “not only did architects of the New South step forward with a much-needed plan for economic revitalization, but in large measure they also embraced the fundamental social and political tenets of the Lost Cause.”<sup>44</sup> These scholars, and many others, advocate that, while the Lost Cause flowed throughout Dixie in the twentieth century, fundamental changes from infrastructure, political alignments, industrial investments, and beyond indicated a lack of Southern continuity.

Any Southern scholar can weigh in on Woodward and Cash, and German scholars are well versed on matters of pessimism and modernity. Everyday people are not; they instead perceive these debates as ivory tower academics condescendingly fighting over the extent of their backwardness. Historians often deploy continuity when discussing the historical contexts of present injustices. While a slew of #AcademicTwitter historians “dunk” on propagandist Dinesh D’Souza by pointing out the various ways the Southern Democrats of the 1960s make up the 21<sup>st</sup> Republican Party, everyday people see an ally being condescended to by professors who

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<sup>42</sup> John David Smith, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery, Ideology, and Historiography, 1865-1918* (Greenwood Press, 1985).

<sup>43</sup> Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South 1938–1980*.

<sup>44</sup> James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 67.



everyday people are already coached to believe are condescending. The continuity debate is very important to academic history as historians remain appropriately concerned with observing change over time and the lack of it. However, when trying to educate and counter everyday Heritage, continuity proves to be poor tool. All people hear is them being equated with a Jim Crow or Nazi era that they absolutely feel no affinity towards and readily condemn. Continuity labels them as racist; what historians need is a tool that helps illustrate the continuity discourse, without elevating exceptionalism or aggressively equating everyday people with the bigotry of the past. No matter how much present biases resemble those of the past, everyday people internalize memories, with perceived clarity, that the racism of the past in no way resembled their own discriminations. They will not hear any different, no matter how much compelling evidence historians offer.

### **The Memory Boom**

The 1960s constituted a controversial time for both German and U.S. Southern History, not just as topics of study, but as part of academia's own history. At the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, the number of academics on both sides of the Atlantic skyrocketed. The reasons for such growth are diverse, complex, and most certainly nearly impossible to agree upon, but the fact remains that scholarship exploded. Alongside this rise, demands increased for historical research, particularly for works focusing on socio-cultural developments. This industry of culture led to a wealth of scholarship exploring all kinds of topics. Both German and Southern scholarship took to these developments with spectacular, and strikingly similar, results, particularly regarding two subfields – identity and memory history. Generally, these fields argue

that memories of past events are not only socially constructed, but also internalized to such an extent that they form a vital component of a shared national and cultural identity. Notable scholars took up the notions of socially constructed identities based on less than accurate remembrances. Benedict Anderson's foundational work *Imagined Communities* asserted that nationalism itself was a cultural fiction that eventually, after years of performing nationalist traditions, became highly valued.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm asserted that nations arose, not because of shared language, but rather from a collective affinity for a set of specific beliefs.<sup>46</sup> German and Southern historians quickly took to notions that whole identities were shaped on questionable historical memory.

German historians have engaged with memory and identity history so thoroughly that encapsulating just the relevant articles would constitute an exhausting effort. George Mosse, not a memory historian in his own right, made significant contributions to this field. Mosse argued that romanticized accounts of combat from various German imperial wars of the nineteenth and early twentieth century formed a powerful "Myth of the War Experience."<sup>47</sup> These memories reshaped the experiences of war into something sacred that inspired a stark "religious feeling" throughout Germany.<sup>48</sup> These memories motivated many Germans to volunteer for the army in the First World War, particularly amongst the youth. This myth endured through defeat to provide a powerful source that Nazi militarism frequently tapped. Mosse also argued that this "Myth of the War Experience" informed a substantial feeling of camaraderie and community in various populations of Germany. These arguments, and others of a similar tone, have been used

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<sup>45</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983). Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1790: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>47</sup> George L. Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1979): 1–20. "Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1986): 491–513. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>48</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, 7.

to assert that Germany possessed a unique capacity to obsess over the past and seek a utopian national community, or as most German scholars call it, the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

The term *Volksgemeinschaft* remains an oft mentioned term of considerable importance to any discussion of memory and identity in German history.<sup>49</sup> The general premise of the “national community” discussion turns on whether the sense of, or desire for, a unified German national community resonated with Germans to the extent that they sought fulfillment of this vision in National Socialist promises. Tim Mason, among others, considered the *Volksgemeinschaft* merely Nazi propaganda, but a wide scholarship emerged that found reality behind these beliefs.<sup>50</sup> *Alltagsgeschichte*, or the everyday history of people and their lives, became the tool social historians used to assess the many ways that the hope for a utopian national community encouraged at least tacit support of the Third Reich. Whether through economic stability, nationalist upswell, or outright exclusion, historians found that the *Volksgemeinschaft* operated as a core component of German identity, one that likely played some role in everyday people’s participation in the Third Reich.

Before exploring the historiographic underpinnings of Holocaust complicity, it should come as little surprise to note that scholarship of the South has also spent a considerable amount of time dealing with the legacies of imagined pasts. Southern historians study memory and identity in various ways, but perhaps the most valuable point of comparison with German historiography would be the study of the “Lost Cause.” This term, first coined prominently in 1866 by firebrand Edward A. Pollard, stood for any and all efforts to glorify the Confederacy, its

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<sup>49</sup> To those who did not sigh at the mention of *Volksgemeinschaft*, or who, despite sighing, feel the need to learn more about *Volksgemeinschaft* scholarship see the thorough overview provided in the edited collection by Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto, eds., *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> For the sceptic persuasion see Timothy W. Mason, *Social Policy in the Third Reich: The Working Class and the "National Community"* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1993).

soldiers, and everything they stood for – namely slavery. Pollard’s beliefs permeated Southern culture to such an extent that scholars of the South continue to parse out this phenomenon of mass-selective memory. In 1973, Rollin Osterweis contended that the Lost Cause functioned, at least initially, merely as a literary expression of frustrated defeat that evolved into a Southern coping mechanism, a point well validated by the runaway popularity of *Gone with the Wind*.<sup>51</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson’s *Baptized in Blood* argued that Southerners merged Lost Cause concepts of defeat with Christianity, chivalry, and memory into an enduring “civil religion” that significantly shaped Southern culture.<sup>52</sup> Other scholars have explored the Lost Cause’s early advocates, the various ways memories and glorification of the Civil War informed the Lost Cause, the centrality of the Lost Cause to Southern education, and the Lost Cause as a tool for shaming public figures.<sup>53</sup> Facing changes in the New South era, Gaines Foster argued that the Lost Cause channeled memories of defeat towards productive means.<sup>54</sup> To relay the entire scholarship of the Lost Cause would – beyond being impossible – undermine the present effort, but, sufficed to say, memory and identity history merged with Southern historians’ continued effort to make some sense of the continued perpetuation of the Lost Cause.

Among the many topics Southern historians tackle, Lost Cause monuments forcefully re-entered the public eye in recent years. That said, scholars of the South have long kept a troubled

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<sup>51</sup> Rollin Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Archon Books, 1973).

<sup>52</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (The University of Georgia Press, 1980).

<sup>53</sup> Fred Arthur Bailey, “Textbooks of the Lost Cause: Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3, Fall 1991, 507-533. Terry Barnhart, *Albert Taylor Bledsoe: Defender of the Old South* (Louisiana State University Press, 2011). Barbara Bellows and Thomas Connelly, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Louisiana State University Press, 1982). Gary Gallagher, *Jubal A. Early, The Lost Cause, and Civil War History* (Marquette University Press, 1995). Kevin Levin, “William Mahone, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, (2005): 388-412. Jack P. Maddex, “Pollard’s *The Lost Cause Regained*: A Mask for Southern Accommodation,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 40, no. 4, (Nov. 1974): 595-612. Wesley Moody, *Demon of the Lost Cause: Sherman and Civil War History*, University of Missouri Press, 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South 186 to 1913* (Oxford University Press, 1987).

eye on these controversial stones dedicated to glorified memories and white supremacist futures. These monuments, historians quickly recognized, stood as tangible imagined pasts turned to stone. Historical study of these statues has, more recently, focused on the United Daughters of the Confederacy and similar memorial organizations that put considerable effort towards establishing permanence to the Lost Cause memories. Karen L. Cox wrote the consummate history on the U.D.C., highlighting the female-led organization's driving role in an intense escalation in the consumption and adoption of the often-chauvinistic Lost Cause across the South in the early Twentieth Century.<sup>55</sup> W. Fitz Brundage cited these increases as responses to perceived losses Southern whites felt in a more contested public sphere. Wielding civic authority and private capital, white Southerners honored a past that in reality signaled anxieties of the present and hopes for the future.<sup>56</sup> Arguments over monuments have only intensified in the wake of A12. Southern historians across the country have been called upon to wade into controversial waters, and, more often than not, they are relying on memory and identity history to make their points.

The field of German historiography has been filled with so many brawls and controversies that they often receive their own names, such as the notorious “Goldhagen Controversy.” In 1996, Daniel Goldhagen penned *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, in which he made the assertion that ordinary, everyday Germans had been willing participants in the Holocaust because of an inherent “eliminationist mind-set” that made Germans “axiomatically anti-Semitic.”<sup>57</sup> Immediately striking deep chords, not only in the scholarship, but throughout society, responses were swift and diverse. The book quickly became a best seller, but academics

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<sup>55</sup> Karen A. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003). Also see Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

<sup>56</sup> Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*.

<sup>57</sup> Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (Vintage Books, 1997).

wrote very cutting reviews. For example, Fritz Stern insulted its methodology, calling the “exasperatingly repetitive book” unhistorical for its flagrant inability to consider the complex historical context of the Holocaust.<sup>58</sup> A long list of other prominent German scholars criticized Goldhagen, but German society itself clamored for the book and the opportunity to dig into the controversial topic of German complicity. Correspondingly, the scholarship obliged. Numerous works soon explored the role of everyday Germans in the Third Reich’s racial state. Marion Kaplan’s *Between Dignity and Despair* stands out from the vast literature that erupted following the Goldhagen controversy.<sup>59</sup> A social history that explored the everyday lives of Jews living in the Third Reich, Kaplan used these portraits of mundane racism to bring a more personal and painful resonance to the everyday banality of intolerance. These new histories of complicity relied on assertions that Germans assigned inclusive value to themselves, predicated on intense desires for social stability and economic opportunity that devalued Jews to the point of seclusion.

Take “Germans” and “Jews” out of the previous two sentences and replace them respectively with “Whites” and “African-Americans” and the result is a strikingly strong sentiment at the heart of historiography on the Jim Crow South. Southern scholars have increasingly paid much closer attention to the socially constructed underpinnings of the Southern racial caste system. David Blight argued that a racial, white supremacist vision operated at the center of Southern cultural memory from the end of the Civil War into the twentieth century.<sup>60</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale, throughout her various contributions, has demonstrated that the Jim Crow South relied on two distinct spheres of consumption, one white and one black that defined not

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<sup>58</sup> Fritz Stern, “The Goldhagen Controversy: One Nation, One People, One Theory?,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 6 (1996): 134.

<sup>59</sup> Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>60</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001).

only race relations, but the Southern consumer economy.<sup>61</sup> A vast scholarship has sprouted that demonstrates the numerous ways glorified memories supported identities that ensured white supremacy was writ large across the South defining the region for decades.

Memory and identity histories are manifold and could be discussed for pages upon pages. Both scholarships have used their subjects' memories of "humiliating" defeat and "cruel" peace. Both have emphasized the roles of collective memories in the formations of very nationalistic identities. Both have then explored the ways that race, itself a social construct, defined senses of community through both inclusion and exclusion. Memory and Identity history hold considerable potential as means to combat Heritage, as they call the remembered history vital to Heritage's maintenance into question. However, as has been seen, everyday people do not take kindly to having their Heritage challenged. In Germany, memorialization has taken a noticeably different tone, where many Nazi monuments are purposefully neglected and information shared with considerable openness, a sharp contrast from many memorialization sites in the U.S. South with dubious, hidden histories that are actively ignored if not heavily promoted. That said, while Nazi history has found general rejection, apart from radicals, many of its ideas of German nationalism and mistrust of racialized others find considerable credence, as do ideas of white moral superiority in the U.S. South. The mechanics of historical memory can be exposed, and the realities of racial discrimination accepted, but those efforts do not fully undermine the value system that false memories constructed, and in many cases, attacking the foundation of these memories result in a defensive attitude which only further entrenches false memories.

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<sup>61</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (Vintage Books, 1998).

## Comparative Models

What Southern and German historians need is more thorough comparative work, especially given the significant methodological overlap between the two scholarships. Beyond that though, the comparative effort can help take the effort of deconstructing Heritage an additional step forward. Challenging embellished memories helps but does little to challenge the identity that informs Heritage. Establishing that cultural parity exists between the U.S. South and Germany can help everyday people question not only the exceptionality of their belief systems but encourage a perspective shift which often helps diminish the prejudice often mobilized by Heritage.

The above is not a radical suggestion. In 1970, Kenneth Barkin, in a chapter of *The State of American History*, used nineteenth century agrarian populism in Germany and the United States to demonstrate the value and hindrances of the comparative approach. Barkin expressed little surprise at finding stark differences between the two countries' agrarian radicalisms, given contrasting demands on grain and differences in social mobility. However, these two groups shared "a common concern with their place in a rapidly changing, and for them, disintegrating world."<sup>62</sup> In 2001, Peter Bergmann took his own look at how historians treated American and German exceptionalism, arguing that both scholarly groups used exaggerated inferences but, after the Holocaust, American exceptionalism elevated the U.S. while condemning German exceptionalism.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Kenneth Barkin, "A Case Study in Comparative History: Populism in Germany and America," in *The State of American History*, ed. Herbert J. Bass (Quadrangle Books, 1970), 385.

<sup>63</sup> Peter Bergmann, "American Exceptionalism and German Sonderweg in Tandem," *The International History Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (2001): 505–534.



Most often the comparative model is employed in passing. For example, Robert Paxton, in his work exploring fascism, briefly references the Ku Klux Klan; the reverse happened in the conclusion of Linda Gordon's history of the Klan.<sup>64</sup> However, Wolfgang Schivelbush's *The Culture of Defeat* took a more meaningful look at the South and Germany, studying defeat, as felt by two cultures defined by defeat, allowed for very thorough and well considered arguments, but his work also included France's experience in the wake of the lost Franco-Prussian war.<sup>65</sup> John Haag's previously mentioned article looked at the reception of *Gone with the Wind* in Nazi Germany. Margaret Mitchell's escapist novel resonated with a German people, but the Nazi Party did not take kindly to the popularity this American product received. Haag looked at this moment to demonstrate that the Third Reich relied on images and ideas, choosing to spend considerable effort dealing with a Southern novel as opposed to the various realities that needed desperate attention.<sup>66</sup> Although interesting, these works fall short of meaningful comparative work on the South and Germany.

More relevant, Johnpeter Horst Grill and Robert L. Jenkins, one a Germanist and the other a Southern scholar, combined for an article to address the lack of scholarly engagement between these two regions. Grill and Jenkins asked whether the Nazi Party and Southerners expressed support for one another's racial outlooks. The truth, they argued, was that while affinity existed, no meaningful cooperation ever materialized. The Nazi Party expressed support for the Jim Crow system of racial hierarchy, but their international propaganda efforts, in step with their intense German nationalism, focused on German-American citizens. Meanwhile white Southerners condemned the Nazi state for its anti-Semitism and totalitarian tactics but refused to

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<sup>64</sup> Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*. Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition*, (Liveright, 2017).

<sup>65</sup> Wolfgang Shivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, trans. Jefferson Chase (Metropolitan Books, 2001).

<sup>66</sup> Haag, "Gone with the Wind in Nazi Germany."

critique anti-Semitic segregation.<sup>67</sup> Comparisons between the Jim Crow South and the Third Reich, Grill and Jenkins found, were largely confined to African American newspapers. Thus, scholars had been slow to catch on to the similarities that the persecuted had recognized decades earlier.

There are increasing efforts in both fields to apply global histories to these regions to help move beyond the exceptionalism narrative. Historian Andrew Zimmermann's *Alabama in Africa* used the German Empire's invitation of Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute to help domesticate Africans for cotton production in East Africa to highlight that this global effort blurred the lines of exceptionality. This indoctrination effort was synonymous with a patriarchal affinity for racial colonization shared by Germans and white Southerners. Zimmermann does not pretend that racial hierarchies were in any way exclusive to these two areas, asserting that these ideas were exported across the globe.<sup>68</sup> Globalization has opened many comparative angles that challenge exceptionalism on multiple fronts. After all, how unique can Germany be when an accountant from Atlanta enjoys a Bavaria-brewed beer or a hungry Nuremberger samples Colonel Sanders' wares?

*Both Hitler and Jim Crow* shares considerable kinship with Shearer Davis Bowman's *Masters and Lords*, both from a methodological and subject matter standpoint. Bowman compared the Prussian Junker landed nobility with the U.S. South antebellum planters in an effort to transnationally situate two similar groups of regional landed elite.<sup>69</sup> Bowman recognized that the comparative model had its uses. Coming from Southern History, Bowman made no

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<sup>67</sup> Johnpeter Horst Grill and Robert L. Jenkins, "The Nazis and the American South in the 1930s: A Mirror Image?," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 58, no. 4 (November 1992): 667-694.

<sup>68</sup> Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*, America in the World (Princeton University Press, 2012).

<sup>69</sup> Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters & Lords: Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

secret of his preference and expertise in Southern history, in fact, *Masters and Lords* began as an effort to better understand Southern planter aristocracy. That said he recognized that while comparisons can be helpful, comparative history has, perhaps unfairly, been considered a bit of a parlor trick amongst both academics and everyday people. While touted as interesting, the “so what?” of the comparative model can be palpable. In that spirit Bowman applied a true transnational model to his historical subject, putting the Prussian landed elite in conversation with the Old South’s planter class. While comparisons occurred, Bowman’s intent was to flesh out the realities of regional landed elite, an effort that involved recognizing and cataloging the various ways Prussian Junkers and Southern planters differed. By recognizing his comparative subjects as distinct, Bowman developed a compelling and triangulated history of regional landed elite with nuance appropriate to the subject matter.

With transnational aspirations akin to Bowman, this work recognizes that to write a history that merely compares Germany and the U.S. South would do little to undermine Heritage as an institution. No matter how many similarities and overlap would be pointed out, Segregationists of all tiers, would still cling to the differences as validation of their preferred superiority. Isolated discussions of similarities between Jim Crow and Nazi Germany would thus receive calls of “well, the Holocaust did not happen in the South, so how bad could it have been?” Meanwhile, in Germany, the equivalent point would be that Germany had a brief, horrifically violent episode of racial violence that contrasts the enduring racial discrimination and violence that has defined the U.S. South. Comparisons remain helpful, but they need to be elevated. What is needed is a transnationally situated discourse on everyday racism as it existed in both Germany and the U.S. South. While comparative in tone, the ultimate target of the research should not be the regions, but the concept. By understanding the realities of everyday

desires for a stable future and fears over losing that future that supersede national and regional boundaries, while also recognizing the ways those nationalisms nonetheless contrast, historians can finally have the tools appropriate to the task of separating everyday racism from Segregationists.

### **The Present, the Past, and the Future All at Once**

Why focus in on Germany and the U.S. South? Well, if Heritage forms a component of everyday racism's endorsement of Segregationist mindsets, as this work contends, then Germany and the U.S. South make for very useful comparative models as their separate Heritages overlap in fascinating ways. For example, take the small mountain town of Helen, located in Northwest Georgia, which in the 1960s faced hard times. Formerly a mining and logging hub, the Great Depression took its toll on the local economy. From that point forward businesses closed and the only financial support for the area came from tourists travelling to see the area's beautiful forested mountainside. It was at this low-point that two of Helen's remaining business leaders decided to swing into the tourism boom and invested in revitalizing the former logging center's downtown, hoping to create a tourist destination of great renown. The two investors hired local artist John Kollack to draw up designs and themes for this new project, hoping to create a tourist attraction in step with the many small-time amusement parks that began to dot the Southern landscape. Kollack had travelled Europe and drew inspiration for his designs from Germany, specifically the southern state of Bavaria. Kollack's designs would eventually turn Helen's small downtown into a tiny reproduction of older sections of Bavarian cities.

The new Helen most resembled Bamberg, a German town defined by a quaint combination of medieval and baroque buildings that rest on the banks of a lazy, winding river. Kollack set out to create an alpine village in the foothills of the Appalachian mountain chain. While a caricature of Germany, relying on the stereotypical aspects of Bavaria, American tourists became fascinated by the new Helen. In 1970, the town swung into the changes, hosting their very own Oktoberfest, the world-famous multi-week Bavarian cultural festival. After a few years, the celebration became a major success, entrenching Bavarian culture into the traditions of Helen, Georgia, and the U.S. South.<sup>70</sup> Helen's Chamber of Commerce proudly invites visitors to take part in their version of Bavaria by enjoying a bevy of "Beers, brats, bands and Lederhosen."<sup>71</sup> The cavalcade of suspenders and bodices likely should have offended many Bavarians, particularly during the twentieth century as many Bavarians shrugged off their traditional garb, trappings that had been tainted by Nazism. However, as a map detailing the homes of visitors to the alpine village indicates, Bavarians and Germans flocked from all over to this small corner of Georgia.

In the twenty-first century, Bavarians increasingly relish the traditional aspects of their culture, albeit with a bit of modern flare. During the many cultural festivals that dot the Bavarian countryside, one can spot a multitude of men in traditional lederhosen, which are leather shorts with suspenders covering a plaid patterned shirt, and women in Dirndls, an outfit consisting of a bodice, full skirt, and apron. However, as opposed to the more traditional colors and patterns, an industry has developed specializing in the production of vibrant, colorful Dirndls and

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<sup>70</sup> The History of Helen, Georgia's "Little Bavaria" has been cobbled together from tourist information built by people fascinated by this small alpine town. One of the better articles on this front comes from Cedar Creek Cabin Rentals who provided a thorough breakdown of Helen's long and interesting history. Telford, Tom. "Helen Georgia Is The Best Little German Town in America – But It Wasn't Always This Way" Cedar Creek Cabin Rentals, 2/12/2013, <https://www.cedarcreekcabinrentals.com/helen/history-art/german-alpine-town>

<sup>71</sup> Helen Chamber of Commerce, "49<sup>th</sup> Annual Oktoberfest" <https://www.cedarcreekcabinrentals.com/helen/history-art/german-alpine-town> accessed on 2/26/2019

Lederhosen. Additionally, in step with advances in gender equality, Bavarian women wear more conservatively cut bodices, less revealing than the stereotypical versions. Jörg Hittenkofer, a designer of dirndls for the fashion label “Gottseidank,” when discussing the resurgence of lederhosen and dirndls, argued that many younger Bavarians “struggle for orientation in the globalized world, but discover they are able to find themselves in traditional clothes.”<sup>72</sup> Sales of the Bavarian costume have hit a major uptick and raised a booming industry with a big profile all over Bavaria. The revival of Bavarian traditional garb is so thorough that one can see these outfits regularly worn in many traditional celebrations. Beyond Oktoberfest, lederhosen and dirndls make appearances in weddings, birthdays, civic celebrations, and even one of Germany’s holier dates: Ascension Day. Tradition is in full swing, despite the reality of Germany growing more diverse, more globally relevant, and more progressive. Returning to the rituals and romance of the past offers an attractive buffer against the realities of a complex present and enigmatic future. That sentiment is writ large across Helen’s blending of Bavarian customs with fairy-tale romance, inviting visitors an opportunity to travel back to a supposedly simpler time, far away from the complications of the present and worries about the future.

Many Southerners and Germans readily benefit from people’s desire to retreat to the past in the face of a globalized world. A vast tourist industry dots the Southern landscape built on nostalgia and embellished historical memories. From Civil War reenactments to far-too rosy tours of Southern plantations, a large economy in escapism keeps many areas in the South afloat. Similarly, castles, palaces, battlefields, and centuries-old structures provide Germany with a vibrant tourist industry. These sites do not accurately recreate the past, but instead perform a version of it for the present, often to the benefit of families with parents hoping to pass this

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<sup>72</sup> Eddy, Melissa. “Dirndel, Dress of Past, Makes a Comeback in Bavaria” The New York Times. 28/9/2013  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/29/world/europe/dirndl-dress-of-past-makes-a-comeback-in-bavaria.html>

romantic version, the only version many of those parents have known, onto their children. Helen, Georgia represents a transnational cultural connection between Germany and the U.S. South: a shared affinity for performing history. Academic historians have long weighed in on the dangers and benefits of recreational time travel, touting its financial benefits and, when executed with nuance and detail, it can expose wide swathes of people to history. However, more often than not, historians have been forced to combat nostalgia tourism for misattributing romance and spectacle to time periods where violence and discrimination went relatively unchecked.

In the wake of the A12, when white, American men used the songs, slogans, and symbols of Nazism to defend a Lost Cause monument in a mass movement that eventually broke out in fatal violence, scholars of various walks have recognized the need to take nostalgia history more seriously as well as place a firmer eye on the connections between the U.S. South and Germany. In May 2018, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum launched an exhibit entitled “Americans and the Holocaust,” preceded by events across the country asking what Americans during 1930s and 1940s knew about Nazi Germany, and if they cared. Events hosted in Southern cities, notably Atlanta, Georgia and Birmingham, Alabama, became defined by frequent, direct comparisons between Jim Crow and Nazi Germany segregation. In April 2018, the Jewish Historical Society of South Carolina hosted a conference on “Memory, Monuments, and Memorials.” Among the issues discussed, a central focus was given to tourism of slavery-sites, like Charleston’s Magnolia Plantation, and Holocaust sites, notably concentration camps like Dachau and extermination camps like Auschwitz. An interdisciplinary group of scholars with diverse backgrounds are collaborating on projects exploring the troubling connections between two cultures that implemented two notorious racial caste systems. Such efforts represent a new group of academics willing to tackle what much of the previous scholarship has been reluctant to

attempt: maintaining that these supposedly unique national cultures were not unique in the systems of hate they perpetuated.

Much of academic history has thus far combatted Heritage chiefly through two temporal strategies. First, scholars generally focus on the experiences of historical subjects, i.e., the present in which they lived and died. For example, looking at the Civil War or Bavarian peasant culture in the hopes of demonstrating differences between the actual historical record and its often-embellished reproduction. The second strategy, memory history, sought resolution of exceptionalism via studying constructed pasts. This approach not only displayed contrasts between reality and remembered fiction; it also demonstrated just how constructed historical nostalgia had been. Memory history would have a field day deconstructing the performance of nostalgia tourism in Helen. Although useful and sound in practice, neither approach has done much to undermine everyday adoration of Heritage, nor halt the prejudice it inspires. As opposed to subjecting the remembered past and living present of historical actors to further transnational scrutiny, this work suggests a new temporal framework. Put another way, to find a solution to this complex historical problem we need to go back to the future.

Future history, a living and breathing contradiction, has gained considerably currency in the early twenty-first century. In a forum for the American Historical Review, David Engerman succinctly explained that while historians constantly seek to restore contingency to the past, success in doing so remains considerably elusive because historians fail to incorporate “Expectation” as a component of experience. Nearly every human past, present, and likely future, walked/walks/will walk around with some general expectation of the future, even if inaccurate and highly improbable. To observe such features as environment, identity, memory, gender, race, class, disability, and beyond without acknowledging Expectation misses a gigantic



component of historical experience. Therefore, Engerman calls for historians to take closer looks at “horizons of expectations in the past.” In other words, while acknowledging past and present are important, evaluating the constantly adapting hopes for the “future” could break significant ground for historical study.<sup>73</sup>

The adoption of future history has been scant in any formal sense. *Zukunft*, German for “future,” has a budding historiography, but in Southern history this model has been applied sparingly at best.<sup>74</sup> One of the closest efforts came back in 1971, with Paul Gaston’s *New South Creed*. Gaston advocated that, by looking at myths, like the Lost Cause, Old South, and New South, historians too often injected their own opinions and experiences into their subjects. Rather than look at these myths as ideas, Gaston called them “creeds,” as they more resembled unifying religious ideologies than legends. These creeds served to address “the high degree of failure and frustration” within Southern life, a frustration that bound Southerners to oppose the changes to their expectations.<sup>75</sup> Myths exist in the past and present, creeds are built on the future and in the case of the South that future would remain bounded by what the past and present could imagine.

This dissertation differentiates itself from “Futurology,” also called Future Studies. That field focuses on potential, probable futures particularly positive, desirable futures. The Science-Fiction genre in many ways adopts Futurology as a key component of their narrative. The idea of the technology and advances of the future can be quite compelling and historians

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<sup>73</sup> David C. Engerman, “Introduction: Histories of the Future and the Futures of History,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 117, no. 5 (2012): 1402–1410.

<sup>74</sup> Olaf Briese and Timo Günther, “Katastrophe: Terminologische Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft.” *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, Vol. 51 (2009): 155-195. Karl Dietrich Erdmann, “Die Zukunft Als Kategorie der Geschichte,” *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 198, no.1 (Feb 1964): 44-61. Sonja Fritzsche, “East Germany’s ‘Werkstatt Zukunft’: Futurology and the Science Fiction Films of ‘defafuturum,’” *German Studies Review*, Vol 29, No 2 (May 2006): 367-386. Doris Gerber, “Was heißt ‘vergangene Zukunft’? Über die zeitliche Dimension der Geschichte und die geschichtliche Dimension der Zeit“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, vol. 32 (Apr-Jun 2006): 176-200.

<sup>75</sup> Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking*, 8.

have looked at these visions of the future held in the past.<sup>76</sup> A vibrant historiography also centers on the technological promises of a variety of world fairs that dominated the nineteenth and twentieth century world stages, each appealing to everyday imaginations.<sup>77</sup> These performances of “the Future” differ however from “Expectation” as covered in this work. Expectation is more general and anxious, focused on the perceived ability of an individual, their family, and community to succeed in attaining and maintaining a stable and privileged life. Expectation often finds itself expressed through anxieties over a perceived decline in some aspect of life. Increased secularism can bring on fears of a future where religious faith would no longer anchor social morality. A business closing down can strike at the core of worries over financial stability and the viability of a neighborhood. The exact opposite event, the opening of a new business, can trigger similar worries about transition and change. Would the institutions and values of the present carry over into the future? Would the human race be strong enough to handle the unknown problems of the future? Could people feel secure financially, morally, and physically in a few decades, years, what about tomorrow? These anxieties informed insecure conceptions of the future that permeated lives so thoroughly that any number of events could easily reverberate through their fragile sense of Expectation.

These often-exaggerated expectations formed complex, ever changing visions of the future. In the case of Germany and the U.S. South, Heritage aggravated these everyday

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<sup>76</sup> Marshall B. Tymn put together a useful breakdown of Science Fiction as a genre along with a brief historical summation of scholarly interaction. Although from 1985, it provides a useful starting point for those wanting to academically delve into the fascinating world of Science Fiction. Marshall B. Tymn, “Science Fiction: A Brief History and Review of Criticism,” *American Studies International*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (April 1985): 41-66.

<sup>77</sup> A wide variety of Worlds Fair historiography exists that speaks to these events as displays of empire, power, technology, and visions of the future. For the American side, consider Robert W. Rydell *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), Robert W. Rydell *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), as well as Joseph J. Corn and Brian Horrigan *Yesterday's Tomorrows: Past Visions of the American Future* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). For Germany John Phillip Short's *Magic Lantern Empire: Colonialism and Society in Germany* (Cornell University Press, 2012) provides a very useful discussion of performances of empire and technology at world fairs and similar exhibitions.

insecurities making them felt all the more intensely amongst everyday white Southerners and Germans. The adoption of an identity predicated on a historically romanticized individuality came with an intense series of expectations. In that spirit, Expectation further aggravated the anxieties of everyday life for everyday adopters of Heritage. The disappearance and appearance of objects, people, and ideas brought with them the threat of change that undermined the entitled status-quo inherent to Heritage. Perceived threats to the stability and continuity of the present were expressed in terms of these insecure but privileged futures. Expectation thus provides a powerful and raw insight into Heritage and the discrimination such an identity often fosters.

When looking at Southern and German Heritage with “Expectation” in mind many inherent characteristics become more tangible. In the South, the bumper sticker motto “The South Shall Rise Again” is steeped in the prospects of a revival of some neo-confederate society. The much-lauded concept of “illiberalism” is predicated on the notion that if certain inherent features of German identity were abandoned in favor of cosmopolitan liberal ideas, Germany would fall down a path towards a damning future. Every national culture has ideas of the future that bear some similarity to these concepts, but for Germany and the U.S. South, these apprehensions of the future rely on hyperbole of the highest degree. Various actions, whether meaningful or slight, tilt the balance upwards towards a hallowed destiny or down into an apocalypse most foul. A transnational breakdown of these expectations holds the key towards understanding how Heritage functions, survives, and discriminates on the everyday level.

While the methods of future history have not been implemented on a very significant scale, the rhetoric behind “Expectation” has already permeated historical discourse. W. Fitzhugh Brundage wrote that collective memory serves to identify a group, “giving it a sense of its past

and defining its aspirations for the future.”<sup>78</sup> Peter Fritzsche stated that pre-World War I optimism “opened up further possibilities for re-imagining the future.”<sup>79</sup> Charles Eagles, when looking at W.J. Cash, contended that “Cash found too much continuity in the [South’s] history and erroneously expected more in the future.”<sup>80</sup> These examples are just a small sampling of a vast collection of references to “Expectation” made throughout these two thick scholarships. The field needs a formal and thorough investigation of these visions of future, particularly a transnational breakdown that, by its very comparative nature, undermines the exceptionalism rhetoric at the core of these expectations. This work deploys “Expectation,” the phrase standing in for visions of the future both good and bad, as a common pipeline shared by Germans and Southerners. Expectation clarifies Heritage as a concept; Heritage is more than a reproduction of the past and more than embellished identity politics. Heritage functioned, as Gaston had asserted, like a creed, one that detailed a roadmap to an ideal and inherited future awaiting the deserving. Believing that there was something essential and special to their makeup defined everyday people’s remembered legacies, how they viewed the defining forces of their time, and guided every decision as they pushed towards various opportunities in hopes of realizing their best-case Expectation while trying to avoid a devastating future.

Expectation provided a guiding impulse to everyday people that helped them simplify and navigate their complex lives. The present that people lived in was complicated and messy. Bad things happened that were often difficult to explain, particularly if someone came from a culture that firmly believed in its own destiny. Those communities holding themselves as special and distinct believed that they come from a long line of people who endured difficulties, often without modern comforts and conveniences. If their ancestors could thrive and survive, then

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<sup>78</sup> Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Harvard University Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>80</sup> Eagles, *The Mind of the South: Fifty Years Later*, xi.

people suffering in the present could and should succeed. However, because they failed to do so, many suspected something malicious actively worked against them. Thoughts of being undermined in the present informed fears of further decline in the future. Those fears were often manipulated by Segregationists seeking everyday endorsement of their racist policies and ideology. That transnational exaggerated self-importance informed entitlement, which often convinced everyday white Southerners and Germans to glorify their past, suspect others around them, and fervently work towards realizing the future they felt they deserved. Expectation can tell us a lot about Heritage at the everyday level. That said, one major question remains, one that drives this dissertation: Why did these entitled futures convince everyday people to willingly back systems of discrimination, oppression, and violence?

### **Lost Cause and Lederhosen**

This dissertation consists of an ambitious endeavor to use the visions of the future in Germany and the U.S. South to undermine the elevated self-importance of everyday white Southerners and Germans that foster racial discrimination. A few considerations to the scope and research approach must be made. First off, most importantly, how can Germany and the U.S. South be brought together into a meaningful comparison? Expectation is one thing, but Germany is a national state while the U.S. South remains a region within the United States - despite the ardor of certain secessionist elements. In *Masters and Lords*, Bowman expressed a similar concern and opted to highlight regional landed elite in the Prussian region of Brandenburg and planters in Virginia.<sup>81</sup> By emphasizing the Mark and the Old Dominion, Bowman created a level playing field for his transnational model. In that same spirit, this work will not focus on all of

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<sup>81</sup> Bowman, *Masters & Lords*.

Germany, but instead Germany's own "South," the state of Bavaria. Located in southern Germany, Bavaria offers a useful comparative model for the U.S. South, not solely because of Helen's alpine reproduction. Bavaria, long an independent monarchy in Central Europe, reconciled itself to German Unification with considerable difficulty and resentment. Bavarians long-defined – and still consider – themselves in resistance to the standard German identity. For one, the Catholicism that has longed informed Bavarian religious thought differs from Germany's widespread Protestantism. Bavarians espouse a distinct, traditional culture that has found itself slowly adopted throughout Germany. This recreational appropriation increasingly benefits Bavaria via an ever-rising tourism for Germans seeking a retreat into the past. Many of these features, devout religion, traditional culture, and time-traveling tourism, among many others are prevalent throughout the U.S. South, making for some fascinating cultural parity. Furthermore, Bavaria defines itself as peculiar and isolated in relation to a German state that increasingly takes a larger and larger role in global affairs. Thus, the U.S. South and Bavaria make for valuable models beyond their most important similarity: many people in both spaces have internalized their perceived exceptionalism, both having historically worshiped their Heritages.

A complex question then materializes: what constitutes the "U.S. South?" Research timing and funds have limited direct research in the U.S. South to the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas. That said, archives from these states house materials from all over the South so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Florida, Arkansas, and Louisiana find voices within this work. To define and bound the South geographically, however, ignores the regional and demographic diversity throughout the U.S. South. Tennessee itself, from a geographic standpoint, can be split into three distinct regions.

Atlanta, Georgia differs considerably from Jackson, Mississippi which, by extension, bears no resemblance to Lexington, whether you are considering the one in Kentucky or Virginia. Such a geographic breakdown allows little room for the ways the South has permeated the nation at large where confederate memorials can be found in Oregon and country music plays with frequency on the airwaves of western Pennsylvania. This work is not a study of the South, but rather the term “Southern.” Despite inherent diversity, these varying regions with diverse inhabitants would define themselves by the very Heritage that this dissertation strives to challenge and understand. In that spirit, considerations of a spatial South are tertiary at best.

Regarding “Southern” and “Bavarian” being in conversation with one another, any occupant of Bavaria would tell you there are stark differences between Franconia, a region of Bavaria made up of amalgamated sections of the former Holy Roman Empire forced together by Napoleon, and the Schwaben region, the Western corridor of the state. For that matter, two regions in Bavaria are called Upper Bavaria and Lower Bavaria, the former of which houses the city of Munich which considers itself completely unique to the rest of Bavaria, Germany, and the World. That said, a consideration to contrasting sizes must be made. The U.S. South occupies considerably more space and as consequence features more historical subjects. While there is inherently more material available for the South, a quality of materials is present for both regions. Thankfully, Bavarians and Southerners both left behind ample material that defines their strikingly similar expectations for the future. Tied up with the concern of size is also time period. The future is seemingly infinite, especially imagined futures. So, for the sake of clarity the historical fetish for bounding and labelling time periods becomes frustratingly necessary. While many time periods exist to compare these regions and their inhabitants’ expectations, this work will focus on the U.S. South and Bavaria from 1919 to 1939.

Entering 1919, the world found itself in a dramatic state of flux that forced many people to come to terms with the profound economic power of the Federal Government of the United States. The “Roaring Twenties” spread the images and ideas of American opulence across a world battered by the global devastation of the First World War. As reactionaries lectured against the ills of “Americanism,” (or Yankeeism in the South) everyday people actively and willingly engaged with a brand-new culture defined by speed, wealth, jazz, modernism, excess, and sexuality. The disjoint between tradition and novelty unearthed severe concerns over the changing of the generational guard. The descent into a global depression brought further aggravation that made questions of the future bear heavily on the present. This “Interwar Period” – an utterly deterministic term used with considerable reluctance for its succinct convenience – was a battleground for the future that refracted through the U.S. South and Bavaria in ways that necessitate thorough investigation.

For all their differences in experience, both the U.S. South and Bavaria found themselves in serious contemplation of what the future meant during the interwar era. Following defeat in the First World War and the collapse of the *Kaiserreich*, Bavaria erupted into a revolution that witnessed the brief rise of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. While a nearly instant overthrow brought Bavaria back into the German fold, the specter of Communism never vanished and informed public anxiety towards the Soviet Union. Bavaria, the Catholic and rural heart of Germany, therefore advocated traditional values embodied in a right-leaning moderate political platform. The Bavarian People’s Party (BVP) found considerable Bavarian support by providing a vision of the future that aligned with everyday desires of maintaining Bavarian sovereignty within an increasingly amalgamating Germany, guarding traditional Catholic values from increasing secularism, and blocking the advances of the tumultuous, modernizing forces that



constantly altered Bavaria. Finally, it must be noted that Munich, the capital of Bavaria, was the birthplace of Nazism which offered its own vision of the future that eventually would push out all other visions in Bavaria and Germany at large. Many other circumstances point to the pressing nature of concerns over the future in Bavaria, but this diversity of political visions perhaps most clearly defines the idea that the future was very much up for grabs in Bavaria.

More politically stable and uniform, the solidly Democratic South did not offer the political diversity running with wild-abandon throughout Bavaria. Questions about the future nonetheless held sway throughout the South. Victory from the First World War had served to restore a portion of sectional peace to white Southerners who, while still glorifying the Civil War and condemning Reconstruction, contemplated their role in a seemingly *United States of America*. The push and pull between a South assimilating and the insistent desire to maintain a love of tradition and Southern gentility ran through the region at large. This tension could be found economically between New South advocates and resistant intellectuals, notably, the Nashville Agrarians, who emphasized the need to maintain a distinct Southern agricultural identity. Despite these debates, the maintenance of Jim Crow segregation remained the unspoken common ground for debates on expected futures. The Jim Crow South of the 1920s and 1930s witnessed mass-segregation, the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan, lynching, miscarriages of justice like the Scottsboro Nine, and Margaret Mitchell's racial tome *Gone with the Wind*. Whatever form debates about the South's future adopted, most white Southerners would unequivocally assert that all futures would benefit the white Southerners at the expense of those with black skin.

Such segregated futures point to a major assertion of this work: Expectation highlights a clannish self-interest inherent in Heritage. If the South and Bavaria define themselves as proudly

peculiar, implicit in that assertion is a believed superiority in some facet of life. That facet may seem backwards or irrelevant to outsiders, but to those in the know, that peculiarity is special and must be vitally maintained at all costs. Amalgamation, i.e. becoming like everybody else, would be the absolute worst thing that could happen to a community defining themselves by their proud Heritages. Often, Heritage was the only thing that everyday people had backing their self-worth. To lose it would mean facing a series of complex and belittling realities. Therefore, clannish self-interest, the desire to look after your own at the expense of others, relied on an entitled belief in an exceptional and privileged future. When that future did not come to fruition, or seemed threatened, everyday people in the interwar U.S. South and Bavaria looked with derision and suspicion towards outsiders. Most often in these homogenous white areas, those outsiders were constructed on a racial basis.

As much as everyday Heritage enabled racial discrimination, those sentiments were aggravated by Segregationists. Recognizing the intensity of fears of decline alongside hostility towards outsiders amongst everyday white Southerners and Bavarians, Segregationists merged these mindsets into propaganda meant to earn themselves broad support. By arguing that everyday anxieties over a decline were genuine, Segregationists lent validity to everyday woes. Further arguments that outsiders – who everyday people already did not trust – were responsible for those perceived declines won further support towards Segregationist agendas. Recognizing political capital to be gained, nationalist politicians swung into these racialized politics, either directly or through “dog-whistle” politics, i.e. signaling racist sympathies without directly utilizing radical racist ideas. Either way, Segregationists who successfully weaponized Expectation gained support for the installation, maintenance, and perpetuation of systems of inequality. The threat of a declining future thus motivated a wide

variety of everyday white Southerners and Bavarians to accept and endorse a racially-discriminatory defense of their Expectation and Heritage.

Socially constructed race operates as a fundamentally important component of this transnational investigation. In Southern history, scholars are often warned to be careful with flippantly and frequently using the word Southerner when they mean white Southerners. The mere fact that scholars have repeatedly used “Southerner” with whiteness as an implicit identifier signals the centrality of race to this conversation. It remains difficult to separate the two identity markers because they went hand in hand for so long with the willing endorsement of many white Southerners. It must be made clear that the visions of the future this work studies, as they existed in the U.S. South, were explicitly white and benefitted white Southerners. While African-American southerners had roles to play in white futures, those were, with few exceptions, always subservient and secondary. However, in Bavaria, fears of Communism from Russia and resentments over global depression aggravated anti-Semitism prevalent throughout the region. Anti-Semitism was far from the letter of the land, unlike anti-black racism in the South, but, all the same, its presence can be found, whether looking towards those sympathetic to Nazism or amongst the Catholic farming masses that resented capitalism and feared that the working classes would return Communism to their lands.

In a similar note, gender and sexuality take prominent places in Southern and Bavarian Expectation. Both societies internalized strongly patriarchal notions that prioritized men running a “greater sphere” of politics and economy while women maintained the “domestic sphere” of home and family. Both Heritages extolled the importance of the domestic sphere, but nonetheless prioritized men. However, both regions faced a complicated new reality, female suffrage. Women, by pulling the right to vote out of the ashes of war, earned a position in the greater

sphere, raising a lot of questions about the role women would play in the future. Would they become politicians, would more women seek employment, if women could cross these barriers would they even need marriage, what did masculinity mean? Both the “New Woman” and the “Flapper” left enduring questions within these two traditionally conservative regions. The role of women and masculinity went hand in hand with questions about the future of children.

Following the First World War, youth globally faced new, diverse pleasures and took to them as if there would be no tomorrow. While such behavior, coming in the wake of a large-scale war that was followed by the global pandemic of the Spanish Flu, is understandable in hindsight, to many of the older generations in Bavaria and the U.S. South the refusal of the younger generation to think of the future endangered the futures they held dear. Society itself appeared to be crumbling not only from a gendered standpoint, but also a generational standpoint.

One final consideration must be made, what historical subjects will be studied? This work will not focus on politics at the highest level, but rather study the public discourse of everyday people in the U.S. South and Bavaria. Understanding the importance of Heritage can only come from a thorough assessment of the public sphere that everyday people lived in, contributed to, and consumed. No culture is truly exceptional, but exceptionalism finds a basis in the reality of the everyday lives of people. From a Crimson Tide flag in Alabama to a FC Nürnberg jersey, people mark their national and regional cultures with pride and in Bavaria and the U.S. South those claims to exceptionality were hardly ever subtle, particularly in the Interwar Period. Everyday Southern and Bavarian concepts of the future were tied to the exceptionalism at the foundation of their identities. This relationship can be felt throughout a wide diversity of resources from school plays, to issue pamphlets, tourism brochures, local newspapers, and many other items that, when considered together, construct a unified vision of the future shared across

the Atlantic by two national cultures that *needed* to consider themselves exceptional. To be anything else was an apocalypse. Therefore, as opposed to dissolving exceptionality, this work will use everyday history to highlight and extract the Expectation that defined the entitled clannish self-interests inherent in Heritage.

The following chapters will gradually explain how Expectation informed clannish self-interests that undergirded exclusionary impulses supporting the segregated states of Jim Crow and the Third Reich. The above constitutes a tall task requiring a thorough breakdown split across five chapters. Each chapter features vignettes that explore specific moments, organizations, sources, or people that highlight the components of expectation that, when combined, forge a cohesive narrative. The four major chapters will be split into four sections, the first of which introduces the component of expectation that the chapter will highlight. The second section will explore that component as it existed in the interwar U.S. South while the third will do the same for Bavaria. Finally, the chapters will close explaining how that component of Expectation reinforced racialized segregation.

The first chapter explores “Tradition,” the role the past played in the construction of the future. Memory history has amply explained how collective memory informed people’s present, but that work needs to be taken a step further via breaking down how everyday people weaponized their imagined pasts to realize their hoped-for futures. People often based their desired futures on attractive models of the past. Those models often applied pressure on everyday people to ensure that these embellished legacies did not collapse. Therefore, Expectation cannot be understood without acknowledging the versions of the past everyday people hoped to perpetuate. In the U.S. South, worship of the past found its basis in the Lost Cause glorification of the confederacy. Favorable historical memories of the South’s rebellion

set a legacy of moral standards that Southerners hoped to shelter from a rapidly changing world and maintain well into the future. For Bavaria, tradition was wrapped up in Bavaria's long history as a Catholic kingdom independent to the rest of German culture. Everyday people valued the memories of that peculiarity, hoping to maintain it and a bevy of nationalist values for a future generation that would need the lessons of a glorified Bavarian past. Both examples of "Tradition" ultimately lent historical legacies to an already elevated self-importance throughout the two regions, a self-importance that made exclusion and discrimination a natural, historically ordained reality that needed to continue into the future.

The second chapter investigates "Suspicion," the anxieties of the present that defined the hopes and apprehensions surrounding various futures, both good and bad. The interwar era complicated the trajectory of the future that many white Southerners and Bavarians had envisioned for themselves. Thus, many everyday people refracted their views of the present through their expectations for the future. Often those events which portended significant changes to the status quo received ample suspicion, often bordering on conspiracy, as people adamantly feared that any change would damage the stability many desired for the future. The biggest change the South faced in the interwar era came with the passage of Women's Suffrage, theoretically altering the gender dynamics in the chauvinist South. However, while this debate raged a larger concern was aired, namely, that expanding enfranchisement in any way would ultimately harm the white dominion vital to Jim Crow. Bavaria worried less about women voting, but rather looked with great hesitation and fear towards Munich and Augsburg as they experimented with a Soviet Republic. Communism, socialism, and democracy all received ample skepticism and condemnation throughout Bavaria for introducing a potentially caustic cosmopolitan lifestyle to their peculiar isolation. Ultimately, these suspicions in both the South

and Bavaria isolated everyday people from outsiders, insulating their clannish self-interests with a severe mistrust that made segregation appear to be a legitimate means of protecting the future from those ignorant outsiders recklessly tearing it apart.

The third chapter discusses the importance of “Potential,” the desire to maximize the abilities of future generations to cope with a theoretically complex and unpredictable future. The problems of the past had been handled by heroes tinged with destiny and driven by firm moral compasses. The present, however, seemed more complicated than those rosy times, even if some refused to admit as much. If the present was even worse than a strife-filled past, what fresh hells would the future hold? For interwar white Southerners and Bavarians, the future loomed dangerously, constantly in flux as disease, economic exploitation, global conspiracies, and a seemingly new immorality streak ravaged the youth.

In the U.S. South, Potential permeated three critical discourses the first being New South investments and tourism that sought to model various Southern spots as sites that would help people realize the best possible future for themselves. On a second front various women’s leagues across the South hoped to maximize civic awareness and engagement in hopes of creating ideal citizens up to the task of bettering the South’s political institutions in the long term. Finally, sterilization dominated the Southern public health landscape as eugenics reached its peak popularity via the hopes that this medical procedure could enhance the physical capability of future generations. In Bavaria, Potential revolved around one constant: ensuring that the state’s youth could develop into healthy and responsible citizens. For a region that suffered casualties from the First World War and fatalities via the Spanish Flu, the prospect of raising a generation to fruition was far from a given. Many Bavarians feared what losing another generation would do to Bavaria’s ability to endure in an increasingly amalgamated Germany.

Bavarians became hyper vigilant over public health, social hygiene, and youth culture, all in hopes of sheltering and developing this generation's ability to face an unpredictable future. Potential in both cases elevated the fears that the aspects that defined these regions' Heritage would diminish and doom future generations to lose the essential components that made them Southern or Bavarian. Out of those fears, exclusion of that which threatened Potential – the poor, the sick, the disabled, the immoral – readily promoted other discriminatory systems that helped popularize Segregationist ideas.

The fourth chapter differentiates the material of the previous three chapters by exploring Tradition, Suspicion, and Potential as they existed in the Expectation of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party. Clannish self-interest motivated exceptionalism and exclusionary impulses in everyday people that overlapped structurally with the expectations of the radical nationalist organizations of the U.S. South and Bavaria. The Klan and Nazis both believed they were heirs to historical legacies, looked with suspicion on the changes defining their present, and worried about their respective communities' ability to face the unknown problems of the future. Those similarities allowed everyday people to believe that such organizations shared their sympathies. Such assurances led to either outright support or at least everyday acceptance of their existence, preferring someone doing the dirty work of Expectation. However, overlapping expectations ignores the many ways that radical Expectation differed considerably from its everyday equivalent. For radical racists, the past operated less as a legacy, but rather a lineage tinged with destiny. Suspicions expressed themselves as full-blown paranoia, pushing radicals towards willing and open violence. Concerns over Potential resulted in youth indoctrination, specific breeding tactics, and firm endorsements of eugenic segregation and sterilization. Ultimately, the chapter closes with a firm discussion of the differences between Southern and German radical



racism, reminding readers that these were national organizations that, although originating in the South and Bavaria, far exceeded those regions.

In both cases radical ambitions far exceeded the clannish self-interest that dominated everyday expectation. Nonetheless, everyday people lent support, active or tacit, to radical segregationist agendas. Understanding why operates as the central concern of the concluding fifth chapter that considers the motivations that allowed everyday people to join radical movements at the ground level. To do so, this chapter diverges from the others by providing a fascinating transnational case-study: the lives of Hans and Erna Schnabrich. On October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1947 the *Spruchkammer* V of Nuremberg, one of several denazification courts in the south German state of Bavaria, heard the case of Hans Kaufmann Schnabrich. As a decorated SA *Sturmführer*, Hans had earned numerous awards during his tenure with the Nazi Party. Hans Schnabrich's wife, Erna, had also been charged by the *Spruchkammer* for being an active supporter of National Socialism and informing on Jews to the Gestapo. Both Schnabrichs had taken their own lives shortly after Hans' arrest in 1945. Their denazification trial was posthumous: their suicides, which occurred within days of one another, were grim confirmations of their guilt and complicity. Perhaps the strangest factor in an already bizarre case, the Schnabrichs had belonged to the Chicago Ku Klux Klan when living in the U.S. during the 1920s. The couple had clearly racist proclivities throughout their lives; from testimony gathered, both appeared guilty of being willing participants in the segregated racial state of the Third Reich and the genocide it committed. Ultimately, the case would take over a year to settle. When it finally wrapped up, the Schnabrichs were declared to be only "followers," an innocuous level of complicity within the criminal hierarchy of Nazism.

This concluding chapter asks a difficult question: were the Schnabrichs truly despicable radical white nationalists, or were they merely citizens caught up in the darker ideas of the era? That question has plagued countless histories of the Klan and Nazi Party. This work applies Expectation to this question to look at the complex, globalized lives of the Schnabrichs as a vehicle for exploring everyday complicity and support for radical discrimination, violence, and extermination. Ultimately, this work contends that everyday people did not advocate large scale extermination that typified the Holocaust. Even Nazis still debated the parameters of a Final Solution to their Jewish problem deep into the Second World War. To argue that everyday people internalized an eliminationist ideology would take appraisal of their complicity a step too far. The Schnabrichs and countless other everyday racists looked on the Holocaust with disgust and bewilderment, lacking a term to appropriately label this drastic escalation of racial discrimination until “genocide” entered the lexicography.

The vision of the future offered by Nazis, the Klan, and other Segregationists differed from everyday Expectation in stark ways, particularly regarding the position of racialized others in the future. Whereas everyday people felt threatened by competition with racialized others and the steady decline of their Heritage, those fears for the future were best addressed with social ostracizing and legislative initiatives. Most people engaged in discrimination via where to shop, who to hire, where to socialized, etc. They voted for politicians that endorsed segregation, fought for reduced immigration, and implemented anti-miscegenation laws. Those racist policies that firmly placed racialized others into second-class citizenship meshed well with a version of the future many white Southerners and Bavarians could get behind. However radical racists pressed racialized threats into extremist political action. Radical futures involved the alienation, marginalization, and, in many cases, deaths of racialized others to ensure that the future would

benefit the white race. Nationalist politicians operated as middle-men between these radicals and everyday people by making radical racist ideas politically palatable in exchange for political clout. Everyday Expectation adopted by white Southerners and Bavarians did not envision such devastation, but nonetheless supported the basic idea at the heart of radical Expectation, the success and perpetuation of white hegemony.

Everyday people were not innocent of the discrimination, segregation, and violence visited upon racialized others in the Third Reich and Jim Crow South. Expectation provides historians with profound pipelines into the mindset and environment of historical actors who believed their national cultures to be distinct and worthy of protection from various enemies. That alone makes this work valuable, but from a social justice perspective, this dissertation demonstrates that everyday people, not just politicians and radicals, share responsibility in the injustices of this era. Everyday white Southerners and Bavarians desperately craved a future that blended the technological advances of the day with their imagined traditional values in a way that benefited their specifically constructed communities. By caring very little about what happened to those outside of their communities, and actively encouraging inequality that benefitted their own opportunities, everyday people lent support to the various racially motivated agendas that darkened the 1920s, 1930s, and beyond. This history is much more than Lost Cause and Lederhosen, the trappings of Heritage. No, this work ensures that everyday people are held responsible for the discriminatory systems they continually perpetuated in hopes of realizing a privileged future, no matter what pain it visited upon others.

## CHAPTER 2

### Cherishing the Past

#### **The People are His Monument**

In the very Southwest corner of Bavaria, fewer than one thousand people call the small town of Ettal “home.” Its surrounding natural wonders – Alpine mountains, deep forests, and beautiful marshlands – impress many visitors. Ettal benefits tremendously from historical tourism as it contains a variety of historic buildings that provide much needed revenue to the town. The Ettal Abbey, first established in 1330, features the famous *Ettal Madonna*, a marble statue of Mary, the much-revered mother of Jesus Christ, who remains as sacred to Catholics now as in the fourteenth century, especially in the predominantly and traditionally catholic Bavaria.

<sup>1</sup> Less holy, but nonetheless revered by Bavarians is the Linderhof Palace, an opulent retreat that the Bavarian King Ludwig II formally finished in 1863. He intended the multi-million-mark construction, built in the rococo architecture famous throughout Bavaria, to be a small Bavarian Versailles complete with its own Hall of Mirrors, opulent gardens, a replica of the famous Ambassador staircase, and a life-size marble sculpture of the palace’s founding monarch that still resides on the opulent estate.<sup>2</sup>

While the monarch himself commissioned the statue in Linderhof, Bavarians expended considerable effort to firmly entrench Ludwig II on their memorial landscape. Over time, statues

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the Ettal Abbey consult *Kloster Ettal*, <https://www.kloster-ettal.de/> as well as The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database, Ettal, Abbey St. Mariae Himmelfahrt, [https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC\\_search/subcats.php?cat\\_1=2&cat\\_2=39&cat\\_3=5495&cat\\_4=11746](https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/subcats.php?cat_1=2&cat_2=39&cat_3=5495&cat_4=11746), (Accessed on March 3, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, <http://www.schlosslinderhof.de/deutsch/schloss/entsteh.htm>, (Accessed on March 3, 2019).

and memorials dotted the Bavarian landscape at various stages commemorating the memory of Ludwig, the monarch nicknamed the “Swan King,” an indication of the fairy tale narratives that surrounded his rule and made him a cherished Bavarian hero. Ludwig II received his people’s adoration long past his death because he helped propel many of the famous cultural institutions that would make Bavaria well-known, not only in the Germany that was unified during his reign, but throughout the world. He was a patron to many artists, most famous of whom was Richard Wagner, *the* German composer who earned the adoration of aspiring Germanophiles. Under Ludwig’s patronage, Wagner completed the famous *Die Meistersinger*, an opera centered on a sixteenth century competition between the best singers in the Bavarian town of Nuremberg, the site no doubt a nod to the oldest city in his generous benefactor’s domain. Wagner’s opera elevated the importance of singing to Nuremberg to the point where singing clubs still regularly fill the city with melodic harmony.<sup>3</sup>

One of Ludwig’s most famous memorials is a prominent statue in Munich’s Maximilian Gardens on King Ludwig II Way. The statue credits Ludwig for putting his imprint on Bavarian culture, helping him rest easy in the knowledge that he succeeded because “the people are his monument.” As rosily as the variety of statues and memorials dedicated to this Bavarian monarch inform the public memory of Bavaria’s fairy tale king, Bavarians primarily valued Ludwig II after his death. In his own life he spent much of his own personal fortune on castles, art, and his baroque lifestyle. Facing staggering personal debt, he maintained his opulent ways by taking out loans with any royal family willing to fund his reckless spending. His financial

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<sup>3</sup> For Biographies on Ludwig II consider: Wilfrid Blunt and Michael Petzet, *Dream King: Ludwig II of Bavaria* (The Viking Press, 1970). Katerina von Burg, *Ludwig II of Bavaria: The Man and the Mystery* (Windsor Publication, 1989). Greg King, *The Mad King: The Life and Times of Ludwig II of Bavaria* (Citadel, 1996). Christopher McIntosh, *The Swan King: Ludwig II of Bavaria*, 1982. Hans F. Nöhbauer, *Ludwig II: Ludwig II of Bavaria* (Tashcen, 1998). Wolfgang Till, *Ludwig II King of Bavaria Myth and Truth* (Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2010).

irresponsibility, combined with his utter apathy for matters of state, made his advisors tremendously uncomfortable. Working without any royal supervision, they began a plot to have him removed from office by being declared insane. They eventually deposed him on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1886; the ensuing legal battle would be short lived, as Ludwig II mysteriously died three days later. His legacy, however, would call on history to remember him as a font of Bavarian culture and an engineer of Bavaria's unity with the German Reich while preserving its autonomy, a very valuable perception for Bavaria's unique regional nationalism that allowed Bavarians to maintain an elevated distance from the rest of Germany.

The marble statue of Ludwig II at Linderhof Palace is impressive, but hardly registers on the Ludwig II memorial landscape, paling in comparison to monument in Munich. However, there is much more to this statue than meets the eye. Its original artist, Franzisca Bernadina Wilhemina Elisabet Ney, did not sculpt it. Elisabet Ney was born in January 1833 in Prussia where she made a career as a sculptor of famous figures of European history such as the Hanoverian King George V, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and the iconic Iron Chancellor of Germany Otto von Bismarck. After Bismarck's portrait, Ney moved to Munich, commissioned to sculpt Ludwig II. Some historians speculate that Otto von Bismarck deployed her to stroke the Bavarian monarch's ego and provide Bismarck with valuable support intel as he orchestrated the unification of Germany. Ney developed a close relationship with the monarch as he sat for the various renditions to prepare the eventual marble statue that now resides in Linderhof. After two years, in November 1870, she completed a plaster mold of the sculpture. But she would not cut the final marble version for Ludwig's southern retreat because she was leaving Germany to move to Thomasville, Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Elisabet Ney's complicated and globalized life is a fascinating tale. She intersects a wide variety of historic topics, but she is generally recorded as a famous Texan. Those interested in reading about her should consult the

Elisabet Ney's husband, Scottish scientist and physician Edmund Montgomery, had been diagnosed with tuberculosis in 1863. The couple sought suitable climates for him when a close friend of the family recommended settling in the southern Georgia town of Thomasville – a place he referred to as “Earth's Paradise.” In 1871, the couple left the European continent, she pregnant with their first child, and settled in a U.S. South under the power of the Reconstruction governments supervising the former Confederacy's postwar recovery and reconciliation with the nation. Ney and Montgomery did not take well to their new Georgia home; their young American-born son died of diphtheria before his second birthday. The couple left Georgia, briefly living in Minnesota before settling near Austin, Texas. They would spend the rest of their lives in Texas, living and running the Liendo Plantation, a parcel of land once Mexican which a Texan transformed into a cotton plantation. During the Civil War, the Plantation became a Confederate training camp and then a military prison. This plantation then became the transnational home of a transnational marriage.

Elisabet resumed her artistic career in Austin, setting up a studio named *Formosa* in North Austin, where she was commissioned to carve life size marble sculptures of famous Texans – most notably Sam Houston, the leader of the Texas Revolution, and Stephen F Austin, the “Father of Texas.” Both statues remain prominently displayed and continue to play important roles in Texas' memorial landscape. Ney was also commissioned to design and carve a memorial to Albert Sidney Johnston, the famous Texan and Confederate war hero who was the highest-ranking officer on either side of the Civil War to die in battle. That memorial remains in the Texas State Cemetery where the recumbent Johnston lies ensconced in eternal slumber. Ney

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following works. Francis Edward Abernathy, *Legendary Ladies of Texas* (University of North Texas Press, 1994): 99-105. “Elisabet Ney Education 1863-1857” City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department, 2010. Suzann Ledbetter, *Shady Ladies: Nineteen Surprising and Rebellious American Women* (Forge Books, 2006): 179-192.

would so thoroughly impact the Austin cultural landscape that, after her death, the city took over ownership of her studio, which became a historic landmark and the Elisabet Ney Museum. In the process of acquiring Ney's various pieces for exhibition, the museum petitioned Germany and Bavaria for her last European work of art, the plaster model of Ludwig II. That plaster statue now resides in the Ney museum, available to any Texans or tourists who find themselves in Austin with a hankering for Bavarian worship of the past.

A wide audience partakes in historical tourism that provides the U.S. South and Bavaria ample and vital revenue, often from memorials that depict very particular versions of historical memory. After all, memorials often provide idealized versions of historical moments or figures staged to entrench a preferred version of events in the public landscape. Nostalgia tourism and memory history continue a decades old desire to travel through space and time to a perceived earlier, simpler age, one where good people performed great acts and heroic deeds. Against the odds, life ultimately worked out fairly well because the amalgamation of those past virtues and words brought about the present. Travelling to these sites emphasizes traditional values and a reverence for those who came before because their trials and tribulations presumably offered gifts and models for the present. Hence families visit many of these historic sites to instill a value of the past on a youthful generation focused on the new developments defining their futures.

In many ways, nostalgia tourism has long operated as a dampener on careening and constantly changing societies. Adherents of traditional values hearken to models of the past, but not out of some reverence to an accurately remembered and cataloged past. Their versions of historical events are quite romantic. After all, looking at Ney's statue of Ludwig says absolutely nothing about his poor financial management, his removal from power, nor his mysterious death. Cherishing the past was not about accurately portraying the past in painful detail; instead, it was



about cherry picking a few lessons loosely based on actual events that, like a game of telephone, changed as each generation passed down those stories. Tradition, the reverence for a nostalgic interpretation of the past, weaponized the past to ensure that a certain set of values would continue into the future. Heritage-oriented cultures can elevate any value, person, or group in popularity by attaching historical value, accurate or otherwise. Hence, nostalgia tourism helped traditionally-oriented people pass on questionable histories to their children with the expectation that those lessons and the attached values would be passed on generation to generation in perpetuity.

Bavaria and the U.S. South are sites of nostalgia tourism for a reason – both places put a sincere effort into preserving and crafting a meticulous version of their own histories. Both regions, self-isolated from their larger national cultures, have long treated themselves as unique, proudly distinct, and somehow “more-than” the other Americans and Germans with whom they have been forced to share their country. A common “unreconstructed” attitude defined these regions, validated by a historic identity crafted over multiple decades that prioritized defiance and peculiarity. Every monument, grave marker, museum, tour, road side stand, and kitschy tourist item told a story different from the actual history, but in many ways these stories became much more cherished and vital to the regions’ Heritages. These items created out of stone, plastic, and human memory, were not about the past. Robert E. Lee repeatedly condemned memorialization of the confederacy, and Ludwig II certainly did not support art or palaces for the sake of later generations. No, the generation that created memorials imbued these past artifacts and myths with value in the hopes of leaving markers for future generations to remember select versions of the past that supported their particular world views.

In the case of Heritage, the past speaks volumes about the futures everyday people hoped to realize. In many ways “Tradition,” the embellished memories of the past that informed Heritage, provided everyday white Southerners and Bavarians a backdrop for their hopes of the future. Tradition offered numerous examples of noble actions, happier times, and simple pleasures. By adopting idyllic versions of past, everyday people built up high expectations for not only the lives they lived in the present, but the futures they dreamed of realizing. Looking around the Interwar world, many white Southerners and Bavarians were quick to recognize the disjoint between the past they cherished and their present struggles. Bavarians and Southerners often sought refuge from the present in Tradition, visiting embellished historical sites, participating in dramatic retellings of the past, and trying to hold themselves accountable to the moral compass of their ancestors. The pressures to live up to the promises of the past were considerable and made anxieties and insecurities over a possible future decline all the worse.

Tradition played a key role in expectations for the future. Everyday Bavarians and Southerners awash in a sea of tumultuous changes after the First World War needed to find something to anchor their value systems. The youth began to enjoy the opulence and recklessness of the roaring 1920s, choosing to live life to the fullest before another global catastrophe would take their lives en masse. However, more traditional people worried about enshrining their values in perpetuity. A reverence for a select version of the past therefore was heightened because a chaotic and unpredictable future weighed heavily on people’s minds. Any worthwhile future, everyday Southerners and Bavarians convinced themselves, would have to acknowledge and perpetuate the sacred values of the past; the future needed Tradition in order to rein in the wild series of never-ending change that plagued the present. Segregationists recognized the value of Tradition as a means to compel everyday people towards supporting

racial inequality. By presenting themselves as defenders of Tradition capable of allowing future generations to cherish the past, Segregationists won valuable support from everyday people who willingly marginalized racialized others in exchange for honoring a version of the past that often lent historical precedence to inequality. Therefore, understanding the sheer extent of historical romanticism present in Interwar Bavarian and Southern Heritage remains an important endeavor. We must understand Tradition's role in compelling everyday people to weaponize their imagined pasts against racialized others.

### **Lest We Forget**

Near the Georgia-Tennessee state line sits Chattanooga, a city noted for its mountain views, flowing rivers, and rolling hills. Many reasons bring people to Chattanooga, the South's "Scenic City." Some visit nearby Lookout Mountain, drawn hypnotically by the red farmhouses dotting southern highways with "See Rock City" painted on their roofs. Others visit Chattanooga to see its famous Aquarium; the largest in the state. Most are likely commuters attempting to get to or leave Atlanta who find themselves stuck in Chattanooga's somehow worse traffic. However, a significant number of Chattanooga's visitors come to see its numerous Civil War historical sites. Many key battles occurred around Chattanooga and the area benefits considerably from Civil War tourism revenue brought in from visitors to Missionary Ridge, Orchard Knob, and the famous Chickamauga Battlefield. Chattanooga's Confederate legacy attracted those Civil War veterans who had seen the city in war time. The very first reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, an organization of the South's defeated soldiers, was held in Chattanooga on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1890.

This reunion marked the beginning of a phase of Lost Cause production – the effort to entrench an embellished memory of a noble Confederate Southern society shamed by defeat and insulted by occupation. Thirty-one years after this initial meeting, the United Confederate Veterans would again meet in Chattanooga, but in 1921 the Lost Cause was no longer in its infancy. The 1920s and 1930s represent a victory lap of sorts for those who perpetuated the Lost Cause. Often historians focusing on this era place the entrenched New South ideology at the forefront, viewing the Lost Cause as marketing ploys by industrious, often Northern entrepreneurs. 1920s Chattanooga, for example, was infamous for notorious floods of the Tennessee River. With the debut of the New Deal program and the Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga became known as an example of how social liberalism could physically transform an area. With a series of dams along the river, TVA controlled the flooding and Chattanooga benefitted from more stability and electrification. The Lost Cause history of the city took a back seat for decades while Chattanooga was hailed by historians as a New South paragon. However, much like the rest of the South, Confederate worship did not fade. Rather, by the 1920s the Lost Cause was so embedded in Southern identity that it became second nature, an entrenched aspect of Southern culture.

The 1921 United Confederate Veterans Reunion was more of a Lost Cause celebration than a veterans meeting. After all, by 1921 the youngest veterans of 1865 would have been in their seventies; these reunions increasingly became less about the living veterans, instead honoring and coordinating a perpetuation of a positive memory of the Confederacy. The local newspaper, *The Chattanooga Times*, published a special issue focusing entirely on this reunion, but very little was said about visiting veterans. Much like the reunion it covered, and the various other reunions held over the next two decades, this special issue focused not on who gathered,

but instead the various pillars of Lost Cause Southern identity. Veterans did receive some hyperbolic praise as they were briefly deemed “the bright light of this sunburst of truth.”<sup>5</sup> However, the issue devoted more page space to honoring the true heroes of the Lost Cause: the women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, whose considerable work entrenched the Confederacy into Southern identity. Also, in keeping with the transitions of a newer South that emphasized innovation and nostalgia tourism, this special issue invited enthusiasts to visit the new Battle Cyclorama being built in nearby Atlanta, Georgia, which depicted a dramatic circular tapestry of the 1864 Battle of Atlanta. The 1921 Reunion summed up everything that the Lost Cause to that point represented, making it is a useful starting point to discuss the centrality of the Lost Cause Tradition to white Southern Expectation.

By recalling a confederate Heritage, white Southerners could proudly claim to be “unreconstructed,” different from the rest of the United States and therefore not beholden to the rest of the nation. In the long run, white Southerners had won, and the 1920s and 1930s victory lap for the Lost Cause is stark demonstration of that belief. No longer concerned with forming the Lost Cause, its enthusiasts focused over the next two decades on advancing their success. Secure in the dominance of the Lost Cause in the present, white Southerners focused on ensuring a future where the Lost Cause and its cues to Southern identity would endure. Part of that effort involved the development and promotion of various monuments, none perhaps more problematic to present sensibilities than a shrine to Robert E. Lee, which received a whole page in *The Chattanooga Times* special issue, despite its location the heart of southwest Virginia, in the town of Lexington. In the center of the stunningly beautiful campus of Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia stands a church, known as the Lee Chapel. Inside said chapel, amid the

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<sup>5</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR 141, Paul Sanguinetti Records, Box 6, Folder 36, United Confederate Veterans Reunion Chattanooga Times Supplement, “Tribute to Confederate Soldier,” *Chattanooga Times*, October 25, 1921, 2.

trappings of a standard church – pews, stained windows, a podium, a mezzanine – rises a larger-than-life marble statue of Robert E. Lee lying in eternal slumber. Following the Civil War, Washington College offered the famous general of the Confederacy a position as its president. He accepted, running the college that would eventually bear his name, for five years. He passed away in Lexington and was eventually buried beneath the chapel he ordered built for him to attend Sunday services.

The Lee Chapel became famed throughout the South, in part due to advertising like the full-page description in *The Chattanooga Times*. The article included a picture of the “Recumbent Lee” and a history of the statue’s commission, which the article called a “Sarcophagus.”<sup>6</sup> The article also discussed a group of Chattanoogaans who visited Lee’s shrine, believing it “unsurpassed by any monument chamber they have ever seen.”<sup>7</sup> People religiously flocked to the Lee Chapel so much that it was referred to as “the Mecca of the American stage.”<sup>8</sup> That sentiment came across clearly in a poem written by Mrs. Townes Randolph Leigh, the historian of the Alabama division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Borrowing heavily from Christian rhetoric, she wrote that Lee “lives today in the hearts of all people;” he faithfully “labored for you and for me” and “will live forever.”<sup>9</sup> The Recumbent Lee operated as a focus for the cult worship around Lee, the statue, lying on the chapel’s altar and above actual remains of the general, being the next best thing to seeing Lee in real life. The Recumbent Lee has remained a fixture of the Washington and Lee campus, allowing families and visitors to perpetuate aspects of white Southern Tradition for generations.

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<sup>6</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR 141, Paul Sanguinetti Records, Box 6, Folder 36, United Confederate Veterans Reunion Chattanooga Times Supplement, “Immortal Lee: Hero in War; Hero in Peace; Soldier, Scholar, Gentleman,” *Chattanooga Times*, October 25, 1921, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> South Carolina Historical Society, Pamphlet Collection, PAM 815 1930, John E. Hobeika, “Tribute to A Confederate Soldier,” 1930, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 68, Item 4, Mrs. Townes Randolph Leigh, “Robert E. Lee.”

Interwar Southerners also highly praised General Stonewall Jackson, but Jackson's adoration lacked the religiosity accorded to Lee. Southerners transferred their own "unreconstructed" persona onto Stonewall, cherishing the rags to riches narrative of his life and his loyalty to the Southern cause. More importantly, his early death gave Southerners an opportunity to engage in hypotheticals where a living Stonewall reversed the Confederacy's fate. Yet adulation bordered on obsession as one UCV pamphlet mentioned that at an upcoming reunion the attendees would "have a chance to fondle the personal effects of their great Chieftain."<sup>10</sup> To this day, Lost Cause fanaticism around Jackson has led to a ritual centered on the belief that Jackson loved lemons. That notion has encouraged visitors to his grave site – also in Lexington Virginia – to throw lemons below the massive two-armed statue dedicated to his memory.<sup>11</sup>

No single group required more loyalty and worship, however, than those soldiers who had risked life and limb to realize the Southern cause. Lost Cause soldier worship took many forms, the most common involving flowery platitudes to all Confederate soldiers. Various Lost Cause faithful honored and praised these soldiers for their chivalry, honor, devotion to the cause, and for their sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> Southerners believed that these soldiers would ultimately become "even

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<sup>10</sup> University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Special Collections, North Carolina Collection, FCp369.17 U 58c, Official Program: 39<sup>th</sup> Reunion, Leary W. Adams, "Stonewall Jackson, The Beloved" in *Official Program 30<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion United Confederate Veterans*, June 1929.

<sup>11</sup> Stonewall Jackson famously passed away after having his arm amputated and yet almost every statue features Jackson with both of his arms. Such memorialization fits in with a Southern motif of presenting idealized versions of their heroes. One statue that acknowledges Jackson's intersection with Disability History can be found in the small theme park Dinosaur Kingdom II in Lexington, Virginia. Dinosaur Kingdom's is themed on the idea that, during the Civil War, the Union came across a cave that had preserved living dinosaurs that the North intended to use as weapons of mass-destruction. The park features a statue of a living Stonewall Jackson with a robotic arm fighting a dinosaur. The playful merging of the Civil War with dinosaurs is a remarkable find in a city that houses both Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson's burial sites.

<sup>12</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 7, UCV-Camp Joe Wheeler, Letter to Walter Greene, September 21, 1923. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 5, UCV Reunions- Ala. Div., "Old Veterans Welcome to Mobile" in *Official Programme 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion Alabama Division United Confederate Veterans*, 1924, 2.

greater in peace than in war.”<sup>13</sup> Part of that elevation involved setting up the ideal of the Confederate soldier as a model for future Southerners. One monument honoring the Confederate dead signaled to the future more than it honored the past:

“True to the instincts of their Birth,  
Faithful to the Teachings of Their Fathers,  
Constant in Their Love for the State....”<sup>14</sup>

When Judge Walter Murphy claimed that the confederate soldier was “one of the most gloriously pathetic figures in the world’s history,” that was not an insult.<sup>15</sup> Rather Murphy, like many white Southerners, saw themselves as gloriously backwards and proudly different from the nation at large. The South would not seek the aid of outside forces; they were independent self-starters. This sentiment echoed in a Tampa reunion of the Confederate Memorial Association, when the Confederate veterans received praise for their post-war lives: “From poverty and ruin he rebuilt his home, reclaimed his plantation and brought back happiness and prosperity to the South.”<sup>16</sup> The Confederate soldier thus embodied everything good about the South, and, despite defeat, people who emulated these Lost Cause heroes would best serve the contemporary South and its future.

The problem facing the South and its Lost Cause Heritage in the 1920s and 1930s was that fewer Confederate veterans remained to inform these memories. “Fast depleting ranks” of former veterans weighed heavily on the minds of the Lost Cause faithful.<sup>17</sup> That anxiety became

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<sup>13</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 5, Park Trammel, “Women of the Sixties,” in *Minutes of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association*, 1927, 6.

<sup>14</sup> South Carolina Historical Society, Pamphlet Collection, Pam 394.2 1938 Official, “East Side,” Official Program of the 48<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion United Confederate Veterans, Aug-Sep, 1938, 48.

<sup>15</sup> University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Special Collections, North Carolina Collection, Cp970.76 M97s, Walter Murphy, *Speech Memorial to the North Carolina Confederate Dead*, July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1929, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Park Trammel, “Women of the Sixties,” 6.

<sup>17</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 3, Folder 6, UCV-Camp Wilcox Scrapbook, Letter “In Memoriam,” July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1923.



most immediately expressed via exaggerated honors for individual veteran deaths. A sentiment persisted that UCV camps should be propped up and maintained even if only two members were alive.<sup>18</sup> In 1919, the Wilcox Camp of the UCV experienced five deaths, each of which received a remarkably thorough tribute. These heroes were extolled for their particularly “Southern” attributes. General Robert Zell was praised for being “a Christian gentleman, a patriotic citizen,” and for having a “chivalrous soul.”<sup>19</sup> One P.M. Walton was labeled a “typical Southern gentleman of the ‘Old School’ who was ever true to the standards and traditions of the Southern Confederacy, but patriotic and loyal to his country.”<sup>20</sup> Such praise operated as means to highlight Southern virtues and traditions that Lost Cause faithful hoped would carry over into the future, such as loyalty to country attributed, without any sense of irony, on to these veterans of a rebellious army.

The Reunions of the 1920s and 1930s also demonstrated a sincere desire to maintain Lost Cause ritual and reverence for those remaining from the 1860s. In 1919, the city of Atlanta offered warm welcome to “the Heroic Remnant of the South’s Immortal Defenders,” hoping to use this gathering to “present to posterity a correct and fair history of our cause and of your heroic defense of that cause.”<sup>21</sup> Three years later, Richmond – the self-proclaimed “capitol of Southern memories” – similarly welcomed the “remnants” of the army that defended the South.<sup>22</sup> Newspapers even got in on the action. On August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1930, the *Daily Oklahoma* headlined their

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<sup>18</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 7, UCV-Camp Joe Wheeler, Letter from A.B. Booth, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1921.

<sup>19</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 3, Folder 2, UCV-Camp Wilcox Scrapbook, “Resolution on the Death of Robert R. Zell, Chaplain E.A. Wright, and Comrades Walton, Norton and Sterrill, adopted by Camp Wilcox, U.C.V., Feb. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1919,” 1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, United Confederate Veterans Records, LPR155, Box 2, Folder 38, 1931 Reunion, Souvenir Book 1919 Reunion, Atlanta, “Greetings Veterans of the Confederacy” in *Souvenir Book of the United Confederate Veterans Reunion*, 1919, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 7, UCV-Camp Joe Wheeler, “United Confederate Veterans Reunion Committee” Richmond, VA, June 1922.

issue declaring that one veteran, Richard Alexander Sneed, had reached an advanced age. Not dead or sick, just that he was elderly. The front-page headline reading “Democracy’s Grand Old Man reaches Eighty-Fifth Year.”<sup>23</sup> Sneed had an illustrious post-war career serving multiple offices in Oklahoma’s state government, but his war record was fairly standard, if injury filled. Sneed would live another six years and is perhaps the most well-remembered seventh-son in Lawton, Oklahoma.<sup>24</sup> Men like Sneed, however, were praised at unheard of levels for confederate veterans, precisely because they were an increasingly rare breed that the future would not have any access to.

Within the various glorifications of Confederate soldiers came admonishments to the present generation. A 1927 UDC poem asked if readers would allow the ideals of the Confederacy to fade. Answering its own question, the poem exclaimed, “No! too great a price was paid that the Stars and Bars might live forever.”<sup>25</sup> Helping secure the memory of the Confederate soldier remained a key initiative of the UDC, best exemplified by a Memorial Day Service in 1929 when the Johnson’s Island UDC invited author Landon C. Bell to speak in honor of the Confederate dead. Bell opened his speech by discussing the need to honor the Confederate dead, not for the sake of those soldiers, but rather because “guidance for the future is to be found in the lessons of the past.”<sup>26</sup> If not recorded truthfully, and in considerable depth, he believed Confederate history would be forgotten, doomed to interpretation by the “enemies of the cause

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<sup>23</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, United Confederate Veterans Records, LPR155, Box 2, Folder 34, “Democracy’s ‘Grand Old Man’ Reaches Eighty-Fifth Year,” *The Daily Oklahoma*, August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1930, 1.

<sup>24</sup> “General Richard Alexander Sneed, *Find a Grave*, (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29863859/richard-alexander-sneed>), Accessed on March 1, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> University of North Carolina, Wilson Library, North Carolina Collection, Cp369.17 U58g 1920, Souvenir Program of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Convention 1920, “Our Own Stars and Bars Will Live Forever,” 1920, 16.

<sup>26</sup> South Carolina Historical Society, Pamphlet Collection, PAM 815 1929 Bell, Address, Johnson’s Island- 1929, Landon C. Bell, *An Address at Johnson’s Island In Memory of the Confederate Soldiers Who While Prisoners Died, and are Buried on the Island*, May 1929, 6.

for which the Confederate Soldiers laid down their lives.”<sup>27</sup> Bell continued touting that this group of rebels were examples of the highest devotion to democracy, the U.S. Constitution, and “the Right of Self-Government.”<sup>28</sup> Bell believed that “the children and Children’s Children of the Confederate Soldiers are entitled to know” the history and example of the Confederate veteran; a sentiment writ large across the South.<sup>29</sup>

Every reunion of Confederate veterans, their family, and enthusiasts featured a pamphlet of some form detailing the events of the reunion, those in attendance, and sites to see in the host city. What stands out in these reunion programs – many of which were considered souvenirs – are the variety of advertisements that fill the back pages. Mississippi-Alabama Utilities Inc. claimed an affinity with the deep and Old South “not only in our ideas and views.”<sup>30</sup> The utility company also recognized that the 1938 reunion would likely be “the last gathering of the few remaining soldiers of the Confederacy in Mississippi.”<sup>31</sup> Tapping into that powerful anxiety, the company’s ad then called on those attending the reunion “to let us make their stay most pleasant.”<sup>32</sup> Car companies, ice cream stores, oil manufacturers, sewing machine producers, and many others used these reunions as an opportunity to advertise and gain loyalty from the Lost Cause faithful.<sup>33</sup> Even Coca-Cola attempted to cash in on the decline of the Confederate

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 369.174/un3o, Official Souvenir Program, Annual Reunion, United Confederate Veterans, Mississippi Division, and the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, Mississippi Division, August 8-9, 1938; Amory and Aberdeen, Monroe County, Mississippi, 1938, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Ads frequent many Reunion Programs, but perhaps the most Ad-driven reunion occurred in 1938, in Mississippi, where a variety of businesses welcomed Confederate enthusiasts, including “Baird’s Sweet Cream Ice Cream.” Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 369.174/un3o, Official Souvenir Program, Annual Reunion, United Confederate Veterans, Mississippi Division, and the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, Mississippi Division, August 8-9, 1938; Amory and Aberdeen, Monroe County, Mississippi, 1938.

generation, paying for a full-page ad on the very back of a reunion program that claimed their beverage was “among veterans, beloved by a generation.”<sup>34</sup>

Advertisers were not the only people who sought to utilize the developing market for those worried about the future of the Lost Cause. In 1921, Montgomery, Alabama debuted a permanent museum dedicated to Confederate history housed within the First White House of the Confederacy. Literature published upon its debut indicated that the museum stood for cultivating Confederate history, preserving Confederate relics, and was “a reminder for all time of how pure and great were Southern statesmen and Southern valor.”<sup>35</sup> That sentiment stood well intact when, in 1930, a tourist brochure treated this First White House as a shrine to the memory of Jefferson Davis, quoting New South icon Henry Grady’s praise of Jefferson Davis as “the uncrowned King of our people.”<sup>36</sup> This First White House hoped to draw Lost Cause tourists to Montgomery, capitalizing on the clearly marketable desire to preserve the Lost Cause for posterity.

No effort to install Confederate memory into the Southern landscape was more dramatic, or eventually as successful, as that of Stone Mountain located in Georgia. Just South-East of Atlanta lies a bulbous rock that stands high over the surrounding countryside. This rock, called Stone Mountain, has a dubious claim to fame as the dramatic site of the revival of the Second Ku Klux Klan in 1915. Not necessarily out of step with that history, in 1916 the UDC sought to create a Lost Cause monument on the rock. A great deal of excitement was expressed for the monument, particularly in 1925 when fund raising efforts were at a pitch. The concept of the memorial – not completed until 1972 – would feature the three iconic heroes of the Confederacy

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<sup>34</sup>Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, United Confederate Veterans Records, LPR155, Box 2, Folder 38, 1931 Reunion, Souvenir Book 1919 Reunion, Atlanta, “Drink Coca-Cola” in *Souvenir Book of the United Confederate Veterans Reunion*, 1919.

<sup>35</sup>Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 71, Item 20, 41<sup>st</sup> United Confederate Veterans Reunion: Souvenir Program. “White House of the Confederacy” in *Souvenir Program of Forty First United Confederate Veterans Reunion*, 1931.

<sup>36</sup>Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 71, Item 24, *The First White House of the Confederacy at Montgomery, Alabama*.

– Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson. Memorial coins and pictures depicting the concept were sold at conventions and reunions. According to one account, one such memorial picture made it into President Woodrow Wilson’s home constituting “one of his most valued souvenirs.”<sup>37</sup> A 1926 report shared the belief that such efforts would “delocalize” the project, making Stone Mountain the wish not of just Georgia and the UDC, but of the entire South. While the desire and market for a Southern tourist attraction akin to Mt. Rushmore existed, the project had trouble getting off the ground. Thus, Stone Mountain served during the 1920s and 1930s as a hope, a means to permanently carve the Lost Cause into nature itself, forever providing images that the Lost Cause faithful deemed essential for the future.

While certainly dramatic, perhaps the most telling indication of the desired permanence of the Stone Mountain Memorial was a small advertisement on the back of a convention pamphlet advertising “The Children’s Founders Roll.” This ad specifically targeted parents with “white boys and girls of all ages through the eighteenth year who wish to contribute one dollar to the Memorial.”<sup>38</sup> Each child named would be entered into a “BOOK OF MEMORY” that would hopefully not only become “the world’s largest book,” but also “occupy the place of honor in Memorial Hall on a great bronze stand equally as beautiful as the BOOK OF MEMORY itself.”<sup>39</sup> This fundraising effort sought to enroll the desire of various white parents to make their children a permanent part of this Lost Cause memorial, securing their children’s position in their parents’ expected Southern future alongside the dramatic figures of heroes long-dead. Also, the explicit mention of white children paints in stark relief that the Lost Cause was an endeavor for

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<sup>37</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 3, Folder 6, UCV-Camp Wilcox Scrapbook, “Memorial Picture Valued Souvenir, Wilson Declares,” *The Atlanta Journal*, December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1928.

<sup>38</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, F 292 585 R3, Hollins N. Randolph, *Address Delivered at the Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 1924, S- Address at Annual UDC Convention, 1924, Back Cover.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

white southerners. All efforts to entrench the Lost Cause Tradition into the future of Southern society therefore carried a not-so subtle signal that white supremacy would also endure, a racist torch taken up most brazenly by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

By 1920, women involved with the confederate memorialization were quite adept at gaining public attention and socio-political capital. These women were not afraid to ask for praise nor, did they shirk an opportunity to remind the South of their prominent role. In October 1920, the Confederate Southern Memorial Association met in Houston, Texas for an event that was “very gratifying [because] much was accomplished for the advancement of Confederate history.”<sup>40</sup> The President of the association, Mary E. Bryan, opened the proceedings proclaiming that “today Old Texas marches with the thinning line of gray, and with you, Memorial Daughters, down a proud and cheering way.”<sup>41</sup> The association’s own words were parroted back by the Chaplain-in-Chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans when he declared that the work of the association ensured that “three generations of us are met together in this goodly Southern city to live over again immortal memories.”<sup>42</sup> Beyond Southern-wide organizations, states developed their own versions of female based confederate memorialization groups. The Confederate Women’s Memorial Association of Alabama formed with a two-fold purpose: first, “to honor the

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<sup>40</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 5, Folder 14, Confederated Southern Memorial Association, “Proceedings” in *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association*, 1920, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 5, Folder 14, Confederated Southern Memorial Association, Mary E. Bryan, “To the Confederated Southern Memorial Association,” in *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association*, 1920, 8.

<sup>42</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 5, Folder 14, Confederated Southern Memorial Association, B.A. Owen, “Memorial Address,” in *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association*, 1920, 14.

memory of those devoted women who so honored the South in the dark days of the Sixties” and second “to perpetuate in the present and future generations pride in that heritage.”<sup>43</sup>

The future import of women-led memorialization struck a strong chord with male figures in the Lost Cause network. In 1925, the Raphael Semmes Camp of the UCV agreed that the memory of the Confederacy should be “enshrined forever in the hearts of their descendants...as an example to the present and future generations,” specifically the memory of the women of the 1860s.<sup>44</sup> The camp began fundraising for a monument to Confederate women and word reached far and wide. The President of the University of Virginia, E.A. Alderman, praised the monument as “a beautiful thing to do,” while Alabama Senator O.W. Underwood said the proposal “meets with my hearty approval and I shall wish you every success.”<sup>45</sup> The Dean of Loyola University was most glowing, claiming the proposal was “the message to future generations of our love and veneration for God’s priceless gift to the South.”<sup>46</sup> While it took a long time to get recognition, it seemed the South was prepared to honor its women, a realization that would not have come without the arduous work of these memorializing women, particularly those belonging to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy, although expressing an affinity and sisterhood with other Confederate Memorial associations, considered its work different and more consequential. The UDC made itself famous through their varied work on monuments and stone markers that, given their prevalence in present society, entrenched notions of the Lost Cause into

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<sup>43</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 5, Folder 15, Confederate Women Memorial Association Alabama, “To the People of Alabama,” 1925, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Box 5, Folder 15, Confederate Women Memorial Association Alabama, *Confederate Women Memorial Association of Alabama*, 1925, 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 5,6.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

the public landscape across the South. In North Carolina, the UDC stated most clearly the ambitions of the organization regarding monuments:

“Into our hands has fallen the honor to carry on for those who have gone before us, by safeguarding for the generations to come this eminent domain of proud memories, by preserving in a manner of beauty and symbolism that will serve to translate- to make plain forever the Saga of Southern Valor.”<sup>47</sup>

That effort to perpetuate the Lost Cause in “beauty and symbolism” could occur in a wide-variety of methods. In August 1937, the North Carolina Division hosted “Daughters of the Confederacy Day,” which engaged the public in a ceremony and festival featuring rousing renditions of Dixie, this time with “new words,” “I Love Thee Carolina,” “Carry Me Back to Old Virginia,” “Old Kentucky Home,” “The Southern Girl,” and “Ho! For Carolina.” These musical numbers were interspersed with comments from various UDC officials and a tour of Roanoke Island, where the event was held, concluding at 8:15 PM, with a Historical pageant.<sup>48</sup> In 1938, Asheville, North Carolina hosted a salute of the Confederate flag in which the Asheville chapter president, Mrs. J.D. Beale, led with a reading, calling on the organization “to perpetuate the fame of [the Confederacy’s] noble deeds unto the third and fourth generation.”<sup>49</sup> Such work could also involve updating existing monuments, which the Virginia UDC did when they added eight previously captured Confederate battle flags to the Lee Chapel and placed a marker on the nearby stable honoring Traveler, “the horse so beloved by General Lee, and so associated with him in picture, song and story.”<sup>50</sup> As many of these additions to Lee Chapel existed well into the

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<sup>47</sup>University of North Carolina Chapel-Hill Special Collection, North Carolina Collection, Cp369.17 U58Dw, *History of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1895 to 1934*, 1934, 29.

<sup>48</sup>University of North Carolina Chapel-Hill Special Collections, North Carolina Collection, Cp369.17 U58d2, *Daughters of the Confederacy Day, 1937*, “Program.”

<sup>49</sup> University of North Carolina Chapel-Hill Special Collections, North Carolina Collection, Cp369.17 U58as 1938-39, Asheville Chapter No. 104, United Daughter of the Confederacy, 1939, 16.

<sup>50</sup> University of North Carolina Chapel-Hill Special Collections, Southern Pamphlet Collection, 4168, Essie Wade Butler Smith, “Forty Years with the Virginia Division,” 19.



early twenty-first century, the UDC achieved their objective of ensuring the longevity of the Confederate message.

The most thorough work the UDC accomplished in the name of building the Lost Cause into white Southern Expectation was not via the stone monuments or spreading the Battle Flag, although these are easy markers of their success. Rather, it was through the variety of historical accounts the UDC authored that made the Lost Cause become foundational to the U.S. South. The UDC considered their work “historical, benevolent, educational, and social.”<sup>51</sup> The UDC often published and spread their own Lost Cause historical accounts throughout the South. A Tampa confederate memorial convention, that the UDC attended, featured a “Report of Historian General,” which presented a stark picture of UDC authored histories. When describing histories of the UDC, Mildred L. Rutherford, the Historian General, claimed to have so much material that she generated much of the Civil War’s historical account. In her report, she said copies of her books “Truths of History, The South Must Have Her Place, and the War of Conspiracy” were sent to 922 historians and 500 librarians across the United States. She was also in the process of writing a history that would contrast the lives of Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln, bringing out “Davis’ life in a beautiful way” and Lincoln’s in a predictably “truthful light.”<sup>52</sup>

As much as Davis, Lee, and Jackson were elevated, Abraham Lincoln received condemnation, and Rutherford was one of the President’s strongest critics. She particularly worried about how children were being taught about Lincoln:

“The children in the South are getting away from our history. They are teaching them that Abraham Lincoln was a godly man, and that he was greater even than Christ. It is time for us to stop teaching that Abraham Lincoln was a godly man- we must get that corrected, but we will do

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<sup>51</sup>University of North Carolina Chapel-Hill Special Collection, North Carolina Collection, Cp369.17 U58a, “History of the Albemarle Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1906-1932,” 1932, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 5, UCV Scrapbook, Mildred L. Rutherford, “Report of the Historian General,” in *Minutes of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Confederate Southern Memorial Association*, 1927, 27.

it in the right way. I am writing about Abraham Lincoln as he really was, not as represented today. I am doing good work for the South.”<sup>53</sup>

Rutherford was the Lost Cause champion of textbooks and yet, in a speech before the Confederate Memorial Association in Tampa, she eschewed the textbook. She claimed that textbooks would not be enough to ensure that the Confederacy lived on. No, the South needed to endure not only in a textbook, but in the minds of children. The UDC’s efforts at historical education truly placed this organization at the center of Lost Cause Tradition. Those efforts implanted the ideas of the Lost Cause so thoroughly into Southern education that multiple generations would be taught purposely favorable histories of the Confederacy that spread through multiple generations with little substantive challenge.

Texas provided a fascinating case study for UDC youth indoctrination. A letter from the Texas State President of the UDC indicated that she was beginning an investigation of “histories used in schools in Dallas to see if they are fair to the South.”<sup>54</sup> In step with that effort, a 1922-1923 yearbook of the Children’s Auxiliary Historical Department of Texas opened with a cry for loyalty to “the TRUTHS OF SOUTHERN HISTORY,” truths that would “ennoble the future by preserving the ideals and noble principles which inspired our illustrious ancestors.”<sup>55</sup> In this light the defeat of the Confederacy would not appear total or humiliating, but instead become “the spur for higher endeavor.”<sup>56</sup> Following a model inherited by “the enduring, sacrificing army of Southern women of the sixties,” the Texas UDC intended to make sure that their interpretation of

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>54</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Paul Sanguinetti Records, LPR141, Box 4, Folder 5, UCV Scrapbook, S.M. Fields, “Report of the Texas State President, C.S.M.A.” in *Minutes of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association*, 1927, 33.

<sup>55</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 369.175 Un3t, Yearbook United Daughters of the Confederacy and Children’s Auxiliary, 1922-23, “Lest We Forget,” 1.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

the Confederacy would remain in the memories of children in perpetuity, spreading “that unconquerable spirit of the South” across generations.<sup>57</sup>

One method of historical indoctrination involved essay contests, hosted by the Texas UDC, with prizes for works that excelled at honoring aspects of Lost Cause history. In the “Lee Memorial Year,” the national UDC offered sixteen awards for “historical” essays. Projects included assembling historical collections, reviews of UDC histories, essays for “Causes of Secession,” and even “Lee at Lexington.” However, more telling were the ways these awards influenced children. For example, the Eliza Jane Guinn Medal was offered “to boy member of Children of the Confederacy on subject, ‘Robert E. Lee, the Boy.’” The best essay on “The Orphan Brigade of Kentucky” received the Florence Goalder Faris Medal. Prizes were also offered to directors who recruited the highest number of new members for the Children of the Confederacy, as well as an award for best chapter report from a Children division, and a \$100 Liberty Bond to the division that purchased the most copies of Rutherford’s “Truths of History.” The Texas Division of the UDC also staged thirteen of its own contests with similar goals. The Texas Division Medal was awarded “for best written story of romance or history of the Old South.” The Minnie McLemore Wilkinson Medal was awarded for “writing the best review of book ‘Truth of the War Conspiracy of 1861’” and the Barthold Medal awarded the best review of the book “The Real Lincoln.” Whether producing history for the UDC, reading UDC history, recruiting members for indoctrination of UDC history or selling that history to the public, this well-organized network incentivized the creation, dissemination, and entrenchment of Lost Cause Tradition.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. The Awards and Contests mentioned here represent only a small amount of several offered by just Texas’ U.D.C. and Children’s Auxiliary spanning solely the 1922-1923 year.

During one Texas Children of the Confederacy meeting, the members sang a variety of Christmas carols and prayers in between student presentations of their essays that overlapped with the Lost Cause tradition. One essay, “David O. Dodd, the Boy Hero of Texas,” used the story of a seventeen-year-old Texas native who, during 1863, was executed as a spy because of a notebook he held containing Union Troop locations. This story’s lesson told children that the Confederacy was a cause more sacred than life. Another essay emphasized the heroism and courage of “The Young Girls of the Sixties” as a model for young female behavior. Children were regaled with similar tales about youthful heroics during the Civil War, including histories of youth regiments of Maryland, Arkansas, and South Carolina. Particularly noteworthy was a “prophetic and thrilling” quote attributed to a “boy soldier:” “When a boy dies in defense of his country, he has made his peace with God already.”<sup>59</sup> Not only were children meant to help produce Confederate history, but they were also trained to emulate propagandistic portrayals of Confederate youth which taught that anything, even life and limb, could and should be sacrificed in the name of the national culture.

Making the past work towards the future operated as a pivotal goal of UDC, particularly when dealing with its children branches. The desire to amass Confederate knowledge and disseminate it remained an ever-present motivator, emphasized by a key phrase used often in UDC literature: “lest we forget.” The UDC was not merely an association of southern white women with a hobby for Confederate myth-making; they were very much the White Woman Illuminati of the South, weaving the Lost Cause into nearly every fabric of society. The UDC placed markers on graves, erected monuments in prominent civic spaces, hosted public events, staged plays, held essay contests, sold cooking books, hosted conventions, courted public

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<sup>59</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 369.175 Un3t, Yearbook United Daughters of the Confederacy and Children’s Auxiliary, 1922-23, “Lest We Forget,” Historical Department, “Program-December 1922,” 2.

figures, etched the Confederacy into the very stone of the earth, and perhaps, most seriously, implanted romanticized worship of the Lost Cause into the minds of children who would maintain and pass on the Lost Cause faith to subsequent generations.

The Lost Cause narrative was propped up to such an extent in part because it set the South apart from the North. In separation, the South could be vindicated in defeat because, in the long run, the South remained distinct and therefore victorious. Glorification of the South went hand-in-hand with vilifying the North. That vilification began and ended with the core idea that during the Civil War the North was wrong and remained so in the present. They were wrong about a state's right to secede, they were wrong to start a war, they were wrong in how they went about warfare, and they were wrong in their peace terms. If they were wrong back then, it validated the idea that the North could continue to be wrong particularly when it intervened in Southern matters.

The most useful tool offered to white Southerners to help explain the sheer extent of Northern ineptitude and cruelty was the Confederate catechism. These small pamphlets, nodding to Christian bible school catechisms, contained brief, but potent explanations of the Confederacy that were often updated. Catechisms offered a question and provided a very specific response intended to be memorized verbatim. The UDC would hold contests to test how well Southerners, particularly children, could read, memorize, and disseminate Lost Cause propaganda. The inaugural question for the 1931 Catechism got right to brass tacks: "What was the Cause of secession in 1861?"<sup>60</sup> The answer was long, but essentially, "Secession was based (1) upon the natural right of self-government, (2) upon the reservation to the States in the Constitution of all

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<sup>60</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 20, Item 27, John Gardiner Tyler, *A Confederate Catechism: The War for Southern Self Government*, 1931, 3.

powers not expressly granted to the Federal Government.”<sup>61</sup> The South seceded because of slavery – a well-established historical fact – but one which a stubborn Lost Cause still resists because the Lost Cause long insisted slavery was not the cause. “No” is the very matter of fact catechism response to the question “Did the South fight for slavery or the extension of slavery?”<sup>62</sup> That “No” preceded the sentence “for had Lincoln not sent armies to the South, that country would have done no fighting at all.”<sup>63</sup> The South and its desire to preserve and spread slavery did not cause the war, these catechisms instructed their young readers; instead Lincoln’s unconstitutional insistence that a state could not secede brought about the war. With that lesson the South could exonerate itself of blame in the war and create a Lost Cause villain opposite their many heroes.

Lost Cause enthusiasts resented the North’s effort to “force” unity on Southerners. A wide variety of white Southerners expressed particular anger at the nature of reconstruction, claiming that “the South was prostrate in the hands of carpet-baggers and brigands, commissioned and backed by the government.”<sup>64</sup> Worse still that government “was controlled by vindictive men, writers, principally from the North, [who] took up their pens to write the history of the war.”<sup>65</sup> Many white Southerners deemed any Northern history “not a fair version.”<sup>66</sup> Their major problem with Reconstruction, however, was that this Northern intervention almost annihilated the South’s Heritage and replaced it with something Northern. Citing a historical precedence for their “unreconstructed” identity and claiming it as the core of their Heritage allowed Southerners free rein to behave and believe as they wished. Many white Southerners

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>64</sup>South Carolina Historical Society, Pamphlet Collection, PAM 815 1929 Bell, Address, Johnson’s Island- 1929, Landon C. Bell, *An Address at Johnson’s Island In Memory of the Confederate Soldiers Who While Prisoners Died, and are Buried on the Island*, May 1929, 6.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 6.

believed firmly that any ideal future would continue the Southern Tradition of isolation and exceptionalism validated by a vast and pervasive Lost Cause Tradition.

### **A Rare Harmony**

On February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1934, the *Bamberger Tagblatt*, a nationalist leaning newspaper popular in the sleepy Bavarian town of Bamberg, published a special edition focusing on a romantic historical account of the city. “Bamberg’s Economic Life in the Old Times” highlighted a variety of professions and actions of Bamberg’s nineteenth century citizens. The opening article featured a tagline in keeping with Bamberg’s predominantly Catholic sensibilities: “Creating and Striving in God’s Commandment, Work is Life to Idle is to Die.”<sup>67</sup> In 1934, Germany began to rebound economically from the trauma of the Great Depression, but no one took for granted their new, thin veneer of security, especially in a time of early Nazi rule. Regardless of what was happening around Bavaria, Germany, and the world, Bambergers knew that their staunchly isolationist, Catholic, and agrarian traditions would always remain an anchor in uncertain times. Hence, this issue of the *Bamberger Tagblatt* served as a reminder to its readers that Bambergers had many historic moments to be proud of and traditions that, if remembered, duplicated, and passed down, would ensure that a very Bavarian aspect of their local culture would remain well into the future, regardless of the external tumult that Bavarians were almost always forced to endure.

Bamberg has long been *the* “Bavarian” city, often seen as the site of many of those stories that began, “Once upon a Time.”<sup>68</sup> This essential Bavarian identity stemmed from the fact

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<sup>67</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 18267, Hans Ring, “Bamberger Geschäftsleben in alter Zeit,” Sonderausgabe: “Wir sind die ältesten Firmen.” *Fränkisches Volk/Bamberger Tagblatt*, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

<sup>68</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Kriegssammlung, KS + C B 331, L. Krapp, “Bamberg,” in *Festschrift zum 32 Deutschen Juristentag*, September 1921.

that Bamberg has remained relatively well-preserved and undeveloped. Even today, the city still feels incredibly old, not in a decrepit fashion, but instead vital and foundational. The *Bamberger Tagblatt* proudly proclaimed that “the ups and downs of the stylish streets have remained unchanged for centuries” despite “the turbulent life of our time.”<sup>69</sup> For many people Bamberg had “priceless historical value” that “a century of rapid, indeed impetuous development” had not damaged.<sup>70</sup> For Bavarians, the heart of old Bamberg remained historically preserved for a wide-variety of reasons, but the sheer nostalgic hope to return to a simpler time when Tradition carried more weight significantly incentivized its preservation. When walking through the centuries old city hall or walking up a steep hill to enjoy the *Residenz*, one cannot help but reflect nostalgically on the past lives Bambergers and Bavarians. Bamberg stood as a natural place to ponder the lessons of the past and as such became a focal point for Bavaria’s nostalgia tour.

The Bamberg Cathedral, the opulent church sitting atop the city, received considerable attention across Bavaria’s rich traditional culture, not only as a Catholic site of worship, but particularly for its longevity and endurance. A pamphlet celebrating Bamberg’s Catholic Day Festival in 1921 argued that “anyone who stands before that miracle of a cathedral, must feel some irresistible power,” that power coming from the centuries it remained a stalwart component of the Bavarian landscape.<sup>71</sup> Reflecting on the woes of the present, the pamphlet argued that “our German homeland has not always been as torn and ragged as it is today.”<sup>72</sup> Looking at this cathedral, Bambergers connected with an inherited faith and community that defined Bamberg and the rest of Bavaria. It was around markers of unity like Catholic churches, that Bavarians could find solace, returning to the age-old rituals and values that had allowed for the creation of

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<sup>69</sup> Hans Ring, “Bamberger Geschäftsleben in alter Zeit.”

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, Heinrich Mayer, “Etwas vom Bamberger Dom,” *Festschrift zum Katholikentag*, 1921.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



buildings, art, and culture that seemed “eternal and could not be otherwise.”<sup>73</sup> As opposed to giving into the various sweeping forces of the day, this pamphlet advised that the Cathedral, Bamberg, and Bavaria were not the products of sweeping revolutions and wars, but developed incrementally with the help of great figures and a community that valued the slow pace and reverence for Tradition. It reminded Bambergers that Henrich II, the one-time Holy Roman emperor and famed founder of Bamberg, had created Bamberg from nothing into a “shining city” that even after his death remained “like a strong oak tree, defying the storms of time and continued to develop.”<sup>74</sup> All good things, according to Bambergers could be accomplished with patience and a strong Catholic faith.

A small publication *Schöne Bayern* produced its own historical account of Bamberg, or as they referred to it, the “Franconian Rome.”<sup>75</sup> While much of the skyline “captivated every visitor,” this article focused on the Bamberg Cathedral, which, founded originally in 1002, had suffered multiple fires until it assumed its present form in the thirteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Praised as “the most beautiful ornament and the sacred center” of Bamberg, this historically iconic cathedral was also a treasured vault containing many artifacts valuable to Bavarian Tradition.<sup>77</sup> For example, inside the cathedral rested the marble tombs of the cathedral’s founder, Kaiser Heinrich II and his wife Empress Kunigunde, both of whom Bavarians cherished dearly. Other historical Bamberg figures lent cultural capital to interwar Bavaria, none perhaps quite as famous as the Bamberg Horseman.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 18148, Konrad Weiß, “Bamberg, die fränkische Domstadt,” *Das Schöne Bayern*, 1930.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, L. Krapp, “Was der Bamberger Kaiserdom den deutschen Juristen erzählen kann,” in *Festschrift zum 32 Deutschen Juristentag*, September 1921.

This iconic figure, embodied in a stone statue residing within the Bamberg Cathedral, planted on the north pillar of the St. George Choir, forever watches over Bamberg. *Schöne Bayern* described the famous statue as “the always unruly royal horseman.”<sup>78</sup> The statue consists of a crowned man sitting atop a horse, however, the Bamberg Horseman’s true identity has been lost to time, a fact which benefited those seeking to create narratives around the rider. Some felt that the Bamberg Horseman represented a crusading virtue, a stubborn devoutness to Catholicism that would endure in the face of any opposition, a very Bavarian sentiment.<sup>79</sup> Some argued that Heinrich II was the statue’s subject, but others felt that the rider was too humbly attired to be the emperor and Bamberg’s greatest benefactor. *Schöne Bayern* tossed its own argument forward, mentioning Conrad III who, although never crowned Holy Roman Emperor, did consider himself King of the Romans. The publication noted his retreat to Bamberg where he died in the presence of the Bishop and Frederick Barbarossa, “weary of fighting.”<sup>80</sup> His death was mentioned alongside the death of Philip of Swabia, who, in 1208, ruled as King of Germans until his assassination in Bamberg’s cathedral, “murdered by Count Palatine Otto von Wittelsbach.”<sup>81</sup> Both deaths served as warnings. Bavaria had a long history of in-fighting and violence, yet many hoped the unarmed Bamberg Horseman could not only remind present Bavarians of past damage caused by infighting, but also serve as a beacon to a future path where Bavarians could come together for the good of Bavaria’s future awash in a tempestuous present.

While heroes had value, the city of Bamberg itself was always dramatic enough to remind present Bavarians of the importance of traditional values. Bamberg embodied Bavarian Tradition because it represented a version of an untouched past that Bavarians hoped would

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<sup>78</sup> Konrad Weiß, “Bamberg, die fränkische Domstadt.”

<sup>79</sup> Heinrich Mayer, “Etwas vom Bamberger Dom.”

<sup>80</sup> Konrad Weiß, “Bamberg, die fränkische Domstadt.”

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

continue in perpetuity, reminding Bavarians for future generations of the value of their conservative traditions. Bavarian conceptions of the past often revolved around idealized emphasis of Bavaria's historical rural, agricultural background. For example, a conference of lawyers meeting in Bamberg in 1921 provided visitors with a thorough and meaningful account of the city's history that praised Bambergers for not seeking "foreign soil," but instead focusing on their own civic pride.<sup>82</sup> On Catholic Day in 1921, a poem was dedicated to "the Old Franconian Rome" that offered fanciful descriptions of northern Bavaria, its rivers, its floodplains, mountains, limestone rocks, and castles.<sup>83</sup> Interwar Bavarians could call on numerous symbols and memories to recall the idyllic past of Bavarian farmers who could withstand anything.

One of the most popular representations of Bavarian rural life was the presence of traditional Bavarian *Tracht*, i.e. the wearing of Lederhosen and Dirndls. Lederhosen are leather trousers typically featuring a front drop flap, embroidered stitching along the seams, suspenders, and, most often, are available in short form extending to just above the knee. Worn by men, Lederhosen were very much associated with a hearty lifestyle and featured prominently in a wide array of cultural festivals thrown in Bavaria. While men wore Lederhosen, the traditional female garb associated with Bavarian rural lifestyle was the Dirndl. A relatively simple dress, a Dirndl consists of an apron worn over a full skirt, blouse, and, traditionally, a very revealing bodice. Dirndls carry a fairly strong gendered component as a means to sexualize the rural lifestyle many Bavarian men hoped to relive. In a traditionally patriarchal society, sex was certainly a concern, but Dirndls avoided scrutiny and condemnation. Even in the more recent revival of the Dirndls

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<sup>82</sup> L. Krapp, "Bamberg."

<sup>83</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, Eduard Diener, "Willkommgruß zum Bamberger Katholikentag, 1921," in *Festschrift zum Katholikentag in Bamberg*, September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

and Lederhosen, the bodices are tapered much more conservatively than in the interwar era, a reflection of the changing conceptions of gender and sex in Bavaria.

The original Lederhosen and Dirndls generally made it relatively easy to accomplish most agricultural tasks. However, during the *Kaiserreich*, nobility would frequently sport lederhosen and dirndls, trying to represent themselves as essentially folkish, a tough sell as their versions were often meticulously kept and considerably intricate, signifying how little farm labor would be done while they were worn. Often politicians would make appearances in Bavarian lederhosen to appear sympathetic to this traditional aesthetic. Even Adolf Hitler wore lederhosen in a photoshoot that is such a combination of disturbing hilarity and awkward dread that it bears much of the responsibility for why Lederhosen fell out of favor following the Second World War. All the same, this traditional costume of the Bavarian peasantry operated as a performance of an ideal version of Bavaria's country roots. Facing a tumultuous Interwar world, many Bavarians sought refuge in the clothing that they believed their ancestors wore, attempting to channel that ancient resiliency that saw Bavaria through the Thirty Years War, Napoleon, 1848, and the Wars of Unification. While what people wore related very little to their endurance, this clothing was an essential production of Tradition. By repeatedly wearing these outfits and performing a variety of rituals, dances, and songs at any number of festivals that dotted the Bavarian memorial landscape, Bavarians, both rural and urban, rich and poor, hoped to pass on a very specific vision of the Bavarian past onto future generations who would carry on the rituals and keep their accompanying meanings alive for a long time.

Tied up with that idyllic rural lifestyle was a worship of both Bavaria's older buildings as well as the Bavarian countryside where those constructed identities had supposedly originated. The Bavarian city of Nuremberg received frequent praise as a stalwart "never stale, old City"

that had weathered countless storms while providing Germany with some of its most famous cultural institutions, which Bavarians naturally took ownership over.<sup>84</sup> Interwar Nuremberg, like much of Germany and the United States, featured a wide variety of fraternal organizations and in Nuremberg these groups often established historical legacies for themselves. Thanks to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* opera, singing became a means for Nurembergers to revive something historical and essential to Nuremberg. Even though Wagner's work was entirely fictitious, singing became a vital component of Nuremberg's cultural landscape best represented in the interwar era by the Franconian Singers Association.

Many reasons explain this organization's popularity, but appeals they made to the historic value of singing to Bavaria certainly helped their cause. The Association argued that "in the desolate times after the Thirty Years War, music remained the preserver" of the German soul.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, in times of "powerlessness and turmoil German singers held on to the idea of unity and restored the people."<sup>86</sup> Facing similarly difficult times, this Bavarian singers club believed that they could tap into this "high patriotic duty" and sing as a way to strengthen people's "faith in a better future, bring comfort and exaltation to the desperate...and discourage despondency and sullenness."<sup>87</sup> Even clubs without nationalist or cultural affiliations made use of Tradition as it swirled in the Bavarian public sphere. In the 1930s, the Nuremberg Pharmacists Association met to celebrate its three-hundredth anniversary "despite the economic depression."<sup>88</sup> These pharmacists imbued their own event with historic import, claiming that "from the history of our

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<sup>84</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Kendrick S. Few Papers, Box 2, *Ein Spaziergang durch das schöne Nürnberg, die Stadt der Reichsparteitage*.

<sup>85</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Einzelbestand, E6 343, Geschäftsführenden Ausschuß des Fränkischen Sängerbundes, "Ein Wort der Aufklärung über den Fränkischen Sängerbund und seine Ziele," January 1922.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Einzelbestand, E6 108, "Feier Des Apothekervereins von Nürnberg und Umgebung zur Erinnerung an die vor 300 Jahren erfolgte Gründung des Collegium Pharmaceuticum Norimbergense," December 1932.

ancient state and its great past, we can best draw the strength and confidence for the struggle of our time.”<sup>89</sup> The past was not being honored for the sake of the past, but rather as a means to find validation in the present and strength for the future, an idea that thoroughly permeated the public consciousness.

Bavarians also proudly relied on a nostalgia tourism, offering their visitors an opportunity to see artifacts of the past. The 1920 Evangelical Worker’s Club featured an advertisement inviting its members to visit the historic Albrecht Dürer-Haus in Nuremberg.<sup>90</sup> Touted as one of Germany’s most famous artists, the house Dürer lived in, near the northern gate of the city, for almost twenty years was converted into a museum. For decades Bavarians and visitors have been welcomed into this half-timbered house to gain an appreciation of art and Germany’s historical cultural contributions. Munich, Bavaria’s capital, offered Bavarians and tourists the world over a fascinating portal into the Bavarian past and its worth to the present. In 1936, the Bavarian National Museum released a pamphlet highlighting a few select pieces they were exhibiting in the capital. Most of the key pieces highlighted were often religious relics speaking to Bavarian veneration of its Catholicism. The museum held a Danish Relic Case from the eleventh century donated by the Bamberg Cathedral, models of the ornate graves for various famous Bavarian figures, and a wide variety of relics detailing the value and importance of Bavaria’s past.<sup>91</sup> These sites were just a few of many locations ensuring that Bavarians remained mindful of their hearty past, but these were largely urban adventures, differing from the actual rural landscape Bavarians hoped to remember and cherish.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Kendrick S. Few Papers, Box 1, *Ausgewählte Werke Aus Dem Bayerischen Nationalmuseum in München*, 1936.

West of Nuremberg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, offered Bavarians and nostalgia tourists an opportunity to travel back to a remembered version of the peasant lifestyle of yesteryear. Travel literature invited Bavarians to partake in a veritable reproduction of an idyllic past by visiting this “jewel amongst the cities of the German past.”<sup>92</sup> Once there, visitors could take in “a rare harmony” that “was only too understandable after a visit to this ancient city.”<sup>93</sup> The many beautiful views available in Rothenburg ob der Tauber were praised as pictures of its old towers and churches highlighted examples of what Bavarian life had once looked like. The Gothic and Renaissance era architecture received frequent praise, such as the town’s famous fountain, the *Herterich Brunnen*, which was praised as “one of the most beautiful renaissance fountains in Germany.”<sup>94</sup> Beyond the city’s various sites, visitors were invited to witness the various reenactments of Bavarian peasant life that the city exhibited for its visitors. For example, during the Catholic festival day of Pentecost, the people of Rothenburg ob der Tauber would don historic peasant costumes – not lederhosen and dirndls – and perform the “Shepherd Dance” on the market square in memory of past performances of such dances.<sup>95</sup>

Bavaria’s staunchly Catholic culture became tied up with the idyllic rural and traditional versions of Bavaria’s past that helped assuage anxious Bavarians. Catholicism further marked already distinct Bavarians from the rest of their fellow Protestant Germans. Catholicism not only functioned as many Bavarians’ practiced religion, but it operated as the region’s civic religion. Catholicism was so essential to Bavarian Tradition from both a religious and nationalistic sense that establishing its historical importance was a constant and vital endeavor taken up by many Bavarians. Catholics warned of the swirling vortex of forces, like capitalism and atheism, that

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<sup>92</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Kendrick S. Few Papers, Box 3, *Deutschland-Bildheft; Rothenburg ob der Tauber*, 3.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 26.

threatened the stability that supposedly defined idyllic Bavaria. They hoped to set up Catholicism as an anchor to maintain the traditions that had brought Bavaria to its heights. The Bamberg Catholic Day of 1921 featured a poem that spoke to this civic nature of Bavarian Catholicism, claiming that the Catholic faith could be that anchor in these hard times, maintaining vigilant watch over Bavaria just as the Bamberg Cathedral, the subject of the poem, had. For centuries Bavarians had been praying in Catholic churches of all sizes, centering on their faith in the variety of tumults that faced Bavaria over the years. By participating in the Catholic faith, one could be reunited with historical figures beloved by Bavarians. The poem enticed its readers with the promise that when praying, Bavarians reunited with Bavarian heroes like “Saint Otto, Heinrich, and Kunigunde...[who] are close to us in such hours, they descend from heaven to earth and pray with us and sing songs.”<sup>96</sup> The poem warned that the faithful needed to “close ranks” and the Church would “protect and guide” Bavarians through “envy and horror, through suffering and pain.”<sup>97</sup>

Many Bavarians believed that Catholicism could provide the unity necessary for Bavarians, not only to survive harsh times, but advance their regional community to unparalleled heights. As much was indicated in the closing lines of yet another story that heaped praise upon the Bamberg Cathedral:

“It will be understood that only a united, great popular feeling was able to produce such truly great art, and that we may hope again for a rebirth of a strong, living art...may once again have taken possession of similar, great ideals possessed by the soul of the German people.”<sup>98</sup>

Bavaria was at its best and most enduring when dedicated Catholics set to work on creating lasting legacies that signified a devotion to their Catholic and Bavarian Heritage. These historical

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<sup>96</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, Eduard Diener, “Willkommgruß zum Bamberger Katholikentag, 1921,” *Festschrift zum Katholikentag*, 1921.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Heinrich Mayer, “Etwas vom Bamberger Dom.”



accounts, certainly embellished at places and falsely glorified in others, were not meant to portray devotion and nationalism in accurate lights. Rather they were signals to the present generation that the problems of the world and their future solutions could certainly be found in traditional values.

The uniqueness of Bavaria and its Catholicism was often deemed as a solution, even as Germany tried to rebuild itself. The Association of St. Vincent Paul, located in Bamberg, advocated for charity from the Catholic Church over that of the government. The association argued that “even in the nearest future, the modern ages of state socialism, which has already been expanded many times,...state welfare is by no means sufficient.”<sup>99</sup> When facing a reality where the countryside was filled with “starving and freezing children” it seemed that the state was not enough.<sup>100</sup> Not only did it fail to fully provide, but it also did not have an “ennobling or educational effect on the recipient.”<sup>101</sup> Very little in the way of real gratitude was offered up in the face of “hand-outs;” such attitudes could potentially turn the world into a harsh place. This organization hoped that the spirit of Christian charity that had “inflamed” their patron saint would “encourage his disciples to help realize the noble goals of the association with full devotion in the future.”<sup>102</sup> Yet again a Catholic Saint with a firm Bavarian history was deployed in the service of the problems of the present to better the future. Bavarians hoped and expected that Christian charity, and weaning off state welfare, would be part of their future as it had supposedly been in the past.

Despite its prevalence in this work, the Bamberg Cathedral was not the only Catholic site considered sacred by Bavarians. Many other places were highly valued in Bavarian tradition not

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<sup>99</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, “Rechenschaftsbericht des Vereins vom hl. Vinzenz von Paul im Bamberg für das XXXVI Vereinsjahr, 1920.”

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

necessarily because of their ability to function as religious sites in the present, but as signals to living Bavarians of the long legacy of Catholicism that needed to be passed on in perpetuity. The *Heilige Berg*, a mountain lying just outside Munich, operated as one of the more famous historic sites in this vein. Presently, this mountain is the site of the Andechs Abbey, a Benedictine priory built by Bavarian King Ludwig I in 1850. *Schöne Bayern* touted the *Heilige Berg* as a site that would purge “warlike thoughts” on sight.<sup>103</sup> For over four hundred years pilgrims from nearby Augsburg had supposedly made their way to the mountain to view its many holy artifacts. *Schöne Bayern* argued that over sixty thousand pilgrims had come to Munich every week hoping to climb the holy mountain, an exaggerated number the publication sadly believed was “unlikely ever to be met by even the most driven tourism” of the day.<sup>104</sup>

To counter the troubling rise of secularism and remind Bavarians swept up in the commercialism, consumerism, and modernism of the interwar era of the importance of their Catholic backgrounds, many of these historic sites were turned into nostalgia tourist traps that exaggerated their importance. *Schöne Bayern* provided an in-depth historical background of the *Heilige Berg*. That narrative peppered in references to Popes, the veritable “rock-stars” of Catholicism, like Boniface IX, Nicholas V, Pope Leo IX, and Gregory the Great, all of whom gave the site numerous relics. Mention was also made of the role Maria Theresa – who while most famously the Empress of Austria was also, for a time, queen of Bavaria – played in founding the altar that stood within the chapel. *Schöne Bayern* also highlighted an image of the virgin Mary that possibly dated back to the fifteenth century reign of Duke Earnest, one of Bavaria’s favorite electors. If historical figures spiritual, political, and local could not inspire interest, *Schöne Bayern* also made sure readers were aware of a series of relics housed on the

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<sup>103</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C2 + 18/48, Erwein Frhrn von Aretin, “Der Heilige Berg Andechs,” *Das Schöne Bayern*.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

*Heilige Berg*. The authors make mention that a piece of Jesus Christ's infamous crown of thorns could be found there, but they admitted that the relic was likely not genuine. However other relics can "withstand more historical criticism," such as the cross of Charlemagne and the rosary and wedding dress of venerated figure Saint Elizabeth, who had connections to the world-famous St. Francis of Assisi. *Schöne Bayern* also romanticized Saint Elizabeth's supposed thirteenth century visit to this holy site, postulating that she perhaps sat atop the hillside on a spring day, collecting "a bouquet of cowslips, anemones, and violets," breathing in the "indescribable haze" of spring that wafted over the Bavarian countryside.<sup>105</sup> In Rotherburg ob der Tauber, famed Würzburg sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider's "Altar of the Holy Blood" became a favorite relic of the old Bavarian city; the wooden altar held a crystal capsule supposedly containing the blood of Jesus Christ. Visitors were welcomed to view the altar located in the west gallery of St. Jakob's Church, itself a fourteenth century sight to see.<sup>106</sup> Yet again one can see an appeal to Catholicism and the romance of the Bavarian landscape, that in combination bedrocked Catholicism in the very soil and earth of Bavaria.

Bavarians valued Catholic traditions, but not much mention is made of specific Catholic theology in the variety of nostalgic tourist attractions. Rather, Bavarians seemed to celebrate a nationalist version of Catholicism that desperately attempted to captivate a youth with many other available pursuits. That desperation to tie Catholicism and Bavarian national pride together was considerable; any Catholic figure of slight import who had briefly contributed to Bavaria found themselves an entrenched historical figure vital to Bavarian tradition. For example, frequent mention was made of Pope Clement II, "the only pope buried on German soil," the

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> *Deutschland-Bildheft; Rothenburg ob der Tauber*, 18.

former pontiff being one of the figures interred in the Bamberg Cathedral.<sup>107</sup> Clement served as Pontiff for under a calendar year, but his insistence on being buried in Bamberg won him eternal adoration from a group of Catholics who believed their Franconian Rome was every bit as worthy – and in many ways more sacred – than the actual seat of the Holy See as a resting place for one of God’s representatives on Earth.

Historical heroes often featured prominently in Bavarian tradition, existing as exaggerated versions of themselves meant to pass on lessons to Bavarians for help with the present and provide a guiding force in the future. In Franconia, Henrich II, the former Holy Roman Emperor and founder of “Franconian Rome,” was one of the most venerated historical figures. Heinrich II was believed to be “one of the active and most powerful rulers ever to sit on the German throne.”<sup>108</sup> So beloved was Heinrich II that, in 1924, the Historical Club of Bamberg celebrated the nine hundredth anniversary of Heinrich II’s death by authoring their own account detailing his accomplishments, particularly his role in cementing his favorite city, Bamberg, as a font of Bavarian culture. The Historical Club, however, had a curious appraisal of Henry II that spoke volumes to Bavarian Expectation. In closing its account, the Historical Club praised Heinrich for stopping “internal feuds” and cementing what it meant to be “German.”<sup>109</sup> Heinrich II served as the Duke of Bavaria 995 to 1004, but soon became King of Germany, Italy, and, in 1014, the Holy Roman Emperor. During Heinrich II’s life Bavaria was far more tangible than the idea of “Germany.” Bavarians found shelter in a repurposed Heinrich narrative that claimed the Bavarian Holy Roman Emperor legitimized Bavaria as the historical core of Germany, instead of the peculiar Southern state they found themselves to be in the wake of the Great War. Such a

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<sup>107</sup> Heinrich Mayer, “Etwas vom Bamberger Dom.”

<sup>108</sup> L. Krapp, “Was der Bamberger Kaiserdom den deutschen Juristen erzählen kann.”

<sup>109</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, Georg Göpfert, “Wo ist Kaiser Heinrich II geboren?,” *Heimatblätter des Historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 1924, 3-5.

narrative validated and elevated an already bloated sense of self-importance that ran through the Bavarian public sphere.

Bavarians, much like U.S. white Southerners, felt a constant identity flux, moving between being proudly and essentially German and being obstinately and distinctly Bavarian. Tradition helped Bavarians maintain a sense of cultural independence from a Germany that long defined Bavaria. The Historical Club of Bamberg weaponized Heinrich II to defend Bavarian's "unreconstructed" personality by praising a pragmatism that Bavarians believed defined their approach to life, a pragmatism that differed considerably from more insatiable "Prussian" desires. Heinrich II, they argued, often remained "content with half an advantage if the circumstances did not permit more."<sup>110</sup> The First World War was fresh on Bavarians' minds; the war had cost them dearly in both resources and lives. What they needed in a global age, fraught with enemies on all sides, was pragmatism. Pragmatic gains that avoiding risking everything would be a better path for the future. When Heinrich II had exercised pragmatism and piety, he helped cement German identity on the European stage. Many Germans feared that the 1923 French occupation of the Rhine would deal a devastating blow to national prestige. In response many Bavarians gravitated towards figures like Heinrich II, who, being Bavarian and fond of Bamberg, lent clout to the notion that Bavarian culture could save Germany, or at least their tiny corner of it.

In the wake of defeat, nostalgic military tourism had a value in Bavaria, despite the monarchy having a mixed record on that front. Military history enthusiasts can still visit one of the more noteworthy efforts to find a welcoming place for the First World War, the Bavarian Army Museum, which offers a wide variety of historical artifacts from Bavaria's proud military days, although some days were prouder than others. In the Interwar era, this museum resided in

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

Munich and housed long-knives from the sixteenth century, armaments from the Thirty Years War, the weapons and helms of a variety of Bavarian Electors, and many others signifying Bavaria's military relationship with the old Germany before unification and global conflicts.<sup>111</sup> The museum also housed a variety of items more specific to the only recently dissolved Bavarian royal line. In 1806, Napoleon's dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire turned Bavaria into its own kingdom affiliated with the new Confederation of the Rhine. The previous Elector Maximilian was crowned Maximilian I Joseph, King of Bavaria and his royal line was quite cherished by the people of Bavaria. Many military garbs and armaments of the royal family, lightly used in most circumstances, filled the Bavarian army museum, each monarch of the line often receiving his own room. Plenty of memorial space also existed to commemorate Bavaria's royal family. The *Residenz* Museum in Munich was the former palace of the Bavarian Wittelsbach line, and, in the aftermath of the family's removal from power, their palace became an opulent museum glorifying the monarchical power of Bavaria and its peculiar position in Germany.<sup>112</sup> Even though the Bavarian monarchy had been dissolved and made irrelevant to the political life of Bavarians, the royal line still played a valuable role in validating Bavaria's unreconstructed nature.

This validation occurred in a variety of ways. Various statues and monuments were constructed and dedicated to the Wittelsbach line. Perhaps one of the most serious efforts to incorporate the royal family into the public sphere was the Bavarian Home and Royal league, a political movement which was focused on restoring the Bavarian monarchy to a prominent position in Bavarian government. Movement remained the operative word, because many of its

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<sup>111</sup> During World War II the Bayerisches Armeemuseum was damaged and became housed within the Bavarian National Museum until 1972 when the Bavarian museum moved from Munich to Ingolstadt.

<sup>112</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Kendrick S. Few Papers, Box 1, *Germany Munich "Hauptstadt Der Bewegung,"* 1937, 12.

members belonged to other political parties, most notably the Bavarian People's Party, a very conservative political party that was Bavaria's most popular in the 1930s. While the *Bayerische Königspartei* had some limited support, the Bavarian Home and Royal League was a more enduring institution from its foundation, in 1921, until it was dissolved by the Nazis in 1933. The movement lived by the Wittelsbach motto, "In Fidelity," to establish themselves as heirs to that culturally valuable history. Part of their efforts to keep the monarchy alive in Bavaria involved publishing their own magazine, *Der Bayerische Königsbote*, published out of Munich, that campaigned for the restoration of a monarchy in Bavaria to maintain Bavaria's historic independence from the German nation. That willingness to remain independent extended to the wake of the November 1932 Reichstag, when the *Bayerische Königsbote* released articles calling for Bavaria to reinstall the monarchy with urgency in the hopes of staving off Nazi control.<sup>113</sup> Their support was strongest at this critical tipping point, when seventy thousand Bavarians welcomed a return of the monarchy in some form.<sup>114</sup>

Much like other observances of Tradition, however, supporting the monarchy was not about the actual Wittelsbach monarchy for a variety of reasons. For one, the Wittelsbach line kept a healthy distance from the political world in their retreat. Following the dissolution of the monarchy via the November 1918 Anif Declaration that dissolved the seven hundred- and thirty-

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<sup>113</sup> "Das Volk will den König," *Der Bayerische Königsbote*, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1932.

<sup>114</sup> Karl Otmar von Aretin, Die bayerische Regierung und die Politik der bayerischen Monarchisten in der Krise der Weimarer Republik 1930-1933, in: Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag 1 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 36/1), Göttingen 1971, 205-237. Rudolf Endres, Der Bayerische Heimat- und Königsbund, in: Andreas Kraus eds., Land und Reich, Stamm und Nation. Probleme und Perspektiven bayerischer Geschichte. Festgabe für Max Spindler zum 90. Geburtstag. Band 3: Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart (Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte 80), München 1984, 415-436. Christina M. Förster, Der Harnier-Kreis. Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus in Bayern (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte B 74), Paderborn u. a. 1996. Dieter J. Weiß, "In Treue fest". Die Geschichte des Bayerischen Heimat- und Königsbundes und des Bayernbundes 1921-2011, in: Alfons Dinglreiter/Dieter J. Weiß eds., Gott mit dir du Land der Bayern. Herausgegeben zum 90jährigen Besten des Bayernbundes e. V., München 2011, 11-66.

eight-year rule of the Wittelsbach line, Bavarian royalty and nobility retreated from the public sphere, only making select brief appearances in front of their adoring public. On November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1921 the last monarch, King Ludwig III, was buried in a very well-attended funeral. Many royalists had hoped that the event would be a spark for a return to the monarchy. Even the Archbishop of Munich expressed Bavarian loyalty to the monarchy in his funeral speech, an event attended by over one hundred thousand Bavarians paying their respects not only to their former ruler, but the Heritage that he represented. However, Prince Rupprecht, the heir apparent to the Bavarian throne, who had commanded the Sixth German Army in World War I, refused to back any insurrection, claiming he would only accept a legally approved throne. The Crown Prince, however, would put no effort towards legally bringing about that power, not in the wake of his father's death, not in the process of the Beer Hall Putsch that had nominally intended to restore the monarchy, and not in 1932 when the Nazis, who had turned away from the Bavarian monarchy, were potentially coming to power. It did not matter if the monarchy was interested, the actual royal line mattered very little. What they represented was much more important, because honoring the finished monarchy and hoping that it could be returned ultimately signified that Bavarians hoped to maintain their peculiar position in Germany.

In a similar vein to the adoration heaped on the Wittelsbach family, Bavarians found ways to make the First World War have meaning beyond the pitiable waste of life it seemed to be. The First World War played an interesting role in the veneration of Tradition and its role in Expectation. Unlike the U.S. Civil War that was decades old by the 1920s, the First World War was very fresh on the minds of Bavarians, many of whom had lost people dear to them and others welcomed home survivors who returned with both physically and mentally debilitating wounds. Countless souls fought conflicting narratives: the glorious notion of the 1914 hero



defending Germany abroad and the downtrodden loser returning to a famine struck Germany that had been inexplicably defeated by forces presumed too weak to destroy unified German action. Similar to Southern commemoration, Bavarians reserved special attention for the fallen of the Great War. Many organizations were set up to maintain veteran graves, collecting alms and advocating that people “think of our fallen.”<sup>115</sup> The German War Graves Commission, operating in Bavaria, guilted Germans into not forgetting their obligations to those who had sacrificed everything “having given their lives in the hundreds and thousands for us.”<sup>116</sup> These noble warriors were set in “unfamiliar earth.. most of them lack the simplest care for their resting places, without adornments, without crosses, without any sign of loving remembrance.”<sup>117</sup> While such commemoration existed throughout Germany, the commission particularly called on the “always brilliantly proven, unsurpassed sacrificial spirit of the Bavarian people” to dig deep and give to this valuable memorial cause.<sup>118</sup> Appealing to Bavarians as special in their sacrifices was a sure-fire tactic as Bavarians constantly enjoyed being reminded of their special role in Germany.

Bavarians, however, did not take shame in their military defeat, but rather took considerable efforts to incorporate the First World War into a historical narrative of Bavarian triumph despite defeat. For example, a 1936 exhibit on the First World War in the Bavarian Military Museum featured an exhibit dedicated to Crown Prince Rupprecht.<sup>119</sup> Emphasizing the heir to the Wittelsbach line helped differentiate Bavaria war memorialization from other typical German memorials, such as the museum’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a common memorial

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<sup>115</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, “Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräber-Fürsorge e.V. Landesverband Bayern, München, Max-Joseph-Platz 2.”

<sup>116</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, Landesverband Bayern, “Das Recht der Toten.”

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Kendrick S. Few Papers, Box 1, *Wegweiser durch das Bayerische Armeemuseum*, 1936.

implemented in the wake of mass-destruction in that conflict.<sup>120</sup> Tying the long history of Bavarian military action and the royal line to the First World War served many purposes. Such an elision allowed Bavarians to find more meaning in the First World War. Instead of an imperial war that slaughtered thousands of Bavarians and left the survivors in poor conditions, the World War was merely another example in a long line of Bavarian military conflicts. While in some ways damaging in the short-term, in the long term they glorified Bavaria and justified its peculiar and unreconstructed image. By placing the World War in this continuum, Bavarians could not only honor their fallen in a meaningful fashion, but also pass onto future Bavarians a lesson favorable to Bavarian Expectation: no matter the extent of defeat, Bavarians could and would remain proudly unique.

A variety of warnings existed in Bavarian Tradition to remind everyday people of the times when Bavarians had saved themselves from the violent threats of a brutal world. While Rothenburg ob der Tauber was praised for its natural vistas, historic buildings, and reenactment culture, the small town was particularly famous for weathering a wide variety of military misfortunes. A tourist pamphlet for the Rothenburg briefly mentioned the town's fortifications, dungeons, and gallows, which provided small glimpses into a darker view of Bavaria's long history of brutal warfare. Visitors were invited to see the battlements on the city walls where "Rothenburg's citizens fought and defended the entrance to the city."<sup>121</sup> Every year, in October, the city of Rothenburg celebrates, as it did in the 1920s and 1930s, the *Meistertrunk*, a fascinating story from the Thirty Years War that Rothenburgers gleefully reproduce.<sup>122</sup> As the legend goes, the brutal Catholic general Tilly, in 1632, captured the city of Rothenburg, despite its defenders' ardent efforts. Upon being presented with a colorful glass tankard, holding three

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<sup>120</sup> *Germany Munich "Hauptstadt Der Bewegung,"* 1937, 6.

<sup>121</sup> *Deutschland-Bildheft; Rothenburg ob der Tauber*, 34.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, 24

and a half liters of wine, Tilly made a wager. If any citizen of Rothenburg could drink the tankard in one single tilt, he would spare the city. To save his town the mayor, Georg Nusch, stepped up and, amazingly, drank the entire pump in one massive gulp, forever cementing him as a legend in Rothenburg's traditional history.

Now, the veracity of this story is highly dubious, but nonetheless people in Rothenburg dressed as the mayor and tried to reproduce his valiant draught. This mayor was not remembered for anything else; after all, the city had been lost. However, his act provided a justification for the age-old Bavarian value of alcohol consumption that, on this occasion, had saved a whole city of people. The messaging was clear, all Bavarians faced external threats that would, if played by the rules of the rest of world, lead to their defeat. However, if people played by Bavarian customs, if they lifted a stein instead of a sword, in the end, all would sort itself out. Rothenburgers reproduce this lesson every year. This festival warns of external threats and outsiders in the same breath as it praises Bavaria's peculiar position not only as a hearty, drinking, Catholic people, but as Bavarians. Tilly was commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor who nominally received his authority from an ancient German lineage validated by the Papacy. The only people who have proven themselves to have Bavaria's best interests at heart were Bavarians, and that all-important lesson radiated through so much of Bavaria's traditional landscape. That reverence for the past lent a multi-century legitimacy to anything slightly Bavarian. It was therefore unsurprising to see lawyers travel to Bamberg, or Pharmacists visit the Albrecht Dürer House, or Munichers walk through the halls of the deposed Bavarian royalty. Bavarian Tradition functioned as an important foundation in harsh times. Cherishing the past signaled that time and again Bavarians had survived Holy Roman Empires, marauding Poles, French dictators, and even German neighbors. If they remained focused on their values, Bavarians would continue to endure for a very, very

long time. Unfortunately, that insular mindset left Bavarians susceptible to Segregationist messaging that would recognize their desires for a stable, isolated future and weaponize them against racialized others.

## **Tradition**

Nothing in the above constructions of Tradition necessitated the formation of a racial system the likes of the Third Reich and Jim Crow. The U.S. South and Bavaria could have continued revering the past and maintained a society that resembled countless pockets in the world that take their traditions very seriously. The problem with Bavarian and Southern Tradition, and all intense worship of meticulously fictionalized historical accounts, was the inclusion and exclusion paradigm. Glorification of unreconstructed identities emphasized an inherent distrust in outsiders and an insular outlook on most events. While Heritage can appear politically neutral, it often favored more Segregationist messaging that simplified the problems of the past, present, and future. For groups that valued insiders, it became very easy to blame anecdotal evidence of misbehaving outsiders as a means to justify larger systems of discrimination. That belief inherently made it easy for Segregationists to employ racialized rhetoric to gain the support of everyday people. That support was best gained when those who backed racial hierarchies and systems of oppression manipulated Tradition to lend historical credence to racial discrimination.

A major problem with glorifying any aspect of the U.S. South, be it Southern endurance, Civil War heroes, antebellum Southern culture, or any quality of Lost Cause identity was that those ideals all have their origins in slavery. The institution that dehumanized, brutalized, and

ended countless black lives operates as the foundation to nearly any Lost Cause story. The Lost Cause was merely a system of memory, various signals and ideas meant to convey to white Southerners what it meant to be Southern. That message was transmitted every time a white Southerner saw a Confederate flag, passed a monument, read a Civil War history, or even whistled Dixie. It was a message passed down to white Southerners for generations, instilled in them at a young age. The importance of the Lost Cause Tradition is not solely identity, however, but the ideas that Southern identity informed, namely Southern Heritage, Jim Crow segregation, and white supremacy.

The Lost Cause argument would contend that the North was against slavery not out of care for black people, but for selfishly economic and political reasons. That line of thought ran through most Lost Cause histories of Abraham Lincoln. One essay published by the Chapel Hill UDC in 1925 painted this idea in very stark terms:

“To me there is nothing more ludicrous than a statue of Lincoln fondling negro children with one hand and striking off shackles with the other....Even the most venial and smattering student of history must know that for the negro Lincoln had no especial love. He did set the race free; but I believe he would have as soon sunk it in the Great Deep if thereby he could have saved the Union.<sup>123</sup>

The North did not care about black people, the Lost Cause argued. The only people who had ever truly cared about African-Americans, the Lost Cause asserted, were the slave masters who only had the best interests of their wards in mind.

Once freed by the ignorant North, the Lost Cause took considerable pity on its “poor brother in black.”<sup>124</sup> The UDC argued that the behavior of black men “upon receiving freedom is clear proof to most men that his condition in slavery must have been such that he was not

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<sup>123</sup> University of North Carolina Chapel Hill Special Collections, North Carolina Collection, CpB 4737r, Archibald Rutledge, *Lincoln: A Southern View*, 1925, 10.

<sup>124</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, B D29ma, Daniel Albright Long, “Jefferson Davis,” 1921, 13.

tempted to react barbarously.”<sup>125</sup> No, “the negro was happier and better off than he has been since he was free.”<sup>126</sup> The Lost Cause implied that, when it came to race, the South knew best. The North, according to the UDC Catechism, “made war upon the South, freed the negroes without regard to time or consequences, and held the South as conquered territory.”<sup>127</sup> Had matters been allowed to run their own course, the Lost Cause assures us that slavery would have ended naturally due to “irresistible economic forces.”<sup>128</sup> Instead, “the chief obstacle to the march of emancipation was the incendiary violence of the abolitionist agitator.”<sup>129</sup> Had well enough been left alone the South could have avoided the “barbarism” of “negro rule” that was Reconstruction.<sup>130</sup> The message was clear, the North should have minded its own business and any self-respecting Southerner needed to remember that lesson. Tradition of Southern Heritage thus gave white Southerners a blank check to create a Jim Crow South that was under constant threat of Northern intervention.

Jim Crow operated on the idea of white supremacy and many Lost Cause proponents expended considerable effort touting its ideals to provide traditional cover for systemic inequality. The UDC was particularly helpful in deploying its White Woman Illuminati to the task of assuring whites of their pre-ordained superiority to their black counterparts. While these tactics certainly fostered racist stereotypes, Lost Cause enthusiasts were not above directly touting white supremacy. The South Carolina UDC explicitly entered white supremacy into their own catechism when they asked their sixty-third question: “What secret society saved a

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<sup>125</sup> Archibald Rutledge, *Lincoln: A Southern View*, 12.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>127</sup> John Gardiner Tyler, *A Confederate Catechism: The War for Southern Self Government*, 4.

<sup>128</sup> University of North Carolina Chapel Hill Special Collections, Southern Pamphlet Collection, 5327, Sons of Confederate Veterans, *Report of the Text Book Committee Sons of Confederate Veterans Being A Protest Against Provincialism*, June 1932, 16.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

civilization and made it possible for white people to reside in the State?”<sup>131</sup> The answer, “The Ku Klux Klan.”<sup>132</sup> The next question asked the reader to describe the Klan and this description made the Lost Cause endorsement of white supremacy crystal clear:

“It was an honorable body of Southern men, who would not bow to negro domination. Their forbears had fought and died to leave them homes and a heritage in the South and they determined these should not be foully wrested from them. Therefore, they organized to protect and defend their homes, to protect those who were defenseless, and to defend what was left of their property; which they did.”<sup>133</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan became the subject of many glowing UDC essays, but the UDC was not alone in praising the Klan. A broadside posted in Jackson, Mississippi promoted a “highly historic” lecture “intended to educate the living generation” given by Colonel Sam Cooke, who would “give out the secrets of the Ku Klux Klan.”<sup>134</sup> The event was to take place in the local Methodist Church and would tell “the truth.” That “truth” most notably involved this aged Ku Kluxer delivering “sledgehammer blows to the Freedman’s Bureau, Carpet baggers, Scallawags, and other evil incidents of the terrible days of Reconstruction.”<sup>135</sup> Then, the flyer closed in a tone typical of the era where few Confederate veterans remained:

“IT IS HIGH TIME for the sake of History that the truth should be told about the extraordinary organization before the old Confederate Veterans who were presumably Ku Klux cross over the River.”<sup>136</sup>

Thus, the Lost Cause called for Ku Klux Klan to be revered in a similar light as the sacrosanct Confederate veterans.

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<sup>131</sup> South Carolina Historical Society, Pamphlet Collection, PAM 973.7 1923, U.D.C. Catechism of South Carolina Confederate History, 1923, 14.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>134</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Broadside and Ephemera, Broadside file/ Undated; 1901-1921/Folder S-Z/1, “The Invisible Empire, Ku Klux Klan: Col. Sam Cooke will give out the secrets of the Ku Klux Klan.”

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

Praising the Ku Klux Klan in the same breath as Confederate veterans may seem like a bit of verbal gymnastics, but truth be told, white Southerners had long engaged in this activity through the cult of personality surrounding Klan founder Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest was a Confederate cavalry commander who had come up from nothing to take a prominent place amongst the Confederacy's heroes. Mention was seldom made to his pre-war career as a slave trader, a notoriously brutal occupation that should have reflected poorly on him. His Teflon reputation is further demonstrated by that fact that hardly any mention appears of the Fort Pillow Massacre, in which his battalion massacred a surrendering contingent of African-American occupants of the fort. Forrest's role as one of the founding members of the Ku Klux Klan, however, received considerable praise. In Tennessee, the Forrest cult remained strongest to this day, and, in the 1921 *Chattanooga Times* supplement on the UCV reunion, Forrest received an entire page of glorification, receiving more coverage than even Robert E. Lee. The paper praised Forrest for being the "Mounted Leader of a Clan that fought their way to Imperishable Glory."<sup>137</sup> Forrest, that Ku Klux "Wizard of the Saddle," as he was called, was even the subject of an elaborate poem that questioned whether he was "devil or angel."<sup>138</sup> The poem praised his burning of bridges, his "rebel yell," and, in one of the stauncher pieces of historic revisionism mentioned in this work, the poem praised him for his mercy claiming: "but his pity could bend to a fallen foe, the mailed hand could soothe a brother's woe."<sup>139</sup> Forrest's popularity within the Lost Cause put on full display the extent to which historical mythology of the Confederacy provided cover for and exonerated terror done in the name of white supremacy.

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<sup>137</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR 141, Paul Sanguinetti Records, Box 6, Folder 36, United Confederate Veterans Reunion Chattanooga Times Supplement, "Tennessee's Great Cavalry Chieftain," *Chattanooga Times*, October 25, 1921, 14.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.



Perhaps one of the most blatant Lost Cause defenses of white supremacy came in the form of a 1927 memorial testament to the President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis. When the speech came to the subject of slavery, the author made Davis a stand-in for the South itself. The author stated Davis had been humane and exemplary in “consideration for his slaves.”<sup>140</sup> Davis “bore that part of ‘the white man’s burden’ as only the noble white man can.”<sup>141</sup> Much like the rest of the South, Davis was “a good master.”<sup>142</sup> When contemplating whether slavery was the reason for secession, this author was very frank:

“Behind all the talk about slavery as a condition and about succession as a remedy, there laid in the minds of the Southern men, and even more in the minds of the Southern women of that generation, as anyone may know who will seek their feeling and thought in their private and public utterances, the cause of White Racial Supremacy....which was thought to involve, and does involve white racial life, is not a Lost Cause. It is a Cause Triumphant.”<sup>143</sup>

The Lost Cause was indeed the Confederate lifestyle, a lifestyle built upon the vestiges of white supremacy. The Lost Cause lent a noble spirit to racial hierarchy. White Southerners have long flocked to a Confederate Tradition that advocated “states’ rights” as cover for racial inequality. White Southerners did not want a reproduction of the Confederacy, but instead to remain atop the racial hierarchy. If Jim Crow were the pill white Southerners wanted the future to swallow, the Lost Cause was the sugar coating to make it go down easier. Children could be taught lessons about confederate heroes big and small. They could repeat key Confederate lessons about state power, the Ku Klux Klan, the nobility of Lee, and the opportunism of Lincoln. Monuments could be placed in prominent locations to allow future generations to bask in confederate mythology. Recumbent Lee’s and mountain carvings could remain in place for

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<sup>140</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, B/D29vm, Program, Dedication of Memorial to Jefferson Davis, Vicksburg National Military Park, October 1927, 17.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 17.

decades as testaments to something inherently and intangibly Southern. These memorials, reunions, essays, books, graves, flags, songs, films and other cultural artifacts dedicated to the Lost Cause were merely signposts. Anyone who digs into these artifacts can quickly find the not-too-deeply buried vestiges of white supremacy, a concept that, through the efforts of various Lost Cause enthusiasts, would have a firm and central role in white Southern Expectation.

A subtext lurked throughout Bavarian Catholic literature that warned against outside forces and willingly provided numerous historical accounts featuring famous Bavarians overcoming outside forces on their path to eternal glory. Heinrich II was often praised in such accounts for eliminating the outsiders that followed Boleslaw I, the King of Poland during the early eleventh century. Boleslaw was a stand-in for “Slavic ideas” that strove to undermine German cultural standards.<sup>144</sup> Heinrich and his knights were praised for humiliating the “arrogant Polish prince.”<sup>145</sup> And yet, Heinrich II was also praised for not exacting too much from these enemies. While many in his circle had evidently thought “more could have been achieved and that Boleslaw should have been humbled even further,” Heinrich merely “pushed forward” content in quelling and silencing his enemy.<sup>146</sup> Upon returning to Bavaria, the Emperor rested in a valley along a hill and river bed, the story went, looked about, and did not hear “the German lute” but rather marveled that Slavs lived there “to whom the doctrine of salvation of Christianity had not yet penetrated.”<sup>147</sup> In response Heinrich said the following to the skeptics in his band:

“You thought earlier that more should have been gained in Poland and in Bohemia. Do you not hear that even here pagans live, whose salvation is dear to our hearts, even closer to us, than the Poles and Bohemia! How does it happen...that there are still Slavs here in the middle of German lands who worship idols!”<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> L. Krapp, “Was der Bamberger Kaiserdom den deutschen Juristen erzählen kann.”

<sup>145</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, Arthur Heßlein, “Filmbilder aus Bambergs katholischer Vergangenheit,” *Festschrift zum Katholikentag*, 1921.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

It was at this moment, with thoughts of internal foes on his mind, that Heinrich II supposedly considered establishing the Bamberg Cathedral as a site to combat nearby enemies which were far more pressing than far off combatants. Absolutely a fictional account, its message nonetheless rang clear to Bavarians still coming to terms with the defeat of World War I and its harsh peace. Bavarians needed to emulate Heinrich and focus on foes at home, not the wide variety of ambitions that had caused Germany at large so many problems. Catholicism could always be counted on, much like the Bamberg Cathedral that was used as a stand in for Bavarian Catholic faith, because both would “become a wall for all times against atheism and delusion.”<sup>149</sup> If Bavarians ever needed to be reminded of what was important, they could fall back on the history of Heinrich II, who ignored the variety of external forces and instead ensured that his own flock was insulated from the ills of the world and ill-advised outsiders. This example clearly benefitted traditional adherents who watched a variety of domestic threats to their Heritage make inroads into Bavarian culture.

Much like shining a light on the Lost Cause, inspecting Bavarian history independent of the limelight results in a much less romantic version of events. The beloved Heinrich II was certainly a larger than life figure who was eventually named a Saint by the Catholic Church. However, he was very much a warlord and politician who used brutality and cunning to consolidate a wide imperial network. That network faced frequent challenges from nobility throughout Germany, including Bavaria. As mentioned before, Ludwig II received praise as a cultural institution of Bavaria, but he had engaged in a reckless opulence that was atypical of the hearty Bavarian peasant identity so cherished by everyday people. Albrecht Dürer was famous in Germany, but in the scope of the Renaissance he did not feature as a major player. The elevation

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

of these characters, of the frequently sacked Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and the humble, if beautiful, Bamberg spoke to the intense desire of Bavarians to believe themselves special and the need to elevate the historical importance of their past to justify those feelings.

In the 1930s, two nationalist political movements stood as the most popular parties in Bavaria: the Bavarian People's Party (BVP) receiving the most electoral support of Bavarians; the Nazis, a close second. Everyday Bavarians found these two parties valuable, in no small part due to their ability to emphasize the favorable historical memories of Bavaria. The BVP took considerable efforts to appeal to the sense of Tradition popular amongst Bavaria's large population of peasant and rural voters. They employed many tactics to ensure they earned a large section of the Bavarian electorate's support. One BVP flyer featured a cartoon of a Bavarian peasant, clad in Lederhosen, proudly lifting a flag to plant on a mountain top. The BVP ensured voters knew that they had "struggled for the preservation of the Bavarian peasantry."<sup>150</sup> That struggle would be a constant refrain in BVP literature, a reminder to Bavarian voters that the BVP would operate as a buffer against a variety of classes and changes defining the Interwar era. The BVP assured its members that "that which is good for Bavaria, is good for Germany," not the other way around.<sup>151</sup> Honoring Bavarian Tradition, the BVP maintained, would ensure that Bavaria would not be subsumed into the Weimar Republic; Bamberg would not become Berlin.

The Nazi Party, and its eventual government, went to extraordinary lengths to validate the importance of Bavarian tradition. A variety of examples abound of Nazis cozying up to Bavarian culture, perhaps most mortifying the aforementioned photoshoot of a Lederhosen-clad Hitler. More interesting were the September 1937 efforts of the Third Reich to pump up Bavarian culture in the city of Nuremberg. September was already a time of celebrating Bavarian

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<sup>150</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/22, Chronik der Stadt Bamberg 1914-1924, "Allweil gut bayerisch und gut deutsch. Wählt Bayerische Volkspartei!" Gg. Heim, "Zwei Prüfsteine für die Wahlen," 1920.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

culture via the “Nürnberger Volksfest,” a carnival honoring the people of Nuremberg. In conjunction with that festival the Third Reich hosted an exhibit in the German National Museum dedicated to Nuremberg, the so-called “German City,” glorying in its reputation as one of the oldest cities in Germany. In Nuremberg, Hitler had considerable ambitions to add Nazism to Nuremberg’s vast history, forcibly altering aspects of the city. The Nazi Party Rally Grounds, lying just outside the old walls that mark the heart of Nuremberg, demonstrated the Nazi ambition to entrench themselves on Bavaria’s memorial landscape. The Great Road, a mile long and over one-hundred-foot-wide road that would tie old to new, led Nurembergers from the older sections of the city to a vast exhibition grounds which put the self-importance of the Third Reich on full display. Replete with cleared landscape that nominally would be landing zones for Zeppelins and numerous Nazi Party rallies, construction had begun on a massive Congress Hall that would seat fifty thousand people. This area, the site of Leni Riefenstahl’s documentary film *Triumph of the Will*, was a consequential endeavor to cement Nazism into Bavarian and German Expectation, anchoring the Nazi Party to something ancient and inherently German.

The Third Reich also held dear the Bavarian capital Munich, releasing a wide variety of material promoting the city’s rich history. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had praised the city of Munich, calling the capital “a genuine German town!”<sup>152</sup> Undaunted by the fact that much of Munich’s architecture had been inspired by the Italian Renaissance, Hitler considered the Bavarian capitol an essentially German space defined by a “fine artistic feeling, [particularly in] this unique gradation between Hofbräuhaus and Odeon, between Oktoberfest and Pinakothek.”<sup>153</sup> In Munich, the Nazis exhibited the Great German Art Show, an exhibit meant to demonstrate the centrality of Munich and Bavaria to the cultural traditions of the German people. In a Nazi

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<sup>152</sup> *Germany Munich* “Hauptstadt Der Bewegung,” 1937, 1.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 1.

authored tourist pamphlet, the “historic sites” in Munich were all affiliated with the history of Munich as the birthplace of Nazism. The pamphlet directed visitors first to the shrines on Königplatz dedicated to “the first martyrs of the National Socialistic Movement” who had fallen during the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch and would now hold “eternal watch” over the new Germany being created.<sup>154</sup> That was not the only memorial to the fallen of the Putsch as *Feldherrnhalle* was also “dedicated to the memory of the loyal followers of the Führer” who had died during that revolt.<sup>155</sup> Visitors were then directed towards the *Ehrentempel* which operated as a shrine to the German people which would then be followed by a stop at the Brown House, a key Nazi Party headquarters.<sup>156</sup> The Nazis relied on mapping themselves onto the Bavarian traditional landscape, just as they would do all over Germany and their conquered territories. In Bavaria, that meant adding themselves to the variety of histories that Bavarians had prided themselves on. Nowhere was that effort shallower than in Munich, where the city’s coat of arms traditionally featured a monk with canting arms open. All over literature touting Munich’s cultural value, the lonely monk on the coat of arms found himself unfortunately companioned with a swastika, cementing a hoped-for relationship between Munich as a foundational place for monkish devotion and National Socialism.

Investing in cities would only go so far for a people who prided themselves on an idyllic rural identity. The Nazis put considerable effort towards making rural Bavaria a site of historical and cultural import. Rothenburg ob der Tauber was a prominent day-trip spot for the Strength Through Joy program where the Third Reich hoped Germans could tap into something essential

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 3-4.

by visiting “The Most German of Towns.”<sup>157</sup> Nonetheless, it was in Rothenburg ob der Tauber where anti-Semitic exclusion received historical backing. The Third Reich hoped that visitors to Rothenburg ob der Tauber would visit the *Judengasse*, the Jewish ghetto. One tourist pamphlet showed a small series of buildings that laid in a separate part of the city where the town’s Jewish population had supposedly lived. Specifically, the pamphlet informed its readers that “the Jews were not allowed to live with the citizens, they lived separately in their own ghetto.”<sup>158</sup> The Third Reich thus deployed Bavarian proclivities for the past to emphasize the historic tradition of anti-Semitism, not only to justify the system of ghettoization they were employing, but to tie it to Bavarians’ all too important sense of Tradition. If Jews had been historically ostracized, it tragically made sense for Bavarians to support, or at least not oppose, the Nazi efforts to bring back said system.

On September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1935, during the now annual Nuremberg Nazi Party Rally, a special pronouncement was made at the Party Rally Grounds, specifically the Luitpold Hall. Built in 1906 to be a performance hall, it was eventually fitted with a variety of speakers, spotlights, and one of Germany’s largest pipe organs. The Third Reich used it as a convention hall, this time pronouncing their ambitions to the sixteen thousand plus party members and enthusiasts who would fill the Hall. The Nazis forever put a legacy on this building that would be impossible to shake, because on this September day, in Bavaria’s oldest city, the Third Reich announced one of its major legislative initiatives, the infamous Nuremberg laws. This series of laws, named after the city where they were first announced, became the legislative bedrock of the racial state that would define and subsume Germany. These laws formally defined citizenship in racialized

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<sup>157</sup> For a more specific breakdown on the Nazi efforts to model Rothenburg ob der Tauber into an ideal historic site read Joshua Hagen, “The Most German of Towns: Creating an Ideal Nazi Community in Rothenburg ob der Tauber,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 94, No. 1, (March 2004): 207-227.

<sup>158</sup> *Deutschland-Bildheft; Rothenburg ob der Tauber*, 38.

terms, removed citizenship from Jews, and forbade marriages and intercourse between the races. These laws were not created in a vacuum and although they would not be enforced ardently until after the 1936 Berlin Olympics, enthusiasm for them was considerable and opposition very minimal. Certainly, opposition was muted in the U.S. South where such laws had long been on the books. In fact, much of the language and heart of the Nuremberg Laws came from observing the successes and trials of the Jim Crow segregation. These laws would be the Nazi effort to create their own racial state informed by the U.S. South.<sup>159</sup>

It mattered that Nuremberg, one of Bavaria and Germany's most cherished sites of Tradition and memory, debuted these policies so central to National Socialism. The historical weight of the location and the import of these laws formed a purposeful match and racial demagogues realized the importance of these sites all too well. Everyday people imbue people, objects, and places with considerable historical value independent of the actual history surrounding them. The believed historical value of objects and ritual explains why U.S. Southerners still make pilgrimages to Lexington, Virginia to visit the tomb of Robert E. Lee before placing a lemon by Stonewall Jackson's grave. It explains why Bavarians attempt to drink liters of beer in one gulp and linger in Bamberg. It explains why Confederate enthusiasts would meet every year, why Nurembergers repeatedly held singing competitions, why people in Montgomery, Alabama fondled civil war artifacts, why Hitler wore lederhosen. A reverence for the past was not for the sake of the past, or else the UDC would have let Lee's horse Traveler rest in peace or the Nazis allowed Munich's monk to remain alone on the city's coat of arms.

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<sup>159</sup> A new historiography is exploring the overlap in U.S. and Nazi racial laws. See Sarah Churchwell, *Behold, America: The Entangled History of "America First" and "The American Dream,"* (Basic Books, 2018). Bradley W. Hart, *Hitler's American Friends: The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States,* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2018). James Q. Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law,* (Princeton University Press, 2017).



Tradition assuaged the problems of the present and signaled to a specific desired future. By honoring a select and repeatedly exaggerated history through rituals, consumerism, gatherings, and other means, people infused the ahistorical with considerable sentimental value. That need to ease the burden of the present with exaggerated stories of the past is inherently human, as we all add memorial value to cherished objects. Like attaching memories to old cars, everyday people increasingly cherish objects, valuing them far beyond their actual utility. Yet a cherishing of the past infused with strong nationalistic tones influences people's identities. A condemnation of the relics of Bavarian and Southern tradition alienated its adherents, while endorsing those values earned untold support.

Segregationists signaled to Everyday people that these histories and values would have a place in their version of the future. That is why the Nazis announced the Nuremberg Laws in Bavaria's oldest city, for the same reason the second Ku Klux Klan announced its return on Stone Mountain, outside the once burned city of Atlanta. Tradition operated as a fundamental component of Expectation, firmly espousing that no tolerable version of the future could be devoid of models based on fictionalized pasts. An affinity for Tradition allowed people, already distrustful of outsiders, to become further insulated and more willing to alienate, deprive, and harm others. To cherish the past too dearly, to revel in a belief of generational unreconstructedness, provided a very powerful means for those with ill intents to gain support for agendas, laws, and societies that proved harmful and fatal to racialized "others." It would be easy to blame Segregationists for manipulating the historical record in the name of racial inequality, but everyday people readily offered their support to Segregationists politicians, thinkers, and movements in the hopes of perpetuating these romanticized memories of the past and the values they represented into a future that hopefully continued to cherish the past.

## CHAPTER 3

### Fearing the Worst

#### **The Swamp**

An August 1923 issue of *Südwestdeutsches Nachrichtenblatt*, a news leaflet intended for the Southwest German areas of Pfalz, Baden, Hessen, Birkenfeld, and Eifel, focused on a problem that pressed Germans all over the country - American intervention. In 1923, Germany chafed under the Treaty of Versailles, specifically, the financial burdens the document mandated. Already humiliated by defeat, Germans all over endured further embarrassment from French occupation of the Ruhr industrial area, an attempt by Germany's former enemy to exact their unpaid recompense. Many Germans held out hope that the United States, one of the leading forces behind Versailles, could resolve or, at the very least, alleviate this harsh peace. This issue of the *Südwestdeutsches Nachrichtenblatt* addressed those anxious hopes, summarizing a visit to the U.S. made by the former Bavarian Prime Minister Count Lerchenfeld-Köfering. Having been in the U.S. for a considerable time, he returned and spoke publicly about his travels, reaching audiences anxious for some relief.

Lerchenfeld-Köfering advocated for the German cause at every stop, trying to elicit support from the citizens of the new leading economic superpower. The United States held the most sway on the reparations Germany paid to France; any help, however big or small, coming from across the Atlantic would make quite an impact. However, the former prime minister steadily realized that "the American generally shows little or no understanding for our

complaints ... but has become weary of them.”<sup>1</sup> No matter where he went his pleas for German relief fell on the deaf ears of “self-made men who in all situations expected others to pull themselves out of the swamp.”<sup>2</sup> Many Americans felt that Germany had put itself in this precarious situation and would have to get itself out of trouble. It did not matter to Americans that the Versailles Treaty was “blackmailed with a revolver;” that was not an acceptable “extenuating circumstance.”<sup>3</sup> Instead of aiding Germany in its hour of need, the American, “with his hands in his trouser pockets let pass all cruel events on the Rhine, on the Ruhr, in the Saar and in the Palatinate.”<sup>4</sup> Americans greeted arguments that German suffering would eventually blowback on Americans with such vigorous laughter that Lerchenfeld-Köfering became painfully aware that the U.S. did not need Germany. Not only was Germany a poor investment by itself, but given their new domineering position, Americans could do business with anyone they wanted. Evidently, that would not be this humble Bavarian visitor. Returning to Germany, Lerchenfeld-Köfering warned all his audiences that Germans needed to “abandon hopes that are quite deceptive.”<sup>5</sup> The only people who would help Germany escape their present woes would be the Germans themselves.

While those in Southwest Germany took this lesson harder than some, after all it was their region most under threat of western intervention, Bavarians took a more angry and anxious tone in their feelings on the United States and its neglect. The *Bamberger Volksblatt* pondered whether Germany should tolerate the U.S.’s slow pace of negotiation in resolving the reparations.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the *Eschenbacher Volkszeitung*, a newspaper published in the Neustadt

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<sup>1</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Kriegsarchiv, C 56 + 617, “Wo ein Wille- da ein Weg!,” *Südwestdeutsches Nachrichtenblatt*, Nr. 8, August 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/24, “Telegramm,” *Bamberger Volksblatt*, April 1922.

district, expressed frustration at a 1930 naval conference which featured Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, purposefully excluding Germany. Such an exclusion allowed the paper to call it an “Imperialist” conference of powers conspiring to make Germany a colony.<sup>7</sup> The paper, echoing a sentiment that ran throughout Bavaria, lamented that “the strong want to keep the weak weak and stay strong!”<sup>8</sup> Firmly exhibiting Bavaria’s unreconstructed nature, the newspaper also complained that, in 1929, German export trade declined, not through Germany’s own fault, but rather because the rest of the world refused to buy their materials. The rest of the world had little problem selling their goods to Germans though, as “trains leaving have a lot less than the train coming in,” signaled the disparity in trade.<sup>9</sup> In 1930, the *Fränkischer Kurier* headlined their paper with a ten-year anniversary of the “peace dictate,” one of the unfriendly names the Versailles Treaty received in Germany.<sup>10</sup> They would later cover a rally over the split of Upper Silesia where protesters advocated that “The German East wants to be free!”<sup>11</sup> Many Bavarians continued to fixate on fears that the world, in particular the United States and France, actively undermined any hope of future German success. If Bavaria, and Germany by extension, were to experience success, it would absolutely be up to the Bavarians themselves to see it through. Not only would no help come from the outside world, but the external world constantly placed Bavarians under unnatural duress, producing untold anxiety over their present position and what that meant for the future.

While Bavaria looked to America with distrust, the U.S. South similarly had its doubts about the United States Federal Government. A strong resentment towards federal intervention

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<sup>7</sup> “Die ‘imperialistische’ Flottenkonferenz,” *Eschenbacher Volkszeitung*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1930.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Der deutsche Außenhandel im Jahre 1929,” *Eschenbacher Volkszeitung*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1930.

<sup>10</sup> “Zehn Jahre seit der Ratifizierung des Frieden Diktat sind die deutschen Verbände gefordert,” *Fränkischer Kurier*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>11</sup> “Polen und wir,” *Fränkischer Kurier*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

formed a cornerstone of white Southern identity and, in the interwar era, white Southerners needed little provocation to vocalize their concerns of federal overreach. For many white Southerners, the federal government combined intellectuals, carpetbaggers, and bankers into a cesspool that expressed little interest in the South, apart from how much money and power they could gain at the expense of Dixie. White Southerners often felt that only other white Southerners could appropriately address the South's problems. No one else was going to help, in fact, others might wreak more havoc. This threat of outside forces – unfamiliar with the customs, traditions, and ways of white Southerners and Bavarians – upending everything produced near constant anxiety for everyday Bavarians and Southerners. Numerous problems faced these two southern regions in an interwar era that featured postwar recovery, shifting gender dynamics, conflicts over race and class, a new youth culture, increased decadence, reckless investing, a global depression, rising dictatorships, and the specter of yet another global war. Why, with these complex issues facing interwar Bavarians and Southerners, did they remain fixated on outsiders?

Instead of tackling the issues at hand with earnest forethought and effort, much of the political discourse in Bavaria and the U.S. South centered on outside forces undermining everyday people's present status quo. Times were not great for Bavaria and the U.S. South and yet everyday people clung to what little they had, condemning many reforms and changes that might alter their precarious position. Those condemnations almost always involved damning outsiders who, with little regard for those they impacted, sought their own personal benefit to the detriment of the South and Bavaria. Many of these attacks read like conspiracy theories of the "fake news" era, hardly believable and woefully inaccurate. However, to Bavarians and Southerners facing a confusing new era, buying into conspiracies provided a more convincing framework for addressing the source of their present problems than a prolonged investigation of

the bigger, complex picture they could do very little about. White Southerners could, however, blame New Yorkers for filling women and African-Americans with crazy notions of voting as part of the great conspiracy to engineer a second Reconstruction. Bavarians could similarly blame a leftist cabal of Jews from Berlin and Moscow of trying to subsume Bavaria and make it just as unremarkable and exploited as the rest of the world.

This chapter will explore the role of Suspicion in Expectation and Heritage. The living present can be a constant battlefield for expectations of the future. Any decision simultaneously creates and obliterates countless versions of the future. Many situations alter expectations of the future: a new tax code, an altered street, an arrest, a law. Those with a sense of stability and trust in the forces around them generally expect those same forces to continue into a predictable future. However, if someone has absolutely no trust in the forces operating around them, the expected future can become a chaotic mess of epic disasters that could have been prevented if only more people had been aware of the “true” problem. This tension, caused by the anxiety to fix a problem before it became something much, much worse, animated everyday white Southerners and Bavarians. Almost any issue, particularly one portending any change to the status quo, was attributed to the complex machinations of alleged malcontents, and their enablers, bent on destroying what little white Southerners and Bavarians could call dear. Should these villains succeed, the future as they knew it would cease to exist.

Everyday white Bavarians and Southerners had difficulty substantiating just who was responsible for the threats to their dreams of a stable, privileged future. Suspicion made these southern regions mistrustful of outsiders, reforms, and even one another. However, left alone, such Suspicions would generally create fairly insular communities resembling many rural localities across the world. However, in the case of Interwar Bavaria and the U.S. South,

Segregationists aggravated these Suspicions to the point where the most compelling option for securing desired future involved ostracizing and exploiting others, particularly those deemed not part of the social, national, and racial community. Suspicion played a significant role in Southern and Bavarian Expectation as it provided an easily manipulated discourse to frame the events of the present in dire, Expectation-driven terms as will be seen through evaluating Southern concerns over the ballot and Bavarian worries over their new form of government. These issues spoke volumes about Expectation as each offered significant alterations to the trajectory of the future. As a consequence, suspicions that these changes were done in bad-faith abounded in the public sphere, an idea perpetuated and exaggerated by Segregationists and readily adopted by a variety of everyday white Southerners and Bavarians interested in blaming outsiders for the threats that an unstable present posed for the future.

### **If They Should Vote**

Isaac Lockhart Peebles, a Mississippi minister in the Interwar era, regularly used his sermons to ensure that his parishioners and the greater public knew the Bible stood in firm opposition against the idea that women should gain the right to vote. Deploying a largely scriptural defense, Peebles claimed that the whole idea of woman's suffrage was "sinful" because it was "a product of a disregard for God's plan...established by hatred, misrepresentations, unfairness, intimidations, falsehoods, railroadings," the list went on.<sup>12</sup> "Everyone knows," the minister continued, "God made woman for man," ordaining them to be

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<sup>12</sup> Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, General Collection, P 373 324.623, Issac L. Peebles, "Should women run for state offices or even vote?" Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 81.

“wives, mothers, and daughters.”<sup>13</sup> The mere idea of women voting insulted centuries of patriarchal tradition. Peebles did not stand alone in employing religion as a tool against suffrage. One Mr. Stewart wrote to an Alabama newspaper arguing that “the rule of man was ordained by an infinitely wise, holy and just God,” deeming women’s suffrage an “unnatural” travesty that would bring about “moral corruption, confusion, degeneracy, and final downfall of this nation.”<sup>14</sup> Preachers in Tennessee, congressmen in Florida, bishops in Atlanta, and many other religious fundamentalists in the South spoke out against the advent of women’s suffrage, generally citing biblical verses that argued women gaining the right to vote would usurp the very foundations of their patriarchal societies.<sup>15</sup>

While a diversity of speakers and writers attempted to halt suffrage, Peebles dramatically spoke to the anxieties and fears inherent in a South contemplating a significant change to the very gendered foundations of its society. Looking towards a future where women voted and held office Peebles exclaimed:

“If women have the same rights with men, who will begin and conduct courtship for marriage? Whose name will become the family name? Who will judge and settle family differences? Who will look after and conduct family devotions, etc? Such questions will enable one to apprehend somewhat the conditions of homes that may exist under the principles of the present Woman Suffrage Amendment. How will a wife obey and help her husband in the scriptural sense, when away from home in Congress, or State Legislature, or in some federal or state office?”<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, Peebles worried about far more than the vote, fearing that this one change in gender relations would upend every fabric of U.S. Southern life. Questions over the ballot and citizenship, while seemingly pertaining to civics, spoke volumes about everyday people’s

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<sup>13</sup> Peebles, “Should women run for state offices or even vote?”

<sup>14</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, “Letter to Editor: WOMAN SUFFRAGE Mr. Stewart Examines Subject from Scriptural Standpoint,” August 1919.

<sup>15</sup> Elina C. Green, *Southern Strategies*, 81.

<sup>16</sup> Issac L. Peebles, “Should women run for state offices or even vote?”



Heritage. Who votes – or rather, who is allowed to vote – defines people’s expected roles in any community. For Peebles and other religious fundamentalists, women were expected to play a support-based role that contrasted the civically engaged lives of men. Women voting, and the civic engagement voting entailed, undermined a patriarchal future. Therefore, much of the anti-suffrage religious rhetoric embodied the fear that a seemingly well-functioning society would be changed and irrevocably damaged. Such fears dominated the Southern landscape, becoming particularly amplified around issues of suffrage.

Not unrelated to religious patriarchal opposition, many Southerners resisted women taking any increased civic role, citing overstated fears of sexual and moral depravity. According to patriarchal Southern standards, women represented paragons of purity who had to be protected from exposure to society’s more dangerous and licentious elements, namely men. Southern men could face the unfortunate realities of sex, alcohol, dancing, etc., while respectable Southern women needed to avoid those shameful acts of fun and pleasure at all costs, lest they bring misfortune on themselves, or, more sharply, the men who were supposedly in charge of them. One anti-suffrage pamphlet indicated as much, asking its readers whether women “were too fine to mix in politics,” fearing that to do so would “bring her to shame.”<sup>17</sup> Another asked pointedly, “does your wife or daughter want to be forced to jury service! Do you think it in keeping with the civilization of the South?”<sup>18</sup> Suffrage fights often intersected sexual anxieties as many anti-suffragists postulated that a future where women became civically active would become quite the tawdry affair. Men considered, with dread, that a political life would put otherwise protected

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<sup>17</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, “Letters to Editor: Is Woman Suffrage Worth-While?,” July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>18</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, Alabama Democrats, “A Protest Against Woman’s Suffrage in Alabama,” 6.

women in proximity to other men. Laws throughout the South already restricted men and women's interactions, some of them carrying significant prison terms and even execution lest they be violated. For example, Alabama law in the 1930s could punish a man committing rape by deception, specifically if he pretended to be the woman's husband, with death.<sup>19</sup> Suffice it to say, the South took the public interaction of men and women with detailed seriousness.

A diversity of other conspiratorial fears around sex and suffrage littered Southern political discourse. One anti-suffrage pamphlet asked "Will the modesty of your wife or daughter permit her to come in contact with the turmoil of politics," just one of many lines fearing that women themselves would change by entering the political arena.<sup>20</sup> Not surprisingly, long-held white Southern anxieties over miscegenation entered the arena as that same author asked his increasingly scared audience, "how would you like your mother, wife or daughter to be locked up all night in a jury room, filled with men, white or black."<sup>21</sup> On a different note, some Southerners worried about how the presence of women in politics would alter the highly regarded image of the Southern gentleman. In Virginia, where concerns over Southern gentlemen were most pronounced, one anti-suffrage leaflet stated that men could be convinced to take any position on a political issue, not because of any meritorious considerations, but instead could be persuaded by "other" means. Elaborating, "no other argument, however profound, is quite so convincing or fascinating as that word 'because,' accompanied by some pouting of alluring and scarlet lips."<sup>22</sup> The "hard fact" of the matter, the leaflet alleged, was that men were often "compelled" to support the nineteenth amendment by sexual means and, if that continued to be

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<sup>19</sup> Alice Nelson Doyle, *Compendium of Alabama Laws Relating to Women and Children*, 1921, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Alabama Democrats, "A Protest Against Woman's Suffrage in Alabama," 6.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closes Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, "Virginia Warns Her People Against Woman Suffrage," Reprinted, May 4, 1915.

the case, sexual favors would run politics moving forward, quite the interesting take – as if sex had not been playing a role all along.<sup>23</sup>

Suffrage concerns became particularly amplified when they intersected with a core aspect of Southern identity: distrust of ideas from the inhospitable and nosy North. Many anti-suffragists believed that the Northerners devised the whole notion of women's suffrage to undermine cherished and perfectly functioning Southern institutions. As this issue pertained to women, the much belied "frenzied feminist," whose effigy constantly haunted the more chauvinist corners of the U.S. South, often received blame for corrupting Southerners.<sup>24</sup> If these feminists, "loud in their clammorings, like frogs in a mill pond" – an allusion the pamphlet assured was meant "with great respect" – got their way, the South would absolutely collapse.<sup>25</sup> Anti-suffragists would show no deference towards these "few ladies who are drunk with excitement" and did not know any better.<sup>26</sup> Many white Southern men rejected the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" as a product of New York manipulation, brought about by "an alien people unacquainted with and out of harmony and sympathy with Southern conditions, Southern people and Southern civilization."<sup>27</sup> If suffrage passed, outsider feminism would run rampant, undermining the patriarchal Southern community, much in the same fashion outsiders had frequently ruined other long cherished Southern institutions.

Casting further aspersions on the Suffrage movement, some Southerners equated suffragettes with that bugaboo socialism. While socialism could seldom be found in much of the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, Letter to the Editor, "Is Woman Suffrage Worthwhile? A Consideration of the Effect on Woman," July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>25</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, Alabama Democrats, "A Protest Against Woman's Suffrage in Alabama," 1919, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 6.

interwar South, its reputation left quite the impression. One pamphlet validated such fears by quoting supposed socialist Barnet Beaverman as saying, “no two social movements ever had so much in common as woman’s suffrage and socialism.”<sup>28</sup> Many considered suffrage a gateway issue, a trojan horse that would secretly deliver socialism to the South, undermining every institution with its radical notions of change. If socialism became the law of the land, surely, as the pamphlet alleged, so too would the twin institutions of home and marriage be compromised. Some Southerners feared that suffrage and socialism would team up to abolish “the present marriage ceremony.”<sup>29</sup> These fears were further evidenced by repeated measures to elide women’s suffrage with the formation of socialism in other countries. One Southern editorial argued that Finland, upon accepting women’s suffrage, adopted a socialism that “developed into the wildest anarchy.”<sup>30</sup> Some Southerners believed that Germany and Russia also had women’s suffrage foisted upon them by socialists as a key part of a conspiracy to become “the most fearful menace to the civilization of the world today.”<sup>31</sup> Anti-suffragists then equated the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment with not only eroding marriage and traditional gender roles, but also of undermining democracy itself, a bold claim for sure, but not their boldest.

A broadside simply titled “Opposing Woman Suffrage” claimed that the nineteenth amendment should be opposed because it would put men and women into “political, commercial, and professional competition” with one another.<sup>32</sup> Such a reality would be dark indeed, the author feared, worrying that men could have to be subordinate to women or could even earn less than women, forever damaging male pride. The author pleaded with his audience that “the

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<sup>28</sup> Alabama Democrats, „A Protest Against Woman’s Suffrage in Alabama,” 7.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, A Daughter of the South, “Letters to Editor: Suffrage, Negroes, and Radical Propaganda.”

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, “Opposing Woman Suffrage.”

contentment of men is necessary to the welfare of the country.”<sup>33</sup> Women did not need “increased activity,” in fact, “when their sphere was limited, they lived happily.”<sup>34</sup> Anti-suffragists expressed anxiety that female activism would lead to all kinds of calamity for the status quo. Marriage would falter, men and women would become antagonists, women would then become both less attractive and less dependent. No, the author asserted, “Men’s vote is sufficient to express the will of the people.”<sup>35</sup> Anything else might be apocalyptic because, “if women are given further suffrage, there need not be any limit on what political office they will hold. It might be Senator or judge or eventually by political accident President of the United States.”<sup>36</sup> In a world that saw Russia collapse, a global flu epidemic, and the spread of jazz music, anything seemed possible, a truly frightening prospect for Southern men relying on maintenance of the status quo.

However, men were not the only ones protesting change and despising outsider threats to their way of life. A vast network of white Southern women voiced vociferous opposition to their own suffrage. In Alabama alone, “at least 5000 women in all cities, towns and villages of the state linked up opposing suffrage ratification.”<sup>37</sup> One Montgomery area newspaper indicated that seven hundred women added their names to their local Anti-Ratification Club.<sup>38</sup> In Tennessee, the officers of “The Southern Women’s League for the Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, “Legislators Urged to Defeat Susan B. Anthony Amendment,” June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>38</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, “Seven Hundred Women Add Names to Local Anti-Ratification Club,” July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

Amendment,” make three realities apparent.<sup>39</sup> First, the officers of that organization were made up exclusively of women not just from Tennessee, but from multiple Southern states. Second, the clear majority were married and went by their husband’s names, for example the league’s President, Mrs. James S. Pinkard. Third, these women took the task of preventing women’s suffrage very seriously. The difference between much of the opposition to suffrage shared thus far, largely authored by men, and hostility from women is that men organized very little formal opposition against suffrage, falsely assured in the ease with which they could defeat the measure. Anti-suffragists failed, however, as Tennessee’s state legislature ratified the amendment by one vote making it the thirty-sixth state necessary to bound all states. Left to their own devices, white women felt that men would fail to obstruct the measure. As a consequence, many women in the South actively campaigned in earnest opposition to their own civil rights, developing a very sophisticated infrastructure to back their preference of the devil they knew, patriarchy, to the liberation that they did not.

Southern anti-suffragettes echoed many of the fears men expressed over a future where women could vote. In one letter sent to the Alabama state legislature, its authors, a body consisting solely of women, shared their numerous reservations with giving women the vote. These women feared the corrupting influence of politics, hoping to maintain the purity of their gendered role in Southern society. They did not want to surrender their femininity in order “to assume the unfamiliar and distasteful role of political gladiators.”<sup>40</sup> Similarly, they would not abandon the structure of domesticity, begging the “gentlemen” of the legislature to not thrust

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<sup>39</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, Roster for Tennessee Division of the Southern Women’s League for the Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

<sup>40</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, Letter of Woman’s Anti-Ratification Executive Committee to Gentlemen of the Legislature of Alabama.

them “from the quietude of our homes.”<sup>41</sup> Instead they wished to maintain the status quo, favoring their own welfare, happiness, safety and “great traditions.”<sup>42</sup> Plainly spoken, they opposed the nineteenth amendment “because the vast majority of white women of Alabama do not want it.”<sup>43</sup>

Seeking a middle ground, another group of anti-suffragists proposed a compromise where if the vote was granted to women, any aspiring new female voter would need to pass a “Character test.” Only married women living with their husbands or unmarried women who lived in a house belonging to a member of her father’s family would be able to pass said test. Additionally, these women would have to be over twenty-one years old, able to “read and write without assistance the Ten Commandments,” and be of “good moral character.”<sup>44</sup> Finally, these great compromisers proposed a time-honored Southern electoral tradition: any new women voters would have to pay a poll tax.<sup>45</sup> Hardly a compromise, this character amendment, offered by white women, would do little more than weed out “feminists” and other “loose women” from the polls. While a desirable end for conservative Southern white women, this amendment reflected a sincere desire to deploy Christian marriage as a means to attain civil rights, further enforcing the status quo and effectively undermining the spirit of the nineteenth amendment.

While many Southerners opposed suffrage, a sizeable community existed within the South that favored Woman’s Suffrage and unsurprisingly its most vocal supporters were Southern women themselves. One such group of Southern suffragists formed the Equal Suffrage Headquarters in Birmingham, Alabama. They declared that “The Declaration of Independence

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, “A Bill,” 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 1.

was the direct result of taxation without representation.”<sup>46</sup> So, either the state of Alabama should ratify the amendment or exempt women from taxes; these women would not let the state have it both ways. Responding to claims that women should enjoy the pedestal they have been placed on, one angry suffragist asked “What pedestal?”<sup>47</sup> As far as she was concerned women had been handed a lower civic status; women in the South, she argued, were lumped in with “the Alien, the Idiot, the Criminal, the Insane.”<sup>48</sup> Rest assured, as severe as anti-suffrage advocates comported themselves, those who worked to earn the right to vote gave as good as they got. The true battle in women’s suffrage was not the vote, but how the vote would alter the future gender roles in the Southern community, potentially making the South unrecognizable to the presently accepted version. Nowhere is that reality more truly expressed than in the most bizarre front of the suffrage battle, white supremacy.

The anti-suffrage camp did not require much prodding to elide their fears of women gaining the right to vote with the white Southern desire to maintain racial hegemony over the South’s African-American population. Tapping into the Southern Heritage, many suffrage opponents elided the nineteenth amendment with the memories of the painful history of reconstruction, driven by federal amendments. The Anti-Ratification League of Alabama did not mince words claiming that women’s suffrage was not a federal matter, but should be determined by “States Rights.”<sup>49</sup> Any discussion of ratification would dishonor “the principle for which the Confederate soldier shed his blood.”<sup>50</sup> Speaking even more specifically, the League asked “Your

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<sup>46</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, Equal Suffrage Headquarters, “Votes for Women!”

<sup>47</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, Equal Suffrage Headquarters, Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, “Reply to the Anonymous “Protest Against Woman’s Suffrage in Alabama.”

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, “Woman’s Anti-Ratification League of Alabama,” July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.



father did not vote for the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment will you vote for the 19<sup>th</sup>?”<sup>51</sup> Lumping the nineteenth amendment in with the much-maligned thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments tapped a powerful sentiment at the heart of “States Rights;” many Southerners felt that suffrage provided yet another example of federal intervention run amok.

One Alabama citizen tried to alleviate to concerns over increased suffrage undermining Jim Crow voter suppression in a way that only someone who had benefited from the systematic exploitation of African-Americans could, by claiming that, “there will always be means to control the negroes in the South.”<sup>52</sup> Less confident whites adamantly felt that federal intervention could only lead to disaster as a July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919 letter to the editor opined:

“We will never be strangled into submission. Those about us may close in on us, they may conspire against us, they may call in their intriguers from distant lands they may defame us, they may do what they will: we will never say “Comarade [sic].” We may be strangled at the hands of those negroes in the east and their instigators, but we resolve now and for all time never to bow.”<sup>53</sup>

The quote above painted a picture of Reconstruction returned, although with a distinctly socialist feel. Why else grant women the right to vote and undermine white dominion of the South if not to try to stomp out Southern Heritage and democracy in one fell swoop?

The Lost Cause fear of federal intervention served these opponents the same way as a Klansman’s sheet: it could be easily discarded if the need arose. One letter to an Alabama newspaper urged suffrage opponents not to worry about race, but instead focus on whether society should accommodate women voters. This desire to avoid discussions of race did not come from a love of equality or embarrassment at intolerance. Rather, the letter cautioned that

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “Letters to Editor: Is Woman Suffrage Worth-While?,” July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>53</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, “Alabama Women Opposed to Ratifying Suffrage Clause Memorialize Legislature,” July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

anti-suffragists needed to avoid the “State’s Rights” discourse as “it would seem to be well not to make too much of that, for other states will want to know why prohibition could not be decided in the same way.”<sup>54</sup> Federal intervention was detestable, unless of course it served one’s own purpose, further signaling that the vote and federal power were not the real issues at stake. This fight was over the underpinnings of Southern society past, present, and especially future, and white Southerners in opposition treated Women’s Suffrage as if it were a mass, multi-layered effort to elevate women and blacks at the expense of Southern white male dominion.

Suffrage opponents expressed alarm over the possibility of African-American female voters. That fear animated a Virginia anti-suffrage pamphlet that claimed, very matter-of-factly, that twenty-nine Virginia counties “would be condemned to colored rule” if suffrage passed, largely because of African American women gaining access to the polls.<sup>55</sup> The pamphlet continued to say that general Jim Crow constructions, like literacy tests, would not work on African-American women as they had for men because African American women continued to increase their literacy in the face of white efforts to stilt their intellectual growth. Furthermore, the pamphlet argued that “no safeguard would be left but the poll tax, and if colored women knew they could get votes and rule,” there would be nothing stopping them from working hard to earn the necessary funds.<sup>56</sup> Facing a motivated population of black women, the white men and women of the South worried that “negro female supremacy” would become the new Southern standard.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR93, Elizabeth Houston Sheehan Alabama Anti-Ratification league Scrapbook, 1919-1920, Letter to the Editor, “Is Woman Suffrage Worth While? A Consideration of the Effect on Woman,” July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>55</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, “Virginia Warns Her People Against Woman Suffrage,” *Richmond Evening Journal*, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1915.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

Suffrage advocates saw considerable fault with these white supremacist arguments, but not for the evident reasons that they constituted entitled, racist drivel. A pro-suffrage pamphlet agreed with their opponents that the nineteenth amendment had the potential to “destroy white supremacy.”<sup>58</sup> The author asserted that regardless of that reality, men and women were equal and women should get the right to vote, regardless of the racial impact. Again, this support was not out of some desire for racial equality, as the pamphlet then asked the readers to think pragmatically about white supremacy. Offering up their Southern credentials, the Georgia-born author “would cheerfully sacrifice everything (I) have, including life, rather than have our fair country- or any portion thereof,- dominated by negroes.”<sup>59</sup> If life and limb were at stake, women could certainly be asked to hold off on gaining the right to vote. However, why should they? Even if the “dead, or at worst dying,” fifteenth amendment were strengthened, four million white women, “mainly pure, good and highly intelligent,” would enter the electorate and offset the gains of African-American voters.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the author argued that “giving the vote to women, instead of destroying white supremacy, must necessarily establish it upon an indestructible foundation of rock.”<sup>61</sup>

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, based out of New York, sent materials to the South that did little to undermine Jim Crow. On July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, a press release plainly asserted that there were “more white women in the South than total negro population.”<sup>62</sup> The release argued that below the Mason-Dixon line lay 10,661,926 white women to 8,643,650 African-Americans. Only in South Carolina and Mississippi did blacks outnumber white women,

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<sup>58</sup> Georgia Archives, Rare Pamphlets, 310/10, J.L. Anderson, “Votes For Women,” 1919, 1.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>62</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, National American Woman Suffrage Association, “More White Women in the South than Total Negro Population,” July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

but, as the release pointed out, African-Americans outnumbered white men as well, so clearly those states knew how to overcome demographic math. The release further attempted to assuage anxious white southerners by reminding them that property requirements, education tests, and literacy tests all would still hinder black voters, but not white women. Rather than undermining white dominion, the release asserted that suffrage would “increase vastly the white vote” and “raise the educational and moral standard of the electorate.”<sup>63</sup> The national organizations recognized that one of the major currencies in this fight for women’s suffrage was white supremacy. If Southerners were going to entertain undermining their patriarchal traditions, they would only do so if white dominion remained thoroughly intact.

Sentiments that white supremacy could be maintained by actively-voting white women dominated everyday discourse. One entreaty written by a Southern woman asked why white men allowed African-American men to vote, “making them the political superiors of your white women.”<sup>64</sup> “Never before in the history of the world,” she rued, employing as many Old South catchwords as possible, “have men made former slaves the political masters of their former mistresses.”<sup>65</sup> Borrowing from Tradition, a different letter declared that there was nothing to fear from suffrage, but to block this reform would indeed be “a loss to southern chivalry and southern prestige.”<sup>66</sup> Another suffrage supporter borrowed from eugenic thought, arguing that “white supremacy will continue to grow since the increase of white population is more rapid than the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, “What Southern Men Think of White Women.”

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, National American Woman Suffrage Association, “Secretary Daniels for the Nineteenth Amendment,” July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

increase in colored population.”<sup>67</sup> Therefore, women’s suffrage would “give white control in these states a more permanent footing than now.”<sup>68</sup> One of the more antagonistic suffrage supporters mocked anti-suffragists, asking why they were so scared of the measure, after all, “we doubt if the scariest Southerner can be induced to think that white supremacy can be endangered by raising the total number of white voters over negro voters.”<sup>69</sup> The South was alive with debate over whether women should gain the right to vote, but all that debate and rancor aside, it seemed both sides could agree that white supremacy should remain a core aspect of the Southern present that needed not only to be maintained, but strengthened. Once Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment, Suffrage was settled, and the battle lines withdrawn. Southern whites turned their combined energies towards that time-honored tradition of strengthening white dominion often at the direct detriment of African-Americans.

One of the most frequent voter suppression tactics deployed in the Jim Crow South was the poll tax, which levied a certain amount of money from the citizenry for the ability to vote. This tax largely disenfranchised African-Americans by making the enterprise cost-prohibitive. In the 1930s, debates raged throughout the South about the morality of the poll tax and those debates provided a sharp view into the ways Suspicion continued to influence the anxiety Southerners felt about the maintaining the white status quo. In 1939, Barry Bingham, a media giant from Kentucky, gave an address that spread across the South, lambasting the poll tax. Part of his argument involved a frank history of the poll tax, that “clever device” that allowed whites

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<sup>67</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, National American Woman Suffrage Association, “Woman Suffrage Makes White Control Sure,” July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, SG 17777, Woman Suffrage Files, 1915-1920, National American Woman Suffrage Association, “Does it Frighten You,” July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1919.

to protect their political dominion.<sup>70</sup> Citing a 1907 Alabama poll tax advocate, Bingham struck at a powerful sentiment that white southerners still hoped to achieve in 1939. Bingham quoted the man, “What we would like to do in this country more than any two other things, would be to disfranchise the darkies and to educate white children.”<sup>71</sup> In 1938, Arkansas attempted to repeal their own poll tax, but arguments defending education and mobilizing white supremacist suspicions helped defeat that repeal, lending credence to the poll tax as a racist device.

Thankfully, for anxious white Southerners, Bingham provided a means for them to have their discriminatory cake and eat it as well. Bingham remained unconvinced that white supremacy was the leading cause of the poll tax. Getting right to the point, Bingham argued that while the poll tax blocked many blacks from voting, most blocked voters were white southerners. Bingham acknowledged that the poll tax was initially dreamed up after Reconstruction as a means to hinder African-American electoral power, but in the twentieth century, the tax became weaponized against working- and lower-class whites. Bingham accused advocates of the poll tax of undermining agrarian populism, turning the poll tax into a trojan horse that externally advocated white supremacy, but in practice severely damaged poor white electoral power. Bingham pointed out that in the South “more whites are barred than Negroes are barred from ballot by the box.”<sup>72</sup> The poll tax had ceased to solely restrict blacks, but instead undermined white Southern democracy the whole time; removing it would save the Southern way of life by boosting white turnout and securing their dominion.

Bingham’s theory argued that only one in four eligible white southerners voted in the 1936 national election. Bingham held his own Kentucky and West Virginia in high regard as two

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<sup>70</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 11, Folder 23, Poll Tax 1932-1942, Barry Bingham, “Do All Americans Have the Right to Vote?,” April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1939, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 5.

states who, never having had a poll tax, experienced high voter turnout, the former netting sixty-four percent while ninety-two percent of West Virginians voted. Going further, however, Bingham assured his avowedly white supremacist doubters:

“The Democratic Party, the traditional “white party” in the South, actually made gains in North Carolina after repeal [of the poll tax], cutting down the Republican vote from 42.7 per cent in 1920 to 33.3 per cent in 1936. There are counties in North Carolina where Negroes predominate, yet there has been no suggestion of Negro political control in those counties since repeal. With only one Southern State now showing as much as 50 per cent Negro population, and that proportion steadily declining, it is not flattering to Southern whites to suggest that Negroes will capture political dominance if they are allowed to vote.”<sup>73</sup>

The South did not need to uphold the poll tax to maintain supremacy. Using a similar logic that women’s suffrage advocates had employed, all that was needed was to unlock a base of previously disenfranchised white voters. In 1919, that voting block consisted of Southern white women. In 1939, the target would be poor whites unable to afford the poll tax.

The poll tax certainly took an interesting angle on the boundaries of citizenship, but it was not the only racialized electoral debate erupting throughout the interwar South. In the 1920s, a unique movement entered the public landscape, hoping to weigh in on definitions of citizenship and race. The League to Annul the Fourteenth Amendment, led by Virginia Judge Henry Edwin Bolte, called for the “moral support of every white man and white woman of the South” as they attempted to annul the right of African-Americans to vote.<sup>74</sup> The league tapped into white Southern anxiety surrounding the increased African-American political and economic capital. Displaying stark white Southern entitlement, the league argued that federal positions held by African-Americans “rightfully belong to white men and white women.”<sup>75</sup> The League expressed disgust that “white girls and women of our beloved Southland are at present compelled to work

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>74</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 50, Eugenics: Legislation, Flyer, “from The League to Annul the Fourteenth Amendment.”

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

under negro officials.”<sup>76</sup> The League further claimed “the negro does not belong in politics – he has no rightful or legal claim therein and is a menace thereto – as negro suffrage was attained by FRAUD.”<sup>77</sup> Old Lost Cause arguments condemning federal intervention as a cheat carried considerable clout. However, everyday Southerners likely found more convincing their closing assertion that once African-Americans were removed from politics “the negro will be required to abide by the segregation laws.”<sup>78</sup> Maintaining segregation remained the linchpin of the argument for disenfranchisement of African-Americans. On a cold January night in 1923, the League held a public mass meeting, calling every citizen to be present if they were interested in “the welfare of future generations.”<sup>79</sup> They further warned, “Do not let America, the greatest nation of all time, become an India or Egypt.”<sup>80</sup> The message was clear, the Southern, American, and white civilizations would crumble if African-Americans were allowed to continue down their present path towards eventual equality.

White Southerners hoped that the benefits they reaped from Jim Crow white supremacy would continue well into the future. Changes to the mechanisms of state power took many diverse paths through ethics, gender-norms, economics, morality, and much more, but at their heart, these issues always pivoted on the impact and changes made to white supremacy. Women’s suffrage advocates needed to have a white supremacist justification prepared to gain support for the nineteenth amendment. Once the vote was gained, white women activists and their progressive allies still engaged in activities that resulted in increased education, opportunity, and civic engagement, but predominantly for whites, ultimately ensuring a

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 37, Eugenics, Mass Meeting Broadside, “NOTICE!”



continued racial hierarchy. Even subsequent political debates pivoted on white supremacy in the South, as seen in the poll tax debates. However, the expectation that the white electorate would continue to dominate over their black neighbors was painted most clearly in one final example.

On February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1934, the *Jackson State Tribune*, a newspaper run out of Jackson, Mississippi, published a feature article titled “HOW STATE IS PROTECED FROM BLACKS.” Essentially, the article relayed to its readers that “safeguards” from the 1890 Mississippi state constitution gerrymandered the state so severely that black electoral power was negligible. Any effort for a “Negro Machine” to operate, although possible given Mississippi’s African-American population, would most likely fail.<sup>81</sup> This newspaper kept a close and anxious watch on various events of the Southern present. It lamented the shifting tide against prohibition, hoping against hope for a renewed state and federal endorsement of the measure.<sup>82</sup> It railed against the Scottsboro Nine, advocating for their death by electric chair, an execution they hoped would be powered by TVA’s expansion into the Mississippi-Alabama area, a development the newspaper covered with great excitement.<sup>83</sup> The *Jackson State Tribune* coverage bore strong similarities to many Southern newspapers and demonstrated, in stark detail, the plain fact that many white Southerners considered Jim Crow a natural institution of the South. Newspapers covered the ups and downs of the 1920s and alongside detailed accounts of black transgressions of the Jim Crow status quo. Most clearly, however, the blatant way this newspaper could advocate for voter suppression, assuring its white readership that African-Americans would remain second class citizens, provided clear evidence that Southern Expectation involved white dominion remaining a bulwark of the South long into the future.

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<sup>81</sup>“How State is Protected from Blacks,” *Jackson State Tribune*, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

<sup>82</sup> “Senate Passes Liquor: Doom of Prohibition for Magnolia State Looms Nearer and Nearer,” *Jackson State Tribune*, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

<sup>83</sup> “TVA Brings Cheap Power,” *Jackson State Tribune*, November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

Prominent political and social figures in the U.S. South weighed in on the various debates over Suffrage that ran throughout the Interwar Era. Voting operated as a clear means Southerners used to determine a person's value and their role in a community. Those who voted had permission to shape the future, while those who were denied the vote were viewed as outsiders and threats to all expected futures. While Segregationists of all kinds advocated for restrictions to the ballot for women and African-Americans, everyday people clearly shared those same desires although with differing motivations. Segregationists opposed suffrage from a place of firm white supremacy, believing firmly in the inferiority of African Americans. Everyday people did not often deploy this rhetoric in their suffrage woes, but rather mobilized their insecure visions of the future. The more African Americans who rose in prominence, the more competition everyday whites feared. Adopting a zero-sum view of the world, Suffrage caused whites to view the right to vote as one of many fronts they would have to compete with African Americans on; fronts that they could very well face future defeats. In that spirit everyday whites in the South readily advocated for restrictions to the right to vote in the name of preserving their desired future where the color of their skin entitled them to a variety of advantages and security. In an irony lost on most white Southerners, they were, in fact, the ones engaging in a vast conspiracy to undermine the future of the South.

### **Where the Rule of Alien Traitors Leads**

In 1919, Bavarians contemplated a wide range of devastating and complex problems. The World War decimated much of its population, either through deaths on the front, the Spanish Flu, or the Entente's hunger blockade. While dealing with the emotional tolls of those realities,

Bavarians needed to come to terms with what a new Germany, one no longer led by the Kaiser cooperating with a Bavarian monarch, would look like. However, Bavaria not only lost membership in an empire, but also faced the potential loss of their precarious and peculiar independence. Bavarians' ability to remain unreconstructed, a cherished characteristic vital to their Heritage, faced threats from a variety of political experiments coursing through a constantly changing interwar Germany. The collapse of the *Kaiserreich*, the formation of socialist-cosmopolitan republic, the removal of the Bavarian monarchy, increased credence of communism, and the financial retribution of the Entente which aggravated German nationalist interests, all contributed to the creation of a diverse and volatile political environment. The task of finding sanctuary in hopes of a stable future became impossibly difficult for interwar Bavarians as the parameters of their society remained very much up in the air. Between 1919 and 1933, Bavarians lent support to socialist republics, monarchist revivals, nationalist demagogues, religious political movements, and some even formed their own Soviet Republic, albeit very briefly. This inability to find a stable political environment reflected deep seated anxieties over Bavaria's present direction. Whatever status quo established itself in this tumultuous time period could define their community for decades. Therefore, Bavarians often kept lookout for those seeking to exploit their present weakness. Discussions on what a new Bavaria in a new Germany needed to be often pivoted on Suspicion, particularly regarding outsiders and enablers, a discourse that considerably hindered Bavaria's ability to reach common ground and political stability in a fraught time.

One typically associates Bavaria with more conservative leaning politics: largely rural, very religious, fairly homogenous population. Parties of the moderate and radical left have traditionally found it difficult to establish themselves throughout the state. However, for a very

brief instance, the most industrial of Bavaria's cities, Augsburg and the capital Munich, were very much taken with left-wing politics, believing some combination of socialism and communism could absolutely secure a strong future for their people. Following the dissolution of the Bavarian monarchy, in November 1918, the People's State of Bavaria was formed, a socialist government operating under the supervision of the Weimar Republic led by socialist journalist Kurt Eisner. Eisner did not warm up to communism, preferring to maintain loyalties to social democracy, a position which, in the hard times following the war, did not win him much support on the left. His socialist background – and his Judaism – won him no friends on the right either, made clear by the fact that in February 1919, Eisner was assassinated by a German nationalist. His likely successor, Erhard Auer, was shortly thereafter attacked by an Eisner supporter who believed Auer had backed the assassination. Following the ensuing gunfight and melee, a revolt broke out in the capital that shutdown the University of Munich, flooded the streets with brawls, and saw communist supporters kidnap members of Munich's elite as an opening act to a desired class war. While Johannes Hoffman, a member of the Social Democratic Party, eventually calmed matters in Munich, by early March, a revolution in Hungary prompted a new series of revolts led by Communist Ernst Toller, who proclaimed a Bavarian Soviet Republic with Bolshevik allegiances, forcing the Hoffman government to flee north to establish the new capital of the People's State of Bavaria, in Bamberg. Meanwhile, from April until May 1919, when a combination of the German army and Bavarian *Freikorps* took control of the Bavarian capital, the city of Munich operated as an unrecognized communist state.<sup>84</sup>

As Hoffman's government fled Munich, a call echoed throughout the rural countryside, calling on loyal Bavarians to form an army to resist Munich's communist government. The

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<sup>84</sup> For those in need of context for the fascinating, brief life of the Bavarian Soviet see Allan Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria, 1918-1919: The Eisner Regime and the Soviet Republic* (Princeton University Press: 2015).

language employed painted a clear picture of the sincerely held fear that communism differed so considerably from “normal” Bavarian interests that its very existence would eventually destroy the Bavarian way of life. While the call claimed that true Bavarians would fight for “justice, order, peace, bread and labor,” the communists actively “plundering” Munich “voluntarily began a bloody civil war in whose hands clings peasant and civilian blood.”<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, soldiers were assured that they would not be fighting against fellow Bavarians, but rather a “militaristic Red Army” filled with “armed Russian combatants,” deployed against Bavarians.<sup>86</sup> In closing, the call argued that “Munich is crying for help from the deepest distress and you know where the rule of alien traitors leads.”<sup>87</sup> Echoing a similar worry for the status quo, the Bamberg *Freikorps*, a militia mostly populated by former veterans of the Great War, mobilized in a “rush to fight against Bolshevism.”<sup>88</sup> Bavaria’s farmers were warned not to send food to Munich and nearby Augsburg because “a small minority” had taken control and proceeded to deprive millions of Bavarians of any food.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, another call was issued claiming that “In Munich the Russian terror rages, unleashed by foreign elements.”<sup>90</sup> “This disgrace of Bavaria,” they claimed, “must not last a day, not an hour.”<sup>91</sup> Various groups across Bavaria actively mobilized to combat a threat to Bavarian sovereignty. The most convincing rhetoric in the mobilization effort stoked Bavarian mistrust of external forces by painting the Bavarian Soviet with a Bolshevik brush.

Meanwhile Hoffman’s government tried to maintain its legitimacy, asserting that Hoffman had universal support for a socialist Bavarian government. Those efforts almost exclusively involved portraying the Hoffman government as the voice of true Bavarians,

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<sup>85</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Soldaten!”

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Mobiles Freikorps.”

<sup>89</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “An die bayerischen Bauern!”

<sup>90</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Aufruf! Bayern! Lansleute!”

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

interested in protecting their way of life against a foreign rabble-rouser, laying waste to Bavaria's proud capital and industrial sectors. "The Bavarian peasantry," Hoffman's government asserted, "will not join Bolshevism."<sup>92</sup> As far as they were concerned, this soviet republic undermined socialist efforts to rebuild Bavaria into something special. Per Hoffman's government:

"The system that caused the vile World War and our misery had collapsed. The tremendous work of erecting a new community for all creators on the rubble of the past, of giving work and bread to the people, of organically building a socialist state was to begin in a hopeful manner."<sup>93</sup>

Instead of engaging in this meaningful work, the Bolshevik threat undermined Bavarian recovery and invited the other German states to use military force against them.<sup>94</sup> Rather than maintaining their independent status, Bavaria devolved into a "fratricidal war" that benefitted everyone except the Bavarians.<sup>95</sup>

Eliding Munich communist efforts with Russia helped alienate the many Bavarians who had just been part of a war against Russia. One call to act asserted the "a small group of bribed agents from Russia" terrorized a Munich awaiting liberation.<sup>96</sup> That call accused the apathetic, arguing that "if you tolerate a Trotsky, a dictator and a murderer, as now in Russia, then misery will triumph even in our Bavaria!"<sup>97</sup> Keying in on a Bavarian sense of patriarchal honor, opponents of communism often mobilized the word "rape," inferring actual forced sexual intercourse was the product of communist revolution. In a call to arms, the Bavarian Freikorps argued that all of southern Bavaria was "unprotected, Munich is exposed to [communist] robber

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<sup>92</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, "An das bayerische Volk!"

<sup>93</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, "Zur Einführung," *Der Freistaat*, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>94</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, "An die Bevölkerung Augsburgs und Münchens!"

<sup>95</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, "Aufruf zum bayerischen Freikorps Franken," 70.

<sup>96</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, "'Drauf' statt los von München dieser Bolschewikistadt."

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

hands, the women and girls have been declared ‘common property.’”<sup>98</sup> Perhaps more to the point the Franconian Freikorps mobilized with the following call:

“The terror in Munich has reached its peak. In madness and wickedness, the Communists seized power almost in all of southern Bavaria and raised the fratricidal war. Nothing is more sacred to them, not even German women. Therefore, everyone must take arms to combat the animal fanaticism of these beasts.”<sup>99</sup>

Communists became alien advocates that would violate Bavarian culture and society in every imaginable way, utterly destroying any future, be it center, right, or even the socialist left.

Would it be terribly surprising to hear that the Munich communists firmly believed themselves to be true Bavarians guarding their own expected future? In a message released early on by the very short-lived Soviet Republic, it declared itself the legitimate government of Bavaria. Specifically, the Munich Soviet claimed to represent all Bavarian workers, peasants, soldiers, men, women, all Bavarians would no longer be “separated by any partisan party agreement.”<sup>100</sup> The Bavarian Soviet intended to separate itself from the German Empire that had brought war and famine to the Bavarian countryside. It would separate Bavarians from the Entente forcing an imperial, capitalist peace upon their weary countryside. The Munich Soviet Republic declared, for all who heard, that they would herald a new era in which “all exploitation and oppression must come to an end.”<sup>101</sup> For Bavarian communists, the external foes undermining Bavarian society were the nationalists on the right and their socialist enablers who tried to prop up a system of government that exploited Bavarians. True to form, Bavarian fears of the present, regardless of political affiliation, pivoted on not only who could provide stability

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<sup>98</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Aufruf zum bayerischen Freikorps Franken,” 71.

<sup>99</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Aufruf zum bayerischen Freikorps Franken,” 70.

<sup>100</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/20, “Bayern ist Räterepublik.”

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

into the future, but on identifying who actively undermined those efforts, sending Bavarians careening towards an apocalyptic future.

The failure of communism in Bavaria is quite understandable not only on a military and logistics standpoint, but also due to their inability to find ideological footing outside Munich and Augsburg. The Bavarian countryside maintained a healthy mistrust of cities as well as communism, believing, in the case of Munich, not necessarily incorrectly, that this combination brought instability, further occupation, and violence to Germany. Not only that, but when the military took control of the capital neither the Bavarian Soviet nor Hoffman's government remained. Instead, in August 1919, the Free State of Bavaria was installed, formally turning Bavaria into a state within the federal prerogative of the Weimar Republic. Bavaria thus lost much of the independence that culturally defined its inhabitants. Many nationalists and socialists remained unable to come to many agreements, but they most certainly agreed that communism was inherently NOT Bavarian and should be avoided at all costs. Communism had already undermined Bavarian peculiarity, who knew what it could accomplish if allowed to rise again.

Having itself been an environment of political experimentation and instability, a desire on the part of Bavarians to retreat to the past was understandable. Beyond the calls to Tradition explored in the previous chapters, this nostalgic desire to return to a falsely remembered stability found a political voice that directly addressed Bavarian anxieties over new and foreign elements defining their society. A significant, if underrated example of these desires manifested in the declarations of the *Bayerische Königspartei* (BKP), a political party that hoped to bring about a return of the Bavarian monarchy. The BKP accused the newly formed Weimar Republic of "mismanagement" knowing that Bavarians longed "for the better times of the past" in which a



monarch had led their small state.<sup>102</sup> They believed that the monarchy alone remained capable of reconstructing Bavaria and assisting the return of the independent kingdom to its pre-war status. The BKP expressed dissatisfaction with social democracy, believing that, while it promised freedom, it had only succeeded in bringing about “dictatorship, terror, oppression,” most notably the Munich Soviet.<sup>103</sup> Beyond these problems the BKP focused on Bavaria being subsumed into Germany and losing its independence. They advocated for a king who would not demote Munich to a “ordinary provincial town,” as many Bavarians felt their capital became in the new Germany.<sup>104</sup> While deferential to Bavarian traditional reverence for the Wittelsbach line, the BKP did not desire a full resurrection of the monarchy as it had been. Feeling the whiplash of a war brought about by a series of clandestine treaties and repressive war measures, the BKP believed that a monarchy should not be relegated to the shadows to make secret alliances, but rather should be “fully manifest in the public eye.”<sup>105</sup> For them “Bavaria must not depressed to the importance of a Prussian or German province, in foolish disregard of its history and cultural peculiarity.”<sup>106</sup> Rather, appealing to a historic distrust of a Prussian-led Germany, the BKP believed that Munich, Cologne, or even Vienna were more representative of German culture than cosmopolitan and Prussian Berlin. Therefore, the BKP advocated for a “Free Bavaria in a Free Germany,” the best solution to the various ills that plagued the new Germany.<sup>107</sup>

The BKP did not stand alone in advocating for Bavaria to maintain a distance from Germany at large. Bavaria’s most popular political party, the Bavarian People’s Party (BVP), carried the idea of Bavarian sovereignty at the core of its political identity. The BVP called

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<sup>102</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS Mischbestand, Sammlung Streicher, Nr. 61, “Bayern!” *Bayerische Königspartei*, 1.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

themselves “a true people’s party in rejection of class struggle and secessionism,” not wanting Bavaria to separate from Germany.<sup>108</sup> The BVP nonetheless felt that the German government could not be trusted with stopping communism from tearing apart Germany piece by piece, as it had tried to do in Munich. Rather, the BVP hoped for a “federal structure of the empire and defense of Bavarian sovereignty.”<sup>109</sup> They also echoed the BKP belief that Bavaria had more in common with Austria than Prussia, hoping to hold Wilson to his calls for self-determination by allowing Austria’s annexation into Germany. The BVP wanted to realize a “truly great German Volksgemeinschaft,” but one that recognized and respected the greatness of Bavarian peculiarity.<sup>110</sup>

As much as Bavarians remained hyper aware of threats to their own position in Germany and the world, they often fixated on persecuted Germans outside their state. For example, the Treaty of Versailles commanded that Upper Silesia, a north German region that bordered the newly revived Poland, would have a 1921 plebiscite to determine whether the region would be German or become Polish. Some Bavarians did not take kindly to a population of Germans being potentially removed from the national body, especially at the behest of the despised Versailles Treaty. If the plebiscite put Upper Silesia in Poland, a poor precedent would be set for Germany’s other border states. To stand up for Upper Silesia was to stand up for Bavaria itself, as well as a future where Bavaria could remain a part of Germany. One flyer directed towards Bavarian parents called for support for a school charity drive in favor of Upper Silesia. Dramatically, the school called the impending plebiscite “the destiny hour for Germany.”<sup>111</sup> The school reminded its parents that “the reconstruction of our people depends on the preservation of

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<sup>108</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Bamberg Sammlung, Nr. 2833, *Die Bayerische Volkspartei und die politische Krise in Deutschland*, 1929, 9.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>110</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, “Was Wollen Wir?”

<sup>111</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, “Liebe Eltern!”

Upper Silesia.”<sup>112</sup> If parents had already donated, they needed to donate again to express support for “the threatened parts of the country.”<sup>113</sup> That sentiment was echoed in a booklet published and spread throughout Bavaria called “The Battle for Upper Silesia.” This pamphlet provided material for “lectures that must be held in every German city, in every village, in every school in order to make it clear to all people what we are going to lose” if Upper Silesia became Polish.<sup>114</sup> One section, titled “what right does Poland have to it?,” argued that Upper Silesia was clearly German and “only Polish megalomania” would tie it to the derisively termed “Motherland” of Poland.<sup>115</sup> The pamphlet warned of continued Versailles schemes that worked against the Germans, employing “wild, hateful agitation” and ignoring “unprecedented Polish terror.”<sup>116</sup> If Bavarians did not wake up to these realities, they would suffer as “Upper Silesia’s fateful hour is also your own!”<sup>117</sup> Bavarians needed to unite with Germany proper to preserve their own peculiar position in a world filled with external foes, ready to undermine their expected future.

Resentment towards external intervention took numerous forms, but perhaps the most dramatic took form following the French occupation of the Ruhr Valley. In January 1923, Germany, facing economic and political instability, could not make timely payments on their mandated reparations to the French government. The Ruhr Valley bordered France and Belgium and contained rich factories and coal mines. As recompense for missed reparations, the French and Belgians invaded the valley, militarily occupying the region in an attempt to exact repayment out of these resources. However, the workers in the Ruhr chose to go on strike and the German government backed them in that cause. Violence broke out on numerous occasions,

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, *Der Kampf um Oberschlesien*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 3.

radiating throughout Germany and awakening nationalists of all kinds who spewed considerable vitriol towards these foreign occupiers.<sup>118</sup>

In March 1924, Bamberg held a Palatinate Week, celebrating and praising the Palatinate region of Bavaria that was also occupied by Entente forces, although with less drama than the Ruhr Valley. All the same, Bambergers expressed offense at the onslaught of Entente forces who reopened the scars of defeat. In the closing ceremonies of a week that featured songs, lectures, lantern shows, and other Bavarian and German nationalistic cultural expressions, the mayor of Bamberg gave a speech which highlighted Bavarian Suspicion. He opened, stating that while the week's celebrations had been held with "high and noble purpose," Bavarians needed to be reminded that "the enemy still stands in the Palatinate."<sup>119</sup> While "the misery in our country is great, the plight in the Palatinate is infinitely greater."<sup>120</sup> Facing considerable restrictions on movement, the press, assembly, and mass-incarceration, a group of Germans who had defended the Fatherland during the war, as well as their wives and children, were "exposed to the arbitrariness of a brutal enemy."<sup>121</sup> "The German people must learn," the mayor continued, "from its thousand-year history" that "France's goal was and has remained the Rhineland and the impotence of Germany."<sup>122</sup> In order to withstand France's continued assault, Bavarians needed "to stand together [and] reach a powerful unity," a unity that would eventually "win the left bank of the Rhine [and] liberate our Palatinate."<sup>123</sup> Bamberg's mayor reminded his constituents that "the Palatinate was and is the bridge that connects the south with the north, the Prussian with

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<sup>118</sup> For background on the Ruhr Occupation see Conan Fischer, *The Ruhr Crisis, 1923-1924*, (Oxford University Press, 2003). Barbara Müller, *Passiver Widerstand im Ruhrkampf: Eine Fallstudie zur gewaltlosen zwischenstaatlichen Konfliktaustragung und ihren Erfolgsbedingungen*, (Münster, 1995).

<sup>119</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, "Die Schlußkundgebung zur Pfalzwoche: Schlußrede des 1. Bürgermeisters zur Pfalzwoche."

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Bavarian.”<sup>124</sup> While Germany’s problems seemed German, they were certainly Bavarian as well and only “the true national community” could see Bavaria and Germany elevated alongside one another.<sup>125</sup>

While Bavarians hoped to maintain some independence within the Weimar, they could understand the common plight they shared with Germany coming out of the First World War. An appeal from the district councils of Würzburg, Nuremberg, and Munich issued to Bavarian farmers pleaded with Bavarians to help feed the recovering nation filled with returning veterans, rebuilding industry, and devastating occupation. Laying Germany’s situation out with clarity the plea stated:

“Peace, the hardest and cruelest peace ever imposed on any people, has been signed, and that marks the end of the almost five-year terrible war for our homeland. But still hundreds of thousands of our poorest national comrades live away from home and languish in slavery and wartime bondage, which makes them the victims of vindictive hatred.”<sup>126</sup>

These councils asked Bavarians, “well-rested in the invigorating air of rural life,” to not abandon the many lost souls, throughout Germany, “to the low-minded incitement of unscrupulous demagogues, who offer stones instead of bread.”<sup>127</sup> They called on Bavarians to be thankful, faithful, and helpful in a way only Bavarians could offer. The problems of Germany certainly would make their way to Bavaria, unless Bavarians worked hard to stop Germany from falling ever closer to the “fermenting breeding grounds of Bolshevism” that Bavarians believed all German cities were steadily losing ground to.<sup>128</sup>

How did maintaining an independent Bavaria help ameliorate the various indignities Germans faced in the interwar era? When addressing a similar question, the BKP firmly asserted

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/27, „Deutsche Bauern in Nord und Süd!,” 1.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 1.

that any new Bavarian monarchy would be a Christian entity that would counter the “materialistic, mammonistic, immoral spirit” that defined the present.<sup>129</sup> Christianity in many ways became a force Bavarians used to define insiders and outsiders. Thus, religion, or the lack thereof, became a considerable barometer of loyalty to and maintenance of Bavarian ideals. The right-leaning BVP cobbled together a Christian and nationalist political identity that had considerable appeal throughout Bavaria. Similar to the BKP, they coded as more Catholic and traditional, calling for a “Christian state,” embracing a “patriotic feeling,” and “overcoming the class struggle idea,” a code for stopping communist agitation.<sup>130</sup> While the BVP did not want a return of the monarchy, they believed that Bavarian religious reverence would be key to developing a “great truly-German Volksgemeinschaft.”<sup>131</sup> The Bavarian public sphere shared considerable excitement over the possibility of a truly German community, but that community needed to be Bavarian driven, versus one coming from Berlin.

Along those lines, Bavaria’s religious reverence offered a welcome contrast to the perceived agnosticism and atheism dominating the rest of Germany, and the world at large. When running for the Landtag, the Bavarian state parliament, Georg Meixner, of Bamberg’s BVP, campaigned on the idea that he wanted to be “a Christian, social consciously Bavarian, and truly German politician.”<sup>132</sup> The order of those identities remained very important as Christianity necessitated taking the fore position and Bavaria certainly belonged in front of German. He received praise as “a candidate of all estates” having belonged to the peasantry and worked hard to own a “medium-sized company,” while also becoming a board member of the Upper

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<sup>129</sup> “Bayern!,” *Bayerische Königspartei*, 2.

<sup>130</sup> “Was Wollen wir!”

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Bamberg Sammlung, Nr. 2833, “In seiner Programmrede,” 1.

Franconian Christian Farmer's Club.<sup>133</sup> Meixner stood as the ideal candidate to represent the BVP, a party that worked tirelessly to convey their desire to fight "for the inherited rights of the fathers of Bavaria" and achieve "social balance."<sup>134</sup> While predominantly Catholic, the BVP hoped to spark a movement that featured "the active participation of broad evangelical circles."<sup>135</sup> Overall, they wanted to mobilize Catholics and Protestants for "the protection of the Christian family," an institution that many in Bavaria felt was under attack by the increasing cosmopolitan nature of Germany.<sup>136</sup>

Perhaps the sharpest Christian call to arms came from a BVP flyer calling on Christian women to vote, capitalizing on Bavaria's more traditionally oriented female voters. Said flyer employed religious rhetoric to alleviate the worries about increased irreverence and the decline of the family. Voting, the BVP contended, would allow people to "decide about economic life, school facilities, relations with the church, and the laws that will bring you, your home, your belongings, your children, approach to your school, your religion, and your church closer."<sup>137</sup> Beyond those stakes, the BVP touted that voting – in particular voting for the BVP – was a religious obligation, a sacrament awaiting consecration. Expressing Christian political views at the ballot box became "a matter of conscience," one which the BVP argued God and Church called on voters to perform.<sup>138</sup> The BVP believed that voting remained the best way to ensure that Bavarian Christian values would continue; God wanted women voters to "save the poor fatherland! Save your children! Save the threatened altars!"<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Bamberg Sammlung, Nr. 2833, "Bamberger! Bambergerinnen!"

<sup>134</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/27, "Zur Landtagswahl!"

<sup>135</sup> "Was ist und Was will die BVP 1919"

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/19, "Christliche Frauen!"

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

Why was Bavarian Christian culture under threat? Historians can provide multiple compelling answers to this question, ranging from a surging sexuality and consumer culture to an increased cynicism and secularism coming out of the First World War. However, Bavarians did not lay majority blame in sweeping systematic changes. Rather, interwar Bavarians harped on the outsider elements that they believed corrupted Bavarian religious culture. A BVP political poster depicted a gigantic Spartakist man, a stand in for Communists, actively tearing down the two famous towers of the Munich cathedral, the *Frauenkirche*. The poster frantically asked “Christian people! Will Spartakists tear down your churches?”<sup>140</sup> An anti-communist flyer echoed a similar fear as the BVP condemned Communism as “the shame of Munich and Bavaria.”<sup>141</sup> As early as 1919, the BVP argued that religion would forever be “the principal opponent” of violent communist overthrow and, because of that reality, “the leading masters of socialism have long declared war on every positive religion.”<sup>142</sup> It remained much easier to blame changing attitudes towards religion on radical agitators than to face the reality of the changing times.

Bavarians not only blamed increased secularism on communism, but also on an increasing threat on the right, the Nazi Party. The BVP released a pamphlet “Nazism as it really is,” in which they presented a detailed rebuke of National Socialism, including a particularly scathing indictment of the Nazi position on religion. They included a pronouncement from February 1931 in which a collection of Bavarian bishops declared that “What National Socialism calls Christianity is no longer the Christianity of Christ.”<sup>143</sup> Nazi publications that frequently slandered Bavarian bishops and priests made the bishops’ decision an easy one. A Christian

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<sup>140</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/19, “Deutsches Volk!,” January 1919.

<sup>141</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D 2072 + 39/27, “Bayerisches Volk!,” April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1924.

<sup>142</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Kriegssammlung, Z 512, “Was ist und Was will die Bayerische Volkspartei?,” 7.

<sup>143</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS Mischbestand, Sammlung Streicher, Nr. 64, „Maske herunter!“, 3.



political movement, separate from the BVP, also released a pamphlet breaking down the supposed “positive Christianity” of the Nazi Party. This pamphlet advised Catholic voters to avoid Nazism because of its “pagan idea of the supremacy of the state before religion.”<sup>144</sup>

Beyond that, the movement warned of an unfortunate precedent set when the Nazis praised Spanish expulsion of the Catholic Jesuits, endorsing the fear that Nazis longed for “a national socialist government that will hopefully also liberate Germany from this beast.”<sup>145</sup> If Bavarians wanted a truly Christian state they would not vote for the Nazi Party, who in many ways were considered just as atheistic as communism.

However, the BVP was not hailed as the end all be all in Bavarian political religion. Bavaria’s most popular political party often faced opposition from other parties that accused the BVP of only representing Catholic interests. The Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP), a nationalist party attempting to steal supporters from the BVP, called on Bavarians to be loyal to Germany as a whole and be wary of the BVP and its loyalty to an external Catholic Church. The DVP argued that the BVP, and its insistence on private religious education, had truly failed, both nationally and morally, to hold back the “immeasurable self-interest” that theoretically defined the interwar era.<sup>146</sup> The DVP advocated for the independence and separation of church and state, preferring to limit the “one-sided predominance of Prussia” in German affairs, an issue very relevant to Bavarian interests.<sup>147</sup> The DVP wanted to create an environment of free religion and greater German unity, fearing the BVP had too much invested in its loyalty to Catholicism. Such suspicions of international Catholicism have long existed and have repeatedly appeared throughout the Protestant history of Germany, so their appearance here should not be surprising.

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<sup>144</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Bamberg Sammlung, Nr. 2833, “Das ‘positive’ Christentum der Nationalsozialisten,” 1.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>146</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/19, “Bayern! Nicht Bayr. Volkspartei sondern Deutsche Volkspartei!!”

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

However, their presence demonstrates that Suspicion provided a valuable political lifeline to numerous political interests throughout Bavaria.

Beyond nationalism and religion, stability remained, in and of itself, a critical front not only politically, but economically. The global depression that hit in 1929 caused even more Bavarian frustration with and suspicion of the outside world. The *Fränkischer Kurier*, a newspaper operating out of Nuremberg, kept a firm focus on the unemployment rate headlining at different points the sheer number of Bavarians without gainful employment. On January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1930, that number was 216,000, which was only a small part of Germany's 1,920,000 unemployed, but in Bavaria the perception of those numbers hit hard.<sup>148</sup> While situations seemed impossible, Bavarians rarely blamed other Germans. While many Bavarians, politically conservative for the most part, differed from those who backed the liberal governments of the Weimar, Bavarians still maintained hope that Germans could unite against the external forces that plagued their lives. If nothing else, national problems were far too complicated and self-involved. Many Bavarians touted falling back on simple values and remaining skeptical of the games played by the larger national political players.

In that spirit, in 1930, the *Deutsche Landvolkpartei*, an amalgamation of farmers attempting to gain political clout, released ample campaign material marketed towards Bavaria's large agricultural population. The *Landvolkpartei* acknowledged that economic problems were not helped by repeated dissolutions of the Reichstag in the face of gridlock. They accused the national standard bearers of lacking any "sense of responsibility [or] clarity of purpose," while vindictively engaging in partisan revenge to the detriment of the people they represented.<sup>149</sup> Claiming that the parliamentary system had failed because of "parties born of metropolitan

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<sup>148</sup> "216.000 unterstützte Arbeitslose in Bayern," *Fränkischer Kurier*, January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>149</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS Mischbestand, Sammlung Streicher, Nr. 65, "Aufruf an das bayerische Landvolk!"

spirit.”<sup>150</sup> However, the *Landvolkpartei* “showed itself to be the unflappable reservoir” of true German rural spirit.<sup>151</sup> They claimed the ability to steer Germany towards a better future, mostly because their rural constituents abhorred political instability. That instability, complex as it was, often became simplified in accusative terms as “disaster policy,” a term that argued instability was a major goal of the mainstream political parties. “Disaster policy” resulted in increased partisan bickering which alienated German people from their true community around issues like getting out from under Versailles, a stable economy, “Christian culture,” and “the salvation of German agriculture.”<sup>152</sup> The *Landvolkpartei* concluded their case to the Bavarian farmer by stating, “only if the future empire builds on the strong forces of the German country people, will it exist as a nation.”<sup>153</sup> Much as Bavarian tradition would solve present and future problems, the key to resolving present anxiety involved leaning on Bavaria’s essentially rural character.

Much has been said about Bavaria’s fears of communism during the Munich Soviet, but those anxieties did not disappear following its toppling, in fact it became significantly easier to target communism as the primary culprit in Bavaria and Germany’s weaker position. For example, the BVP easily labelled Bolshevism “the greatest enemy,” one supported by “foreign money.”<sup>154</sup> They asked voters to contemplate a future in which a Bolshevik state was realized, and that future was dim indeed. Using the example of Russia, a nation still recovering from its own experience of the World War, the BVP argued that when the Bolsheviks took control, wages rose in the short term, but operating costs of factories skyrocketed closing those factories and with them brining “unemployment, inflation, and mass poverty.”<sup>155</sup> Did Bavarian farmers see

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/19, “Bolschewistische Schreckensherrschaft.”

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

value in the socialized agriculture as implemented in the Soviet Union? If they did, the BVP warned that riots and infighting over division of land had turned the rich Russian land that fed the world into barren wastelands that brought widespread famine. Bolshevism had ruined Russia, the BVP argued, and “severely bankrupt, Bolshevism sees its last hope in plunging other countries into Russian misery.”<sup>156</sup> Anti-communist literature flooded Bavaria independent of the BVP. One flyer accused a Spartakist leader of saying “we want to make things worse in Germany than in Russia...we want to start building up again from the rubble!”<sup>157</sup> The BKP advocated that Bavarians “get rid of these foreign-born and criminal elements that are not workers, who want to destroy our entire economic life.”<sup>158</sup> The struggle was life and death as many Bavarians feared their country would become “a place of foreign frenzy.”<sup>159</sup>

Nazism did not receive a very warm welcome in Bavaria’s political landscape. In many ways, some Bavarians viewed Nazis as just as radical and dangerous as communism, a belief aided by their own attempts to take control of Munich in 1923. Many argued that Nazis and communists both represented outsider ideologies that could wreak havoc on the Bavarian present and destroy the Bavarian future. While Nazis were not deemed Russian, they were absolutely painted as being Prussian. To make that idea stick, opponents represented Nazis as anti-Bavarian, such as one of Hitler’s allies being quoted during the 1923 Putsch as saying “Bavaria does not matter to me!”<sup>160</sup> More seriously, the BVP contended that National Socialism was without a doubt “uninterrupted betrayal of the peasantry.”<sup>161</sup> Beyond being Prussian, Nazi equivalents to communism frequently found expression in accusations that Nazis deliberately promoted

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/26, “Warum ein neuer Streik?”

<sup>158</sup> “Bayern!” *Bayerische Königspartei*, 3.

<sup>159</sup> “Bolschewistische Schreckensherrschaft.”

<sup>160</sup> “Maske herunter!,” 4.

<sup>161</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Bamberg Sammlung, Nr. 2833, “Ethische Führerauffassung,” *Die Front*, April 1932, 4.

“disaster policy,” an idea attributed to Nazi number two Gregor Strasser. Supposedly, Strasser demanded revolution, wanting a “radically socialist state” when he declared that “we are socialists and will act socialistically.”<sup>162</sup> Bavarians were warned that National Socialism had a “fundamental Bolshevik character” and that “communists in many areas have given Hitler their vote because they know that Hitler will dissolve the state and thus clear the way for them.”<sup>163</sup>

The left got in on the action, such as when the *Fränkische Tagespost*, a SPD supported newspaper in Nuremberg-Furth, criticized the Nazis, sarcastically calling them “the innovators of Germany,” but through a series of humorous cartoons it was made evident that Nazis would undermine every fabric of Bavarian society.<sup>164</sup> Even Communists in Bavaria argued that they fought against Nazi “lies and terrorism.”<sup>165</sup> Ultimately the critiques of Nazism, and all outsider anxieties, are best summed up by the BVP claim that Bamberg did not need to experience Nazi terrorism led by “alien ethnic groups.”<sup>166</sup>

While Bavarians prided themselves on unity and identity, they very often expressed anxiety over the present in terms of the outsiders they believed were really behind their problems. Suspicions became easily believed because insiders could not possibly bring about these disasters. That outsider rhetoric did not take much encouragement at all to spill over into racism, in fact that happened all too easily. During the Ruhr invasion and occupation of the Palatinate, much was made of the French use of African troops for the occupation. Stereotypical portrayals of black soldiers as licentious, lustful beasts preying on German women prolifically spread throughout Bavaria.<sup>167</sup> Beyond cartoons, words themselves conveyed Bavarian distaste

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<sup>162</sup> “Maske herunter!,” 4.

<sup>163</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Nr. 2833, “Kommunisten für Hitler,” *Die Front*, April 1932, 4.

<sup>164</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS Mischbestand, Sammlung Streicher, Nr. 64, “Das sind die ‘Erneuerer Deutschlands’!” *Fränkische Tagespost*, Wahlzeitung.

<sup>165</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, “Deutsche Volksgenossen!,” January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1924.

<sup>166</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, “Deutsch=völkischer Terror in Bamberg!”

<sup>167</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Kriegsarchiv, C 56 617, *Die Einheitsfront*, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1921.

for and fear of the presence of black soldiers in position of authority over white Germans. Comments about “Senegal negroes” committing “breeding crimes” certainly animated the severity of outsider threats.<sup>168</sup> Sex often resided at the heart of many of these racially based outsider anxieties. A flyer from the Bavarian led Committee for Popular Enlightenment warned German women and girls that they needed to “be aware of the nobility of your birth [and] show racial pride!”<sup>169</sup> These women needed to be mindful that sexual interactions with other races would steadily ruin Germany’s racial future. The committee asked women to imagine giving birth to children with “the ugly signs of the lower races, black hair, black eyes, negro and Mongolian lips, Jew’s nose!”<sup>170</sup> Bavarian women needed to keep particular lookout for Jews who supposedly engaged in sex-trafficking. Be they from Russia or Prague, Jews not only compromised Germany’s racial future, but created a capitalist environment to export German women to American brothels to further ruin the race.

In 1921, the *Fränkische Volksstimme* released a special edition criticizing the Reich government’s handling of Versailles. Siding with the famous nationalist and leader of the right-leaning Bavarian People’s Party, Gustav von Kahr, nationalists in Bavaria believed that Versailles’ call for “disarmament and reparations” were not mutually exclusive, but instead part of a vast effort to wreak havoc on the German people.<sup>171</sup> As far as the *Fränkische Volksstimme* was concerned, the demands of the “international big capitalist high finance... [were] insane, impossible, and impractical.”<sup>172</sup> The use of “international high finance” should ring bells for those familiar with the anti-Semitic stereotypes alluding to a vast international Jewish

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<sup>168</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Kriegsarchiv, C 56 617, “Nationale Einheitsfront.”

<sup>169</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/26, “Deutsche Frauen! Deutsche Mädchen!”

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/24, “Lüge und Wahrheit!” *Fränkische Volksstimme*, Extrablatt, February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1921.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

conspiracy. While subtle, major political parties and movements operating in Bavaria felt comfortable enough to support the basic tenets of these racist conspiracies. The monarchist BKP insisted that the new Weimar Republic was, in fact, a dictatorship caused by “disguised class autocracy, some parliamentarians, and some foreign Jews.”<sup>173</sup> They tempered their prejudices stating that while they did not want “to provoke persecution of the Jews,” they intended to “clean up the Jewish supremacy that has been asserted for years in the press, in the theater and cinema, in the medical profession, in economic life, in politics, and especially in the socialist parties.”<sup>174</sup> While the BKP argued that there were certainly Jews in Bavaria that deserved respect, Bavaria’s most traditional political party still sincerely felt that the “overwhelming majority [of] this alien tribe frivolously abuses the innocent friendship and repays them shamelessly in immeasurably multiplying our German misery.”<sup>175</sup> Jews thus, through their supposed permeation throughout society, could be readily deployed as targets of Bavarian Suspicion.

During the early days of the Weimar Republic, a nationalist poster depicted racist caricatured versions of Jewish German political figures, most noteworthy among them, Kurt Eisner, the eventually assassinated Bavarian Minister President. The poster, titled “Overthrow their Star,” utilized the Star of David to allude to a conspiracy in which Jews were in control of both the socialist and democratic forces in Germany.<sup>176</sup> In a more accusatory tone, one anti-Semitic item blamed Bavarians for being permissive of Jewish presence in Germany. Why did Jewish department stores and cinemas, “these breeding grounds of the Jewish spirit” succeed?<sup>177</sup> Because, the flyer accused, everyday Bavarians supported them with their money. The pamphlet concluded that these “exploiters, usurers, Jews” are in the way and can only be combated by

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<sup>173</sup> “Bayern!” *Bayerische Königspartei*, 1.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>176</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/22, “Umsturz ihr Stern!”

<sup>177</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/22, “Ihr kennt die Juden und dennoch - -?”

recognizing their vast conspiracy.<sup>178</sup> The German Volkish League claimed “for thousands of years the Jews have been living scattered over the world” hiding as a religious faith.<sup>179</sup> A poem that circulated in Bavaria claimed that every other nation and race had participated in the World War, but not the Jews, who somehow avoided the war.<sup>180</sup> One pamphlet, called “The Jewish Question,” tied social democracy and communism to Judaism, citing a quote from “Jewess Rachel Rebinowitz,” in the Christian “Bavarian Courier,” who had stated, “A Jew is not a German, but a Jew- a stranger.”<sup>181</sup> These anti-Semitic items represent a small sample of anti-Semitic Suspicion circulating in the Bavarian public sphere, deploying anti-Semitic tropes as a means to produce an outsider capable of withstanding all of the ire and frustrations Bavarians felt with the terrible and constantly changing interwar world they faced.

Perhaps most indicative of the way Suspicion informed Bavarian Expectation was a 1919 booklet that explained the natures and ambitions of the BVP. The booklet eventually circled around to the Bavarian People’s Party’s position on Judaism, evidently a key enough concern that they, like many of Bavaria’s political parties, felt they needed to wade in. The BVP declared that it did not recognize any difference between Bavarians of Jewish or Christian faith. While seemingly a tolerant statement, the tone immediately changed when they stated that “the BVP respects every honest Jew.”<sup>182</sup> The platform then jumped into new territory, exclaiming, “what must be combated are the numerous atheistic elements of international Jewry of an Eastern European hue.”<sup>183</sup> Fully swinging into anti-Semitic conspiracies, Bavaria’s most popular political

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/20, “Deutschland in Judennot!”

<sup>180</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/20, “...Nur im Schutzengraben nicht!”

<sup>181</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Christian Pfau, D2072 + 39/27, “Die Judenfrage.”

<sup>182</sup> “Was ist und Was Will die BVP?,” 31.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, 31.



party lent those woefully false and anti-Semitic lies credibility, trying to say that they backed every “honest [and]...reasonable Jew” who believed in the Bavarian way.<sup>184</sup>

The “Honest Jew” archetype allowed Bavarians the cover to believe that they were not anti-Semitic or bigoted, but just suspicious of bad faith actors and conspirators against German society. While offered up by the BVP, a party that utilized Segregationist rhetoric, this notion of a “Honest Jew” found frequent presence in Bavaria, but it often went hand in hand with the stereotype of the dishonest Jew, one who actively undermined the stability and opportunity of the present in hopes of selfishly securing their own future at the expense of well-behaving Bavarians. Such racist conceptions laid in the back of Bavarians minds who, in the Interwar era, readily suspected a variety of bad-faith enemies had invaded their community. The lack of stability in the Interwar Era exacerbated Suspicion as the stable future Bavarians hoped to realize faced constant diverse threats. Fearing an enemy around every corner left Bavarians particularly susceptible to Segregationist messaging that made political hay of these fears by focusing all of these Suspicions on racialized others who Bavarians already viewed as outsiders and therefore dangerous.

## **Suspicion**

On March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1931, a packed train on the Chattanooga to Memphis line took on extra weight in the form of twenty or so “hoboes” partaking in the American pastime of riding the rails. The free-riders constituted a mix of white and black, but, in the Jim Crow South, white teenagers did not take kindly to the presence of black men on what they deemed a “white train.” After starting fights with the black men on the train involving fists and rocks, these teenagers

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 31.

jumped off the train in Alabama and immediately ran to the nearest sheriff, claiming that they had been accosted by an African American gang. The sheriff gathered “deputies,” which in this case meant any nearby armed white man, and stopped the train at Paint Rock, Alabama. The African-Americans on the train were detained, at which point two white women approached the police and reported, falsely, that they had been raped by the detained men. This accusation immediately raised the temperature; such a crime starkly violated the racial and gendered boundaries of acceptability in the South. The punishment for a black man found guilty of raping a white woman was death.

The accused, known to history as the Scottsboro Nine, experienced miscarriages of justice that defined the Jim Crow era. For nearly any crime, even the flimsiest evidence could secure a conviction of an African American by predominantly white juries. The South is filled with such stories, but the Scottsboro Nine grabbed global attention. The whole world watched their fate and many people felt compelled to write letters to Alabama’s Governor Benjamin Miller, expressing both support and condemnation for the wrongly accused African Americans. Mrs. L. Miller from Lake Charles, Louisiana wrote that “the Better Class of people of the South would like to commend Judge Hawkins for his trial of those negroes,” i.e., his initial death sentences for the 8 Scottsboro defendants of adult age.<sup>185</sup> She continued, “such a heinous crime by negroes should be dealt with at once,” adding in an all too familiar tone “or even if they were white boys.”<sup>186</sup> “I would be ashamed of Alabama as my state if any other sentence would have been given. I think the 14-year-old boy should have been sentenced with the rest.”<sup>187</sup> Miller ended the letter stating: “I have never heard of so many crimes on white women by negroes. Is it

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<sup>185</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, Q63017, “Letter from Mrs. L. Miller in Lake Charles, Louisiana, to Governor B.M. Miller in Montgomery, Alabama,” April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1931.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

because we are to lenient with them, or is it this society in NY that they think will protect them?”<sup>188</sup> Another letter written by Edward S. King in Branchville, Maryland warned the governor that one of the advocates for the Scottsboro Nine, the International Labor Defense, was a “Communist organization whose purpose is to discredit the courts and institutions of the United States.”<sup>189</sup> “They are vitally interested in making the negro population believe that the negro because he is a negro cannot get justice in the courts.”<sup>190</sup>

Why all of this vitriol? Why be frustrated with the complexities of international global relations? Why deny women the right to vote? Why implement a restrictive poll tax? Why resist democratic reforms? Why paint communism with such a damning brush? Why suspect the worse intentions in anything new and expansive? Why condemn nine innocent young men to death? There is something to be said for the U.S. South and Bavaria being hesitant to welcome changes because of their sincere reverence for the past. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the preferred version of the past, welcomed and promoted in both of these souths, was not the actual past, but an embellished one, more reflective of the expected future than the past. The same can be said of present anxieties.

While problems of global depression, changes in demography, political revolts, and the like could define public discourse and sentiments, the way people interpreted their present often exaggerated the possibility of future problems to such an extent that people over-emphasized their sense of camaraderie and unity while simultaneously exaggerating the influence of outsiders and malcontents. Major white Southern concerns were not over whether voting women were going to fundamentally alter the immediate activities of the present – although they

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid. The “to” was written by Mrs. L. Miller.

<sup>189</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, Q63005, “Letter from Edward S. King in Branchville, Maryland, to Hon. B.M. Miller, Montgomery, Alabama,” April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1931.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

certainly did – and Bavarians did not believe that ostracizing Jews would immediately solve their many problems. However, focusing on simple fixes, like those examples, made facing anxieties over where to work, get food, live, etc. more palatable. One could ignore the neighbor taking advantage of a loophole, the inability to get or keep a job, the lack of resources, food, the list goes on. So long as everyday people could believe that their community would look after its own, they would be fine. The perception of constant meddling by interlopers who did not abide by their standards allowed everyday people the means to hide their true, deepest seeded anxiety, loss of their entitled status.

In the letters regarding the Scottsboro Nine, entitlement to white Southern hegemony was apparent. Quotes like “this society in New York” “communist organization” “making the negro population believe that the negro because he is a negro cannot get justice in the courts,” all warned of means that would undermine the only status benefits that white Southerners had in the interwar era, their whiteness and their Heritage. Strip those away by forcing a national women’s suffrage law down their throats, by repealing the Jim Crow poll tax, by intervening in a series of executions, and Southern autonomy would be fundamentally undermined. If the South were not the South, but just another part of America, its backwardness would not be charming or purposeful; it would be an embarrassment. Similarly, if Bavaria were reduced to a small state within the federal German government, if communists and capitalists were left to run amok, its backwardness would be on full display and of little use to the newly changing world.

Everyday Southerners and Bavarians expressed considerable anxiety over what changes in the present would mean for the future. Fears abounded that the present would shift so severely that Heritage, the only thing anyone could truly count on in the future, would become obsolete, subsumed into a sea of outside interests. Those interests had, thus far, made do without the South

and Bavaria. If pressed, they would likely be able to continue doing so. The fear of Heritage's decline mobilized the necessary support to maintain the vestiges of Jim Crow, and eventually the Third Reich. Segregationists readily assured everyday whites that Heritage was very important and they would not allow any outsiders to undermine the features that made white Southerners and Bavarians special. In exchange for protecting Heritage from change and assimilation, everyday whites shouted down Women's Suffrage, allowed anti-Semitic posters to flood the streets of Bamberg, wrote governors advocating the wrongful execution of fourteen-year-olds. The status quo needed to be maintained and swift defenses of entitlement materialized the second any vestige of white Southern and Bavarian Heritage and privilege became questioned by outsiders. Those defenses were not solely made by Segregationists; they often came from everyday whites who sincerely felt that their future well-being faced constant assault.

In closing, returning to the Scottsboro Nine, a very interesting letter made its way to the Governor of Alabama from "The Committee for Deliverance of the Victims of Scottsboro" who sent the following: "In the name of humanity and justice we beg you to reserve the execution of the eight negroes of Scottsboro cast for death."<sup>191</sup> This letter fittingly advocated for racial justice on Independence Day, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1931. Albert Einstein sent that telegram alongside noteworthy German intellectuals Thomas Mann, Kathe Kollwitz, Alfons Goldschmidt, Leon Feuchtwanger, and Karl von Ossietzky. Each of these individuals put their names to a protest of racial injustice backed by the state. They all, in little over eighteen months, would experience the start of the racial state in Germany. These future enemies of Nazi Germany protested an injustice occurring an ocean away that would resemble future Nazi injustices. Einstein, and his fellow compatriots, would later receive firm rebukes on multiple fronts from the Nazis who subjected them to arrest,

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<sup>191</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, Q63032, "Telegram from the Committee for Deliverance of the Victims of Scottsboro in Berlin, Germany, to Governor Miller in Montgomery, Alabama," July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1931.

exiled them, and banned their works from the Third Reich. Those bans and discriminatory actions received the tacit consent of many Bavarians who had, independent of Nazism, backed the conspiracy arguments that Nazis deployed against these intellectuals.

A mistrust of Jews, intellectuals, socialism, outsiders, westerners and easterners defined Bavarian culture, finding support in the various political parties that made up the Bavarian landscape. Nazis found willing backers in Bavaria to many of their arguments against outsiders because many Bavarians relied on those ideas in a world where Germany, and by a greater extent Bavaria, were severely weakened and forced to operate with new parameters for their future. Expectations of old had been shattered and any remaining vestiges of Bavarian peculiarity were quickly evaporating. Fixating on enemies became an easy enough means to identify Bavaria's many problems, even if such a fixation did little to address those problems beyond affording people the much-needed belief that justice would eventually be handed down to these bad-faith actors. So, when the Nazi Party took control of Germany and Bavaria, implementing a system of racial policies that Nazis promised would fix all of Germany's ills, it made perfect sense to debut those laws in Nuremberg, the seat of a firm Bavarian nationalism that welcomed blaming their embellished problems on racialized others. Unfortunately, to many Bavarian's horror, the Nazis did not long maintain their version of Jim Crow, preferring to elevate the racial othering and targeting to a genocidal level. Left to their own devices, everyday Bavarians likely would have had little problem maintaining Jim Crow standards as those standards insulated their own desires to remain peculiar, independent, and therefore worthwhile, ideals that had long operated at the heart of white Southern hegemony.

## CHAPTER 4

## Wanting the Best

**The Good and the Best**

Dr. Joseph DeJarnette, the director of the Western State Hospital of Staunton, Virginia from 1905 to 1943, steadily became a pillar of Virginia's health community, and the state at large. On July 21, 1939, DeJarnette attended a large gala thrown in celebration of his fifty years of service to the state. The event featured numerous dignitaries of Virginia's health and political worlds, including three former governors of the Old Dominion as well as the currently serving Governor, James H. Price, who gave a very flattering speech in honor of DeJarnette, praising the Sanatorium established in his namesake as "a godsend to people of modest means."<sup>1</sup> Many guests offered kind words on behalf of DeJarnette, none more kind than those of journalist Louis Spilmann. Beyond recognizing the many accolades of Virginia's top physician, Spilmann argued that DeJarnette personified "true affection and Christianity," never forgetting "love, cheerfulness, and encouragement."<sup>2</sup> No matter where DeJarnette turned, support for his work quickly followed. DeJarnette's private collections contain abundant praise from Southern citizens of numerous walks of life. In 1934, one former patient wrote DeJarnette, thanking the physician for saving his life.<sup>3</sup> Boyd Martin of the Maryland Treasury Department wrote to say

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<sup>1</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 21, Dr. J.S. DeJarnette 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration Report, 1939, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 21, Dr. J.S. DeJarnette 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration Report, Louis Spilman, "Dr. J.S. DeJarnette: A Tribute by Louis Spilman On the Occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Dr. DeJarnette's Coming to Western State Hospital."

<sup>3</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 21, Correspondence – Dr. JS DeJarnette, Henry W. Kerfool, "Letter to 'Dear Old Dad,'" August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

that he used DeJarnette's words at a 1936 Crime Conference.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Henry Carter of Birmingham, Alabama praised DeJarnette's patient care.<sup>5</sup> Physicians from across the South kept regular correspondence with DeJarnette; the man was a Southern institution.

Many in the South hoped to enshrine DeJarnette as a part of the Southern future. In fact, the town of Staunton hosted its own "DeJarnette Day," a festival to be held on July 21<sup>st</sup>. The States Teachers College at East Radford asked DeJarnette to contribute to their library's collection, centered on the works of "distinguished and outstanding Virginians," meant to help future generations better understand the present.<sup>6</sup> Of all his accolades and praise, a poem most entrenched DeJarnette in the Virginia public mindset. Titled "Mendel's Law," after the Austrian monk turned geneticist, this poem became DeJarnette's "plea for a better race of men."<sup>7</sup>

Oh, why are you men so foolish-  
You breeders who breed our men  
Let the fools, the weaklings and crazy  
Keep breeding and breeding again?  
The criminal, deformed, and the misfit,  
Dependent, diseased, and the rest-  
As we breed the human family  
The worst is as good as the best.

Go to the home of some farmer.  
Look through his barns and sheds.  
Look at his horses and cattle.  
Even his hogs are thoroughbreds;  
Then look at his stamp on his children,  
Lowbrowed with the monkey jaw,

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<sup>4</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 22, Correspondence – Dr. JS DeJarnette, Boyd M. Martin, "Letter to Dr. J.S. DeJarnette," October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 22, Correspondence – Dr. JS DeJarnette, H. Carter Redd, "Letter to Dr. J.S. DeJarnette," February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1936.

<sup>6</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 21, Correspondence – Dr. JS DeJarnette, John Preston McConnel, "Letter to Dr. DeJarnette," April 2, 1934.

<sup>7</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 24, General Files-Sterilization Articles-DeJarnette Joseph, J.S. DeJarnette, "Eugenics in Relation to the Insane, the Epileptic, the Feeble-minded and Race Blending," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, August 1925, 7-8.



Ape-handed, and silly, and foolish-  
Bred true to Mendel's law.

Go to some homes in the village,  
Look at the garden beds,  
The cabbage, the lettuce and turnips  
Even the beets are thoroughbreds;  
Then look at the many children  
With hands like the monkey's paw,  
Bowlegged, flatheaded, and foolish-  
Bred true to Mendel's law.

This is the law of Mendel,  
And often he makes it plain,  
Defectives will breed defectives  
And the insane breed insane.  
Oh, why do we allow these people  
To breed back to the monkey's nest,  
To increase our country's burdens  
When we should breed from the good and the best

Oh, you wise men, take up the burden  
And make this your loudest creed,  
Sterilize the misfits promptly-  
All not fit to breed.  
Then our race will be strengthened and bettered,  
And our men and our women be blest,  
Not apish, repulsive and foolish,  
For we should breed from the good and the best.

Joseph DeJarnette, much beloved throughout Virginia and abroad, was the father of Southern eugenics, the pseudoscience that strove to create the ideal human race. Many people, both in and outside of the eugenic community, praised his poem for succinctly summing up the justifications for maximizing human potential. Eugenic publications frequently included sections of "Mendel's Law" to supplement their own arguments.<sup>8</sup> People wrote letters to DeJarnette praising his poem and including their own poems. One such aspiring poet called Virginia's father

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<sup>8</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 25, General Files- Sterilization- Articles Misc., Berlin B. Nicholson, "Heredity and Disease," *Radio Talk*, No. 24, June 24, 1925.

of sterilization “kind, honest, noble, and true, Thinks not of himself but you.”<sup>9</sup> Another poem claimed “in all he bears the elements of Christian and friend.”<sup>10</sup> One amateur poet even bestowed on DeJarnette that honorable Southern title, “a cute old son-of-a-gun.”<sup>11</sup> Clearly, DeJarnette was a valued and dear member of the Southern community not despite, but *because* of his firm eugenic background.

DeJarnette commanded considerable support and respect throughout the South, but his position was not above reproach. In 1943, the board of the Western State Hospital asked DeJarnette to step down as superintendent. Publicly, state authorities expressed appreciation for his service, but wanted to take the state’s mental health policy in a different direction. While valid, a major factor in DeJarnette’s removal occurred during a moment when his brashness got the better of him. As the Second World War broke out, the U.S. found itself fighting against the second leading eugenic power in the world, Nazi Germany. The United States, of course, remained the leading eugenic power, however, Nazi Germany applied eugenics more radically. That being true, during the war, authorities across the nation slowed in their support of sterilization, not stopping, but not being as vocal as they were during DeJarnette’s fiftieth anniversary in 1939. DeJarnette expressed increasing frustration at changes to a procedure that defined his career and legacy. Throughout the Nazi rise, DeJarnette had often praised Nazi Germany’s eugenic practices and laws, laws that were, in various ways, modeled after the 1924 sterilization law he helped develop. Moreover, never afraid to speak candidly, DeJarnette had

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<sup>9</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 2, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, J.L. Wixon, “Virginia’s Own Humanitarian,” June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1941.

<sup>10</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 22, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, Mrs. Croghan, “Toast to Dr. J.S. DeJarnette our Host,” May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

<sup>11</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 072, Folder 21, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, W. Clyde Maddox, “Letter to Dr. DeJarnette,” March 12, 1934.

even exclaimed at one point, in 1934, that “the Germans are beating us at our own game!”<sup>12</sup> Such an affinity for a nation that became an enemy combatant combined with the state of Virginia’s closer scrutiny of increasingly outdated procedures of the state’s one-time hero, ultimately ended the decorated physician’s career. He still ran the sanitarium bearing his name until 1947, but the damage had been done. Sterilization and DeJarnette appeared on their way out.

Germany and the U.S. operated as the epicenters of eugenic thought and sterilization dominated the field. However, when considering the everyday lives people led, sterilization did not register too much on their minds and concerns for the future. Certainly, the notion was popular and, as evidenced by DeJarnette’s storied career, well accepted. Eugenics on the everyday level took a slightly different form. Everyday people in Bavaria and the U.S. South worried less about sterilization and other medical procedures that they could not perform, but instead focused on tangible realities they faced. While generation-long problems weighed on people’s minds, everyday Bavarians and Southerners emphasized smaller problems that, if addressed, could benefit humanity down the line.

Much of everyday eugenic thought in Bavaria and the U.S. South took the form of “social hygiene,” a strand of eugenics that equated morality with health. Borrowing from the logic of sterilization, if the social ills that plagued society could be removed, future generations would be free to prosper and develop. This line of thinking dominated the everyday public sphere in the U.S. South and Bavaria, as aspects of social hygiene took a prominent position in

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<sup>12</sup> This quote was given to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* in 1934 as the Nazis began considering Eugenics as a state public health doctrine. For more on this quote see Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Eugenics and the Use of Human Heredity*, (University of California Press, 1995), 115. Additionally consider, Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America’s Campaign to Create a Master Race*, (Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003). Egbert Klautke, “The Germans are Beating us at our own Game: American Eugenics and the German Sterilization Law of 1933,” *History of the Human Sciences*, Feb. 2016. Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, (Oxford University Press, 1994). Johnathan P. Spiro *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics and the Legacy of Madison Grant*, (University of New Hampshire Press, 2009.)

the interwar Public Sphere. In the U.S. South, New South promotion often emphasized the ways the developing South would increase a person's ability to reach their true Potential through better healthcare, countless resources, and opportunities for leisure. Meanwhile newly enfranchised white women of the South launched a moral crusade to develop an educated and civically-engaged public capable of helping the U.S. South create a form of active government capable of addressing any uncertain future problems. Meanwhile, everyday whites in the South anxiously listened to and adopted the various the arguments of eugenic thinkers who offered socially hygienic solutions to problems of alcohol, miscegenation, and disability. In Bavaria concerns were simpler, but no less pressing as everyday Bavarians kept all eyes on the youth's ability to survive and perpetuate Bavarian ideals into the future. Amidst a backdrop of the First World War, the Hunger Blockade, and the Spanish Flu, young Bavarians were precious commodities facing a constant onslaught of disease, sex, crime, capitalism, socialism, alcoholism, and a variety of other ills. If Bavaria had any chance at attaining a recognizable future, much less a desired one, the youth needed to be protected, a task Bavarians went about with fervent dedication.

Between the two Souths anxiety over ensuring that their communities could have pleasant fulfilled lives pivoted on whether white Southerners and Bavarians in the present could maximize the Potential of future generations. Nowhere is the diversity of Expectation on full display than in consideration of Potential. Thoughts about where to live, who to associate with, staying inside versus going outside, who the area youth associated with, how drunks were dealt with, and who was having sex with who weighed on everyday minds, aggravating already anxious people. If times were bad now, everyday people worried about how their children could possibly face the future that would develop from the decline they were witnessing in the present.

Segregationists took to the diversity of everyday woe and offered a wide array of options for everyday people to seek relief and develop their Potential. Physicians, like DeJarnette, teachers, city councils, public health officials, and a wide variety of special interests dominated a public sphere filled to the brim with everyday people desperate to help their community realize its best future. Many of those messages involved targeting outsiders who threatened to undermine Potential. Such arguments did not take much prodding to devolve into racism, as will become evident. Suffice it to say, Expectation and Heritage became their most cruel when considering Potential. When everyday white Southerners and Bavarians considered the viability of future generations to carry on their values and characteristics, they expressed little hesitation with ostracizing all threats, even those fictitiously constructed on the basis of race.

### **Every Drop of Blood**

During the Elberton High School graduation ceremony, people gathered from across Georgia's northeast Elbert County to celebrate the matriculation of the 1931 class. In lieu of standard graduation procedures, the Elberton graduates elected three of their peers to give speeches explaining the past, present, and future of Elberton, the seat of the county. The students had "done so well" that the Elberton chapters of the Kiwanis and Rotary clubs published the speeches.<sup>13</sup> As a collection, these three essays operated as a micro version of *Both Hitler and Jim Crow*. Olive Charlotte Edwards provided a very traditional appraisal of Elberton's history that sought vindication for the benefits of the present in the heroics of the past, claiming that Elberton's solid position stood as a "crowning tribute to the pioneer men and women who made

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<sup>13</sup> Georgia Archives, Rare Pamphlets, 310/3, *Elberton and Elbert County, Georgia: Past, Present, Future*, 1931, 1.

it possible.”<sup>14</sup> Clinton Sanders, charged with speaking to the Elberton’s present condition, kept his comments relegated to “strictly practical, everyday facts,” that is until he editorialized about Elbert County schools claiming that they, “as a whole are in a deplorable condition...due directly to the state’s failures to provide funds and live up to its obligation.”<sup>15</sup> That claim reeked of Suspicion as many rural Southerners held contempt for the overarching state power that undermined their own opportunities; few rural people resent a state capital more than Georgians do of Atlanta. Finally, Norman Thompson Jr. closed the presentations with an important discussion of Elberton’s future steeped in Potential.

Norman Thompson opened his look into Elberton, Georgia’s future by arguing that “no better indication of what is in store for Elberton may be found than what she is today.”<sup>16</sup> In 1931, Elberton led granite production in the South, with a deposit rivaling sites across the country. Elberton featured a strong agricultural base, but “the future of Elberton in the industrial world is doubtless,” the young Thompson asserted.<sup>17</sup> For the small city to build on its successes, however, Thompson ardently asserted that education would have to grow, so that Elbert county citizens could benefit from approaching opportunities. If the county could educate its citizens and help them reach their full potential, Thompson sincerely believed that Elberton could attain a full complement of modern conveniences. Perhaps, the young man postulated, Elberton could build a “magnificent auditorium and athletic center,” “ample playgrounds under the supervision of competent directors and efficient police,” or maybe even “great hostelryes of commercial and

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<sup>14</sup> Georgia Archives, Rare Pamphlets, 310/3, Olive Charlotte Edwards, “Elberton and Elbert County in the Past,” in *Elberton and Elbert County, Georgia: Past, Present, Future*, 1931, 4.

<sup>15</sup> Georgia Archives, Rare Pamphlets, 310/3, Clinton Sanders, “Elberton and Elbert County in the Present,” in *Elberton and Elbert County, Georgia: Past, Present, Future*, 1931, 5-6.

<sup>16</sup> Georgia Archives, Rare Pamphlets, 310/3, Norman Thompson, Jr., “Elberton and Elbert County in the Future,” in *Elberton and Elbert County, Georgia: Past, Present, Future*, 1931, 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

tourist traffic.”<sup>18</sup> Better yet, Thompson could see “on a hill, in a quiet place amid God’s sunshine and fresh air...a large and commanding” hospital, that would administer the most up to date science “for the purpose of offering relief to the sick and suffering.”<sup>19</sup> Ultimately, if the people of Elberton focused on Potential, they would be able to enjoy “recreation and pleasure freely offered and unmixed with undesirable surroundings and conditions.”<sup>20</sup>

White southerners generally had firm conceptions of what living up to one’s potential looked like. They also keenly felt pressure from problems they believed plagued society and prevented someone from threading that needle. Thompson’s essay, given by an eighteen-year-old fully inculcated in interwar Potential, provided profound insight into the three major facets of life Southerners believed essential to ensure a bright future. Thompson’s emphasis on Elberton’s business opportunities aligned with the entrepreneurial spirit that typified the New South, an identity focused on catching up to and exceeding the standards and technology blooming across the nation. Thompson highlighted active civic engagement and education to create better citizens, a desire dominating Southern progressives and activists in the wake of women’s suffrage. Finally, Thompson’s Elberton needed to become a paragon of health, one that applied the most up to date science to ensure the physical health of its citizens, a pressing concern for a South that had not only experienced the Spanish Flu but in 1931 found themselves plagued with a plethora of diseases and maladies. These three fronts – entrepreneurial spirit, civic engagement, and public health – dominated white Southern hopes and fears regarding Potential.

In the 1920s, New South rhetoric permeated everyday life. The South was abuzz with the desire to make positive use of its resources and exceed the rest of the nation’s prospects. In addition, an uptick in tourism and increasing external investments in the South forced many

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 8.

Southerners to look at their cities, states, and people as others would look at them. Much of the New South rhetoric expressed at this time spoke to this self-reflection. The hope for increased money, job opportunities, and stability operated at the center of this New South ideology, an idea itself steeped in discussions of the South's potential and its future. In an editorial for the *Atlanta Constitution* published on March 30, 1925, J.T. Holleman, the President of the Southern Mortgage Company, offered a few words about Georgia and his hopes for a bright future. Holleman told readers that "Southern states are upon the threshold of rapid development and great prosperity."<sup>21</sup> He claimed most people from outside the state only saw Georgia as a cotton haven, but Georgia could be much more than that. Outsiders had "no comprehension of the natural beauties of our state, of the forests and streams, the hills and valleys, the mountains and the coastal plains."<sup>22</sup> Also, taking up a true Georgian tactic, he blamed Georgia's problems on Atlanta, claiming that Atlantans insulated themselves to the changes and opportunities outside their city. Holleman called on the state to invite more people to live away from the capital to reduce Georgia's significant brain drain. "Time was in Georgia when some people had, or pretended to have, a feeling against outsiders coming into the state," but for Holleman, Georgians needed to move on from such insular ideas.<sup>23</sup> The state's Potential was being destroyed as Georgians left rural places leaving no one to take their place.

Holleman argued that to resolve Georgia's problems the state needed to create incentives to bring people to rural areas. One solution he offered was assistance with debt, which made taking up rural occupations tremendously difficult. "Debts for lands purchased at high prices; debts for labor at high prices; debts for fertilizers; for farm implements; for supplies furnished

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<sup>21</sup> Georgia Archive, Pamphlet Collection, HD 1775. G4 H7, J.T. Holleman, *Georgia: From the Frank Viewpoint of a Native Georgian Who Understands Conditions and Sees a Bright Future*, March 30, 1925, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 10.



tenants” all hindered agriculture as a possible pursuit for immigrants and travelers.<sup>24</sup> Those debts, in the wake of difficulties with the 1921, 1922, and 1923 harvests, put Georgia farmers into precarious positions. Deflation and the boll weevil also took their tolls, but Holleman remained optimistic that tax breaks, loan help, and better marketing could help the Georgia regain its form. However, if left alone, and no changes occurred, Holleman remained certain that Georgia would fall behind her neighbors, particularly a surging Florida.

For Holleman, the Sunshine State had recently become a solid template that Georgia, and the rest of the South, needed to follow. When the rest of the country looked to the South wondering if anything good resided there, “Florida has replied to this challenge and said ‘Come and see.’”<sup>25</sup> In order to turn Georgia into a tourist and investor hub, its citizens and leaders needed to be less peachy and more like the Sunshine state. One element of Florida’s renewal that Holleman admired came in the form of a very specific marketing tactic:

“An Atlanta business man a short time ago wrote letters to half a dozen towns in Florida, asking for information about those localities. Into his office there began to flow at once a steady stream of advertising matter, newspapers, circulars of all sorts, illustrated pamphlets, facts, figures and data of every nature, and letter after letter from people who were anxious to furnish all the information possible. And these Florida folks did not content themselves with sending literature about their towns and counties solely. They had at their fingers’ ends literature descriptive of practically every city and county in the state, and they sent that also.”<sup>26</sup>

Holleman recognized what would become a useful tool to propagandize the New South, the tourist brochure. One such brochure advertised the advantages of life in Montgomery, Alabama. Merging Old South ideas with the New South, the pamphlet emblazoned on its front cover “Cradle of the Confederacy,” citing the fact that Montgomery had, in fact, been the first capital of the Confederacy. Inside the pamphlet, a vast array of New South material promoted

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 15-16.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 6.

Montgomery's industrial and modern advantages. The brochure pointed interested parties towards the city's "six trunk line railroads, hydro-electric power, an abundance of labor, ... pure water, a genial climate, excellent health conditions, superior schools and a complete system of good highways."<sup>27</sup> A different Montgomery brochure similarly claimed that "Alabama's capitol, birthplace of the Confederacy, is rich in Southern history and beautiful in its design."<sup>28</sup> Then, it called attention to interesting New South facts such as Montgomery being the site of the first electric street car, Orville Wright trained the first civilian pilots there, and the site of "the first hospital in the world devoted exclusively to women."<sup>29</sup>

Cities big and small got into the game, beginning an interwar explosion in brochures promising that their corner of the South would allow visitors to realize their Potential. A few hours north of the capital, the city of Birmingham, Alabama gladly invited visitors to see their industrial hub that lied "In the Heart of the South, with a pride in her past, a glory in her present and a faith in her future."<sup>30</sup> "The Magic City" wished itself to become recognized as the "Convention City."<sup>31</sup> Their pamphlet marveled at Birmingham's brand-new convention center which, in addition to "golf, tennis, horseback riding, swimming, mountain climbing, motoring," would draw tourists and business interests to the city.<sup>32</sup> A brochure promoting Utica, Mississippi claimed the small town, lying outside the state capital, was "Where dreams come true" and "where health, happiness, and prosperity await you."<sup>33</sup> Much larger in scale, a 1929 brochure for Biloxi, Mississippi claimed the city "combines the alluring atmosphere of the Old South with the

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<sup>27</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Pamphlet Collection, Box 68, Item 5, *Cradle of the Confederacy*.

<sup>28</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Pamphlet Collection, Box 68. Item 6, *Tarry a While in Historic and Beautiful Montgomery, Alabama*.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Pamphlet Collection, Box 68, Item 18, *Birmingham Invites You*.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 976.251/U89, *Utica, Mississippi, Hinds County: Where Dreams Come True*.

spirit of the new in a charming four-season resort.”<sup>34</sup> This pamphlet buzzed with Potential: “Modern Homes and Healthful Water,” “Industrial and Agricultural opportunities,” “Excellent Climate,” and “Waterfront Commerce.”<sup>35</sup> Biloxi fiercely promoted its modern conveniences and infrastructure, touting “the new Iberville concrete bridge,” “new city hospital,” “a comprehensive and adequate” school system, a fire department “with modern auto equipment,” and an airport presently under construction.<sup>36</sup>

Even New Orleans felt the need to promote itself as a site where people from all over could realize their Potential. In 1922, the Mayor and City Council of New Orleans published a brochure advertising New Orleans as “the port of the Mississippi Valley to the World.”<sup>37</sup> The city officials wanted visitors to know that twelve railroads connected New Orleans to places all over the United States and that ninety-one steamship lines could bring people and cargo to just about anywhere in the world. Those who chose to stay in New Orleans, however, could take advantage of the many sizable hotels, a comfortable climate year round, a state of the art “water pumping and filtration plant,” “three universities, several colleges, schools of medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, law, engineering, commerce, art, music, nursing, cooking and sewing,” and numerous recreation and historic sites.<sup>38</sup> Countless such brochures provided a bridge between the commercial hopes of a city and everyday hopes for maximizing personal Potential.

It is important note that the U.S. South did not become Henry Grady’s ideological playground; steep reservations pervaded throughout a South wary of cities’ ability to maximize the capability of its citizens. In fact, many Southerners lamented the urbanization of the South.

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<sup>34</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, 917.6213/B5995/1929, *Biloxi*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR141, Paul Sanguinetti Records, Box 4, Folder 7, UCV- Camp Joe Wheeler, *A Brief for New Orleans*, 1922.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

One such voice of opposition came from women activists who, having gained new political power, voiced their opposition to the ills that plagued cities. In February 1926, the Emory Citizenship Conference held a meeting to discuss the best strategies to better help Atlanta address its considerable problems. One of the female activists in attendance gave a speech that condemned the entire institution of cities arguing that they “have given us during the past 50 years our most acute difficulties in the way of keeping government honest, efficient, responsible and democratic.”<sup>39</sup> She desired a return to rural life, a life sanctioned by the Christian Bible which, she reminded her audience, began with a family living in a garden. America becoming a country of cities may have been fine in places like “Massachusetts,” but in the South that was not to be tolerated.<sup>40</sup> While not the majority opinion, this female activist did not remain alone in condemning cities and the increasing amounts of civic apathy and moral degeneracy they seemingly caused. In fact, she constituted a small part of a vast network of women striving to find a way to maximize urban Southern Potential.

One such women’s political action group, The League of Voters of Atlanta, strove to better their city and its citizens. Founded in 1920 by leadership of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, upon gaining political capital via the vote, these white Southern women of the League instantly went into action, hoping to strengthen various democratic institutions that, in the long run, would secure their vision of the future. In 1924, the League advertised itself as an “opportunity to help your children.”<sup>41</sup> To help the children – and by extension the future – the league called for “World Peace, A Square Deal for Every Child, Better Schools, Better Health

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<sup>39</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 8, Folder 1, Citizenship Training Class Records, 1927 and undated, Emory Citizenship Conference, “City Government,” 1926, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 6 Folder 2, “Get Out the Vote” Campaign Records, 1926, Atlanta League of Women Voters, “Your Opportunity to Help Your Children,” 1924.

Conditions, Honesty in Politics, Value Received for Our Taxes.”<sup>42</sup> These women continually argued that corruption in government could not be tolerated as it constantly damaged children and society. The league marketed themselves as a non-partisan group, advocating “clean politics.”<sup>43</sup> Towards the end of the broadside they listed a series of laws the League helped pass, which included a bill to allow women the right to hold office, how they had gained more funding for the Welfare Bureau, and how they had passed a law preventing “children being given away indiscriminately.”<sup>44</sup> The League readily stepped into action to ensure a renewed present and bright future for Atlanta, and the state as a whole.

League members took up anti-corruption as a key element of their campaign, arguing that if left unchecked, corrupt politicians would undermine faith in the government, spreading apathy throughout the citizenry. The League eyed City Hall “graft” as the best target, feeling that if they could clean out city hall, they could put Southern society on the right track towards developing more responsible citizens.<sup>45</sup> One of their more prolific tactics involved the good old-fashioned guilt trip. Frustrated with low turnout in elections, the League dedicated itself to drumming up voters, often resorting to public shaming via strategically placed ads. One cartoon insisted, via a gigantic arm pointing towards a Fulton County’s primary, that “Miss ‘Oh I Forgot’” and “Mr. ‘I’m too busy’” should get out and vote.<sup>46</sup> As dictatorships began to rise in Europe, the League sponsored another cartoon depicting a boot, labelled “Dictator,” squashing a person in Europe, who exclaimed “I didn’t appreciate the right to vote until I lost it.”<sup>47</sup> From the shores of the U.S.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 10, Folder 3, Publicity Scrapbook, 1930 (Jan - July), “Voters Focus Eyes on City Hall ‘Graft,’” *Georgian News*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>46</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 10, Folder 3, Publicity Scrapbook, 1930 (Jan - July), “Do Your Duty!” *The Atlanta Journal*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>47</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 6, Folder 6a, “Get Out the Vote Clippings, 1934-1940 and Undated, “It Is Now a Rare Privilege,” *The Atlanta Journal*, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1940.

a well-dressed man labelled “Apathetic Citizen” watched the violence, unmoved.<sup>48</sup> Beyond guilt trips, the League organized numerous registration drives and citizenship schools in hopes of boosting voter turnout. The League did not shirk the use of technology, in fact, they proudly boasted of registering over fifteen-hundred people via their own “Portable Registration Booth” a step in the right direction, but not nearly enough to satiate their desire for further civic engagement.<sup>49</sup>

The League expressed great pride in itself, insisting that, unlike other organizations, “the social element is secondary, if not lacking altogether.”<sup>50</sup> These were serious women engaging in very important work. In 1930, their president, Eleonore Raoul, wrote a prophecy of what Atlanta would like in 1940. She exclaimed that in ten years there would be “quite a group of informed, intelligent citizens voting and actually running for office.”<sup>51</sup> Creating a bold, active, and informed populace remained a key hope for this Atlanta based group, as it was for suffragists turned political activists across the country.

The League included, in their long list of concerns, fears about the future of children and threw considerable support behind bettering the lives of Atlanta’s youth. Reducing juvenile crime became a pillar of their plans to ensure better survival of democratic principles. Citing a radio broadcast, Mrs. Leonard Hass argued that “one-half of all major crime is committed by those under twenty-six.”<sup>52</sup> According to her, the government needed to stop wasting money and begin directing funds to “better education, on improving recreational facilities of congested

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 6, Folder 1, Registration Campaign Records 1924, Mrs. B.T. Neal, “Letter to Walter Taylor,” August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1924.

<sup>50</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 1, Folder 48, Annual Meeting Minutes, 1928, Mrs. S.D. Hally, “The Function of the State League of Women Voters,” 1928.

<sup>51</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 10, Folder 4, Publicity Scrapbook, 1930 (July-Dec), Eleonore Raoul, “A Prophecy,” *The Atlanta Journal*, November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>52</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 8, Folder 1, Citizenship Training Class Records, 1927 and undated, Mrs. Leonard Haas, “Your Government and Mine,” 4.

communities, on giving delinquent children adequate food.”<sup>53</sup> It was not the children’s fault they easily turned to crime, but rather the lack of key elements, like literacy and opportunity, that pushed them down the wrong path. Georgia, and the South at large, expressed considerable anguish over the lack of literacy in Dixie. The League felt that the children and institutions of the South had a lot working against them that would doom Atlanta, the country’s children, and with them the future of Southern society.

The League once playfully reminded its members that “Troy was buried seven times because, modern historians think, its street cleaning department broke down.”<sup>54</sup> To avoid their own Trojan collapse, the League made one of their chief objectives ratifying a new city charter for Atlanta, a goal they were quite adamant to realize. The key aspect of the new charter created the City Council Manager position, a new authority meant to coordinate and streamline the various branches of Atlanta’s city government. Although a change to the norm, the League argued that this updated form of government, already functioning in three-hundred American cities, would bring Atlanta into the twentieth century and out from “under the immense weight of a city charter fashioned according to styles prevalent prior to 1848.”<sup>55</sup> The League of Women Voters of Atlanta was quite adamant that efficient government was necessary to ensure the continuity of democracy and thereby stating the following:

“We hear so much of democracy breaking down in other parts of the world. Every one [sic] is watching America. It has been said that we get out of government what we put into it- in other words, the people get the kind of government they deserve. It is up to the best men and women in every community to actively exercise their citizenship rights and to prove to the world that democracy and function- that the people can rule.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>55</sup> Eleonore Raoul, “A Prophecy,” *The Atlanta Journal*, November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>56</sup> Mrs. Leonard Haas, “Your Government and Mine,” 8.

The message was clear, good government needed to prevail through the assistance of an active, engaged voting population.

In many ways, the goals of the Atlanta League did not differ much from that of the Richmond League of Women Voters, based out of the state capital of Virginia. They too advocated for a new Richmond city charter, as well as boosting voting registration and civic engagement. Similarly, they were quite worried about education, a fear expressed via their repeated promotion of the national chapter's radio program "Voters' Service," a twenty-four-station broadcast of a "citizenship school by Radio."<sup>57</sup> The Richmond chapter definitely felt more beholden to the National League of Women Voters than Atlanta's chapter, which helped explain Richmond's stronger foreign policy lean. Richmond women advocated support for the League of Nations and the World Court as mechanisms to avoid warfare. A significant portion of their platform supported international cooperation to prevent another global war, a goal that involved U.S. participation in international arbitration and a reduction in armaments.<sup>58</sup> The Richmond chapter adamantly insisted that another war would further upset the status quo and push the U.S. further away from its democratic norms.

Ultimately, much of Richmond's work focused on bettering the lives and civic power of Richmond's women. Beyond advocating for a City Manager, the Richmond chapter called for "Jury Service for Women," more money for the Women's Division of the Bureau of Labor, "joint guardianship by both parents," and setting up the prison farm explicitly for "women

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<sup>57</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, Richmond League of Women Voters, "A Citizenship School by Radio," *The News Bulletin*, February 1929, 5.

<sup>58</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, Richmond League of Women Voters, "Resolutions Passed by the Annual Meeting," *The News Bulletin*, January 1927, 4.



confined in the penitentiary and jails.”<sup>59</sup> The Richmond chapter took care to market themselves to women on the fence about civic engagement. They submitted four pages each month to the *Woman Citizen* magazine, meant to offer an alternative to the “traditional ‘women’s magazine,’” as well as publishing their own monthly pamphlet.<sup>60</sup> Richmond’s chapter also provided issue sheets to all women voters and hosted debates for elections, specifically tailored to women. For example, ahead of the 1928 presidential election, the Richmond chapter sponsored two different female speakers, each speaking to why women should support either Al Smith or Herbert Hoover.<sup>61</sup> A primary goal for Richmond’s female advocacy involved the acquisition of a “Woman’s Building,” meant to house the cities various women’s organizations in one location to increase visibility, networking, and consolidation of resources. The Richmond chapter advocated not only for good government, but to engage women in the work of good government. Only that combination would allow the democratic institutions of the United States to stand up to the problems facing a turbulent present and help build a better, more durable future.

While female activism remained a collaborative effort, in some places Southern women were led by dynamic characters who cut to the core of Southern hopes to better its Potential. Lizzie George Henderson of Greenwood, Mississippi was one such woman, with personality and energy to spare. Henderson had a prolific public service career: President of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, prominent positions in the Baptist Church, and founded Greenwood’s own Woman’s Club. Whenever she put her mind to a problem, Mississippi women

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<sup>59</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, “The Fight for the Jail Farm: An Object Lesson,” *The News Bulletin*, May 1927, 3 & “Legislative Program, 1927-28,” *The News Bulletin*, May 27, 5.

<sup>60</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, Richmond League of Women Voters, “The Woman Citizen Magazine,” *The News Bulletin*, February 1926, 3.

<sup>61</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, Richmond League of Women Voters, “Smith or Hoover? League Members Should hear Both Sides,” October 1928, 3.

and men went to work, a reality which lent her further social and political capital. Hence, when asked to weigh in on Alabama Senator Oscar Underwood's 1924 Presidential bid, Henderson called it "the South's greatest opportunity."<sup>62</sup> Henderson heaped praise on Underwood for his support of Prohibition, the federal amendment barring the purchase and consumption of alcohol. Because of this position, Henderson believed Underwood was "a clean, upright, honorable man, fitted to fill the place of President of the United States."<sup>63</sup> Better yet, she thought that Underwood, as a Southern nominee, could provide a model to "give our Youth the ambition to aspire to the highest office in this land."<sup>64</sup> Henderson performed an action common in Southern appraisals of Potential; she elided morality with health. Underwood could be a good model for children because he backed prohibition and did not buy into the immorality of drinking; therefore, he was "clean."

The Anti-Saloon League of Virginia tied prohibition to Potential, particularly because they often paralleled alcohol consumption with Potential's opposite, death. One broadside they published argued that drinking alcohol was worse than going to war, citing that fifteen years of war killed fewer people than died of drunk driving during fifteen years of peace.<sup>65</sup> In 1939, one Richmond citizen wrote to the editors of the *Times-Dispatch*, arguing that, compared to twenty-five years of submarine use globally, more people died of alcohol-related deaths in Virginia alone.<sup>66</sup> Flyers abounded throughout the South decrying the belief that alcohol poisoned the Potential of future generations. Making a direct tie between alcohol and child development, one

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<sup>62</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Broadside and Ephemera, Broadside file 1922-1944, Folder 1924/8, Lizzie George Henderson, "What Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson Thinks of the South's Greatest Opportunity."

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box B233, Folder 9, Articles – Liquor, Anti-Saloon league of Virginia, "Worse Than War!"

<sup>66</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box B233, Folder 9, Articles – Liquor, Ed. J. Richardson, "Submarine Deaths and Virginia Alcoholism Deaths During Twenty-five Years," *Times Dispatch*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1939.

flyer argued that “Beer is the Kindergarten of the Alcohol School,” an education that culminated with a ceremony on a “drunk-driving-blood splotted highway, or on a tombstone in the cemetery.”<sup>67</sup> In Clarke County, Mississippi, the Harmony Baptist Church reaffirmed their faith in the eighteenth amendment. The church leaders declared “all our church members array themselves against...and do all in their power to stamp [alcohol] out.”<sup>68</sup> However, the Harmony Baptist Church believed alcohol was merely a gateway to horrible behavior that threatened youth and society. They worried that lax enforcement of prohibition would lead to “profanity, cheating, dancing, card playing, pet parties, and desecrating the sabbath.”<sup>69</sup> These religious leaders also condemned members of their parish who, on the Sabbath, bought “soft drinks, ice cream and cigars...thereby helping and encouraging” violation of moral propriety.<sup>70</sup> Churches across the South often became the battlegrounds in the fight for prohibition, a fight equated with winning the Southern soul. As such, many big names were asked to weigh in on prohibition, perhaps none bigger though than the man Pastor J.T. Edwards of Culpepper, Virginia’s First Baptist Church invited to speak to his congregation on the dangers of alcohol: Joseph DeJarnette, the South’s father of sterilization and social hygiene.<sup>71</sup>

DeJarnette made himself valuable to the dry-South with his occasional editorials that tied alcohol to other Potential-destroying problems. For example, he often argued that alcohol became a gateway to other dangerous substance abuse problems, like luminal and barbiturates. DeJarnette also linked alcohol consumption with promiscuity claiming that “syphilis and

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<sup>67</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box B233, Folder 9, Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, “Beer is the Kindergarten of the Alcohol School.”

<sup>68</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Broadside and Ephemera, Broadside File, 1922-1944, Folder 1926-1927/1926/3, William Hinkle Patton, “Resolution,” 1926.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 2, Correspondence: Dr. JS DeJarnette, J.T. Edwards, “Letter to Dr. J.S. DeJarnette,” July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1941.

whiskey are born companions of death.”<sup>72</sup> As such, the prominent eugenicist backed any and all Prohibition efforts, particularly as those efforts seemed the most immediately implementable solutions to protect Southern Potential. Southern newspapers remained mixed on prohibition but fixated on one of DeJarnette’s long-term solutions for eliminating alcoholism. Ever a eugenic physician, DeJarnette hoped to develop “a medicine that, when injected into the blood of a patient, will make him sick if he takes any kind of alcoholic drink.”<sup>73</sup> DeJarnette believed such a medicine would take five to ten years to develop, but in the meantime he would continue testing the blood of alcoholics brought to his hospital, as well as testing “the blood of employees who swear they have not been taking any liquor.”<sup>74</sup> DeJarnette spoke in terms that made sense to many Southerners, particularly after the Great Depression; reducing alcoholism would, in the long run, save Virginia a lot of money. Hoping to save millions in healthcare, mental care, accidents, etc. DeJarnette suggested turning money from the sale of alcohol after Prohibition’s repeal over to education, going as far as personally contributing funds to a high school essay contest against whiskey consumption.<sup>75</sup>

Long-term boosts to Potential often found their praise couched in short-term economic benefits. Regarding DeJarnette’s pet cause, sterilization, public praise centered on the economic benefits such medical interventions brought Virginia. Headlines often stated “Sterilization Found Huge State Saving” followed by a picture of Dr. DeJarnette along with some description of the savings Virginia could count on.<sup>76</sup> One estimate claimed Virginia would save two million dollars

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<sup>72</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box B233, Folder 9, “Dr. DeJarnette Flays Liquor.”

<sup>73</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box B233, Folder 9, “Dr. DeJarnette Seeks Medicine to Make Alcoholics Sick.”

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> “Dr. DeJarnette Flays Liquor.”

<sup>76</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 19, General Files-Sterilization-20th Century Newspaper Clippings-1920s-1935, “Sterilization Found Huge Saving.”

a year in decreased costs of caring for infants of the mentally disabled. Those numbers were often taken from DeJarnette himself who used some dark math to come to those conclusions:

“In Virginia 2,300 persons have been sterilized-about one-tenth of the figure for the nation- and assuming, as Dr. DeJarnette does, that each would have thirty descendants in five generations, there is an elimination of 69,000 defective possibilities. For the Purposes of computation, Dr. DeJarnette supposes that each would have a life span of twenty years which would equal 1,380,000 dependents living one year in the state, and at a cost of \$150 per person per year, the figure arrived at is \$207,000,000”<sup>77</sup>

That figure, the newspaper then explained, was fairly conservative, especially when one considered the rumors of a disabled New Jersey man who had nearly five hundred descendants in five generations.<sup>78</sup> Many undoubtedly supported sterilizations based on such terms, seeing short-term and long-term benefits of this procedure, ignoring the moral qualms that would soon develop in the 1940s.

Authorities recognized eugenic sterilization as an accepted medical procedure in the 1920s and 1930s. Although some expressed resistance to such efforts, stark condemnation did not come until Nazi Germany provided the world with a form of eugenics taken to its logical, and most brutal, end. However, DeJarnette clearly would not hide his feelings on sterilization. He had frequently shared his support of the procedure and the undergirding philosophy behind it, speaking not only in public gatherings, but publishing multiple papers on the topic. In 1931, he argued that “under nature’s plan we breed from the top principally; today we breed from the bottom more rapidly,” going on to assert that a “feeble-minded woman” will have four children

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<sup>77</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 19, General Files-Sterilization-20th Century Newspaper Clippings-1920s-1935, “Sterilization is Found Huge State Saving.” As a Note, this article is different from the previously cited article that shares the same title. The present article can be found later in the same folder.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

compared to a college graduate's one.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, he called out "conscientious objectors" to sterilization who used the Bible to "segregate a few of these unfortunates and let the rest reproduce ad libitum, weakening the race and burdening society."<sup>80</sup> DeJarnette was even so upfront as to state that "the sex call is the strongest of man's instincts and to deny the defectives and insane their sex life is a cruelty."<sup>81</sup> However, allowing the mentally disabled to reproduce would be a greater cruelty and "an unbearable burden to the state" that would only increase "our great downward streams of deadbeats, tramps, criminals, dependents, paupers, etc."<sup>82</sup> The above arguments consisted of a few statements in a long career of brutally candid defenses of sterilization. DeJarnette, nonetheless, received the backing of much of the South's elite and everyday people.

While DeJarnette became an institution in Virginia, his colleague, Dr. John H. Bell, became more famous nationally because of his performing one operation, the 1927 sterilization of Carrie Buck. This operation formed the heart of a court battle that reached the Supreme Court in the famous case *Buck vs. Bell*. The whole case originated in Bell's hope for a test-balloon for Virginia's new laws backing sterilization of people who the state determined, after a trial, were mentally disabled. The Supreme Court upheld Virginia's sterilization laws and allowed Bell to sterilize Carrie Buck, who historians have since argued was not disabled by even the standards set in the interwar era.<sup>83</sup> Rather, scholars allege that many people in positions of power over

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<sup>79</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 24, General Files-Sterilization-20th Century Article (DeJarnette, Dr. Joseph S.), 1915-1931, J.S. DeJarnette, "Eugenic Sterilization in Virginia," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, January 1931, 1-2.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>83</sup> Carrie Buck's sterilization has been the controversial subject of considerable professional and amateur historical scrutiny. Law Professor Paul A. Lombardo has particularly focus on arguing that a variety of people forged evidence to make Buck appear disabled when she was not. For more consider: Harry Bruinius, *Better for All the World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity* (Vintage Books, 2007). Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (Penguin,

Buck felt she was promiscuous and therefore immoral. The claims that she had a “mental age of only nine years” and other medical histories were fabricated to entrench Virginia’s state mental health leadership as the end all be all of sterilization, and therefore the arbiter of Southern Potential, capable of weeding out all they deemed defective. That authority to socially engineer the South’s future came with the blessing of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who famously said in the Supreme Court’s opinion on the case, “three generations of imbeciles is enough.”<sup>84</sup> Buck was not mentally disabled, but that did not matter. Anyone deemed by the mental health establishment as deserving sterilization would receive the procedure. Much of Virginia’s leadership intended to enact sterilization as a means to engineer their ideal future, and that future would be fundamentally white.

In a 1929 address before a meeting of the Medical Society of Virginia hosted in Charlottesville, Bell married his ideas of eugenic sterilization to the long-entrenched Southern institution of segregation. His speech centered on the rise of “racial degeneracy” via the “widespread dissemination of a great number of defective peoples.”<sup>85</sup> Bell argued that the initial steps for “social control” needed to identify the “mentally defective” and separate them from the rest of society.<sup>86</sup> Fears of the fall of the white race pervaded Southern society. The tactic white Southerners felt most comfortable employing to protect their race remained segregation. Tying segregation to eugenics stood as low-hanging fruit for any eugenicist looking for support in the Jim Crow South. Bell mentioned past examples of racial decline alongside present ills to defend

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2016). Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (Oxford University Press, 1994). Mark A. Largent, *Breeding Contempt: The History of Coerced Sterilization in the United States* (Rutgers University Press, 2011). Paul A. Lombardo, *Three Generations, No Imbeciles: Eugenics, The Supreme Court, and Buck V. Bell*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

<sup>84</sup> *Buck v. Bell*, 274 U.S. 200, 1927.

<sup>85</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 23, General Files-Sterilization, 20<sup>th</sup> Cen. Articles, (Bell, Dr. J.H.), 1929, J.H. Bell, “The Protoplasmic Blight,” address at the Medical Society of Virginia, October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1929, 5.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

the state's efforts to segregate the disabled. Bell claimed that "in racial improvement by segregation and sterilization we should think in terms of centuries, not years."<sup>87</sup> The vision of the future Bell tried to pass onto his audience involved not only the implementation of sterilization, but also the extension of segregation to the realm of mental disability.

Bell asked his audience to join him in theorizing a possible future:

"I want to ask you to pause for a moment and pass with me into a realm of speculation, visualizing in your mind's eye a world peopled by a race of degenerates and defectives, a world gone topsy-turvy, and sunk in the slough of despond, the great edifices of our present civilization are falling in decay, the arts and inventions are forgotten, the boulevards of our great cities have become waste places and the countryside uncultivated is fast receding to an aboriginal jungle."<sup>88</sup>

The race rhetoric flowing through this discussion, still centered on sterilization, was noteworthy for multiple reasons. First, Bell's views of sterilization demonstrated the extent to which ideas of race and segregation had influenced white Southern thinkers, applying concepts of race, segregation, and even "aboriginal jungle" as aspects of his eugenic philosophy. Second, Bell's arguments demonstrated that the Southern future remained inextricably tied to race, specifically the success of a healthy and intellectual race, which white southerners believed needed to be white. Finally, the core concept at the heart of this discourse was not sterilization, but rather sterilization had become yet another vehicle for discussing white Southern concerns for the Potential of white Southern society.

In August 1925, DeJarnette published "Eugenics in Relation to the Insane, the Epileptic, the Feeble-minded and Race Blending," the most coherent defense of Jim Crow sterilization. DeJarnette argued that all of humanity was in a severe decline because "mongrels continue to cross with each other and so the melting pot is kept boiling in spite of laws forbidding such

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 4.



unions.”<sup>89</sup> He continued, stating that legally permitted episodes of miscegenation “blacken the white race.”<sup>90</sup> “Segregation of the races,” DeJarnette continued, “is the only way to keep each race pure.”<sup>91</sup> In addition to upholding Jim Crow, DeJarnette argued that immigration laws should be made “more stringent, admitting only the most desirable of our predominant race.”<sup>92</sup> However, as DeJarnette had often stated, segregation would not be enough to save his race. DeJarnette hoped to strengthen Jim Crow eugenically, believing that “parenthood should be encouraged among those with best hereditary traits, and discouraged among defectives by segregation and sterilization.”<sup>93</sup> Going further, DeJarnette wanted a “registration of family pedigrees,” believing that supporting the best mating pairs would result in a “better race.”<sup>94</sup> He even suggested developing incentives for racially pure births similar to crop and animal breeding prizes, preferring “birth selection and control” as ideal policies that would help the race in the long term.<sup>95</sup>

White supremacy showed most prominently in DeJarnette’s arguments via use of Earnest S. Cox’s *White America*, a Southern white supremacist tome. DeJarnette made extensive use of Cox’s arguments that the white race had been responsible for civilization, bettering the “yellow” and black races through prolonged contact.<sup>96</sup> Cox and DeJarnette believed that the white race needed to maintain its purity in order to benefit the rest of the world. More pointed, “if the white

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<sup>89</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 088, Folder 24, General Files-Sterilization Articles-DeJarnette Joseph, J.S. DeJarnette, “Eugenics in Relation to the Insane, the Epileptic, the Feeble-minded and Race Blending,” *Virginia Medical Monthly*, August, 1925, 6.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 4.

race is deteriorated by miscegenation then the advance of civilization will cease.”<sup>97</sup> Pulling heavily from Cox, DeJarnette warned that only a eugenic solution could help white Southern culture reach its potential and therefore save all of civilization. The absolute prohibition of miscegenation, the promotion of ideally genetically suited couples, and the sterilization of those unfit to perpetuate the white race would, in the long-term, maximize the white race’s potential. Those beliefs informed DeJarnette’s approach to eugenics and his long career that earned him the adoration of Virginia and the South.

Related to the present discourse, from 1931 to 1939 Whitetop Mountain, Virginia hosted the annual White Top Folk Festival, a gathering of famous musicians and their fans to celebrate Appalachian music. Its most famous attendee, Eleanor Roosevelt, drew a crowd of twelve-thousand to that small corner of the Old Dominion in 1933. Musician John Powell, adored throughout the state for his piano compositions, supported the event as a performer and benefactor. An academic ethnomusicologist, Powell often hosted well-attended concerts and speaking engagements. The White Top Folk Festival became a prominent forum for him to espouse his theories, particularly his fascination with “negro music.” Powell believed that the subjugated position of African-Americans produced a music that was outright primitive, filled with “a breath of the tropical jungle.”<sup>98</sup> Beyond that, “the negro is the child among the peoples,” whose music reflected “naïve simplicity and deep fervor; at its worst, descend[ing] to a nadir of sensual fanaticism.”<sup>99</sup> Powell argued that “the pessimistic mood of my *Negro Rhapsody*,” his

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>98</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 1, Eugenics: News Clippings, Richard Brockwell, “Mr. Powell’s Rhapsody a Study of Negro Race,” *The Detroit News*, December 22, 1918.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

musical tribute to African-American music, “is no more than recognition of the gloomy outlook for the Negro’s racial development in a white country.”<sup>100</sup>

Powell’s condescending racism typified the tail-end of Southern progressive paternalism that treated African-Americans like under-developed beings in need of white guidance. That paternalism operated at the core of white supremacist eugenics, particularly in the South. John Powell lent his support to the many eugenic causes that dotted Virginia and the U.S. South in between the World Wars. One of John Powell’s more famous efforts involved founding the “Anglo-Saxons Clubs of America.” The second article of their constitution called for “the preservation of racial integrity; for the supremacy of the white race in the United States of America,” albeit “without racial prejudice or hatred.”<sup>101</sup> Only “native-born, white, male American citizens, over the age of eighteen years, of temperate habits and good moral character” were allowed entry.<sup>102</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Clubs extended their mission into eugenic approaches to maximizing the capability of the white race. The Anglo-Saxon Clubs concerned themselves with “intelligent selection and exclusion of immigrants,” as well as “fundamental and final solutions of our racial problems...most especially of the negro problem.”<sup>103</sup> No matter how much effort whites expended towards honoring Tradition and maintaining “historical continuity,” white dominion would all fall apart, Powell and his followers warned, “if we allow our original stock to be swamped in a quagmire of unintelligent and unassimilable immigration.”<sup>104</sup> Their

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<sup>100</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 97, Eugenics News Clipping, “John Powell, Noted Pianist-Composer, Gives Views on Negro Music Its Use and Abuse,” *Musical Courier*, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1930.

<sup>101</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 6, Articles/Printed Material Eugenics, “Constitution of Anglo-Saxon Club of America,” October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1923, 1.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>103</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 6, Articles/Printed Material Eugenics, “Reprint from the *News Leader*, Richmond, Virginia,” June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923, in Lawrence T. Price, *Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America*, 2.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

message captivated many white men and women who feared a decline in their long-term power structure.

The Anglo-Saxon Club spread throughout Virginia where over one-hundred chapters formed throughout the state. These chapters often wrote pieces picked up by local newspapers advocating their ideology to an interested public. A June 1923 print of the *Richmond News-Leader* claimed the group's "progress will be watched with much interest" as they advocated for "racial purity, racial integrity, and lofty racial ideals."<sup>105</sup> This article also made plain the Anglo-Saxon Clubs' own focus on eugenically maintaining the white race:

"Presumably the clubs will not rely solely upon laws which however proper and desirable in themselves can be evaded sometimes or defied. The maintenance of the purity of any race depends on its social standards and on its morality not less than on its laws. The great tragedy of the Anglo-Saxon race is that politically it dominates but biologically it is not a dominant. There is no "tribe" of modern times that more completely has spread itself throughout the world, but there is none that has paid a more dismal price for exogamy."<sup>106</sup>

These clubs, like much of Southern eugenics, constantly equated morality with health, and both terms implicitly formed the vision of a white Southern future as the best-case scenario.

Searching through eugenic white supremacist material, it does not take long to find some speech or writing tied to Earnest Sevier Cox, the aforementioned author of *White America*. A Tennessee native, Cox received praise as an expert of the "World-Wide Color Problem," a moniker he earned as a world traveler and his stint as a Captain in the U.S. army during the First World War.<sup>107</sup> A renowned white supremacist, Cox's passion pushed him to back causes beneficial to the white race. Cox helped form the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America as well as

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<sup>105</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 6, Articles/Printed material Eugenics, "The Price of Pollution," *Richmond News Leader*, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923, in Lawrence T. Price, *Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America*, 4.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>107</sup> Duke University Manuscript Department, Earnest Sevier Cox Papers, Writings, Box 20, L-Lincoln, Earnest Sevier Cox, *Let My People Go*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, June 1925.

backing DeJarnette in the construction of not only Virginia's sterilization laws, but also promoted the state's 1924 Racial Integrity Law. This latter law directly addressed fears of miscegenation by registering mixed-race children to prevent those children from eventually marrying whites. Powell and Cox formed a close friendship that informed much of the racist dialogue throughout Virginia, rhetoric that filtered throughout the Southern eugenic community.

Cox and Powell expressed particular umbrage over the idea that any person who was "one-fourth Negro, no matter how slightly, could marry a white."<sup>108</sup> Such a reality would, in the long-term, dim the purity, and by extension Potential, of the white race. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, in July 1923, carried a feature article where John Powell "Premier American Pianist and Composer" argued, alongside "World Noted Ethnologist" Earnest Cox, that "unless Anglo-Saxons" realized the dangers of miscegenation, eventually, white America would "become a Negroid nation."<sup>109</sup> "Racial integrity," they continued, was "a matter so vital, so inextricably bound up with our future as a nation, as to demand immediate steps toward its preservation."<sup>110</sup> The man in charge of racial registration in Virginia, W.A. Plecker, attempted to garner public support for his work with an article titled *Shall We All Be Mulattoes*, published in the March 1925 *Literary Digest*. Employing census data from 1920, he argued that "even in Virginia, where the questions of race and birth receive as much attention as anywhere...the process of amalgamation is nevertheless going on."<sup>111</sup> Calling on visions of an apocalyptic future where the white race had been thoroughly amalgamated, Plecker warned that while "complete ruin can

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<sup>108</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 6, Eugenics News Clipping Article, John Powell, "Regarding Anglo Saxon Clubs," *Richmond News Leader*, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

<sup>109</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 8, Eugenics News Clipping, Earnest Sevier Cox and John Powell, "Is America to Become a Negroid Nation?," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1923.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 11, Eugenics Article, "Shall We all Be Mulattoes" *Literary Digest*, March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 23.

probably be held off for several centuries longer,” actions needed to be taken now to save the white race.<sup>112</sup>

John Powell similarly appealed to the public by weaponizing the Lost Cause. In Powell’s *The Last Stand*, he cited a history of confederate president Jefferson Davis that argued “the principle source” of the heroics of Virginia and the South during the “War of Secession was the impulse to defend the white South from the abolitionist’s threat of race-leveling, with its inevitability ensuing probability of mongrelization.”<sup>113</sup> Thus, if concerns over a centuries away problem was not convincing, the thoughts of carrying on a legacy of defending racial integrity handed down from Robert E. Lee and the Confederacy would be too tempting to avoid. Support for Racial Integrity was prominent throughout Virginia. In August 1925, John Ingram Brookes of Keysville, Virginia wrote the *Richmond Times Dispatch* parroting Powell, Cox, and Plecker arguing that “the greatest problem before this entire country today is the mongrelization of its two races, whites and negroes.”<sup>114</sup> One R.F. Hester wrote Powell, attempting to share his own work “concerning Semites, Mongoloids, etc.”<sup>115</sup> F.A. North, the director of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, expressed his organization’s support for Racial Integrity and registration as a means to hinder the propagation of “inter-racial activities of certain ulterior bodies.”<sup>116</sup> Brigadier General A.J. Bowley expressed gratitude to Powell for sending him pamphlets and literature on Racial Integrity. However, he requested that Powell “please be careful not to mention [his] name in connection with this propaganda or under any circumstances

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>113</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 38, Folder 24, Eugenics Articles, John Powell, “The Last Stand,” 1.

<sup>114</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 50, Eugenics News Clippings, John Ingram Brookes, “A Race Tragedy,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

<sup>115</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 40, Folder 23, R.F. Hester, “Letter to John Powell,” September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1935.

<sup>116</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 43, Folder 9, F.A. North, “Voice of the People,” *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

to allow my name to be published in print.”<sup>117</sup> The General’s fascinating request demonstrated the precariousness of Racial Integrity. While popular amongst various circles, the movement had yet to achieve anywhere near full public support, but all the same, the ideas of Racial Integrity expanded beyond Virginia’s borders.

In June 1925, Georgia legislators invited John Powell to speak to them about Racial Integrity and registration, a discussion which earned him the applause of Georgia’s Jim Crow politicians. Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and North Carolina similarly intended to introduce similar laws as people all over the South worried about the racial future of their nation.<sup>118</sup> Citizens of Newport News, Virginia worried that any measure would be too little too late, asserting that “the power to discern the negro from the white is growing more and more difficult each day.”<sup>119</sup> The President of the V.P.I. Chapter to the Anglo-Saxon Clubs resigned from the organization believing that the methods offered by the club would not lead to a solution appropriate to “the seriousness of the racial problem.”<sup>120</sup> Racial Integrity and registration were not mainstream options in the body public yet, but it was apparent that concerns over miscegenation and the long-term trajectory of the white race pressed on the minds of everyday white Southerners.

Perhaps the most telling indictment of everyday reaction to Southern eugenics came from the absolute ire that erupted throughout Virginia following DeJarnette’s 1943 dismissal. A July letter praised DeJarnette for his “kind and sympathetic heart” exclaiming that it was “no

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<sup>117</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 39, Folder 44, Correspondence Concerning Eugenics, Brigadier General A.J. Bowley, “Letter to John Powell,” February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

<sup>118</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 27, Eugenics News Clipping, “Racial Integrity Law for Georgia,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1925.

<sup>119</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 42, Folder 22, Eugenics News Clipping, “Amalgamation of the Races,” March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

<sup>120</sup> University of Virginia Library, Special Collections, Papers of John Powell, Box 39, Folder 20, Correspondence Concerning Eugenics, M.O. Williams, Jr., “Letter to Lawrence T. Price,” January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1934.

wonder that we love him, almost worship him.”<sup>121</sup> In September, Stephen Timberlake expressed his “utmost disgust” at DeJarnette’s removal, assuring the physician that “you have the admiration and respect of every fair-minded person.”<sup>122</sup> The Citizens’ Temperance Foundation of Virginia weighed in, expressing “anxiety and deep concern” over the demotion of a champion of Prohibition.<sup>123</sup> In November, one-hundred and twenty eight Virginians pooled money together to purchase a gift for DeJarnette, a means of thanking him for all he had done to help build a better future for their race.<sup>124</sup> Even in the face of Nazi sympathy, the South did not wholly reject its father of sterilization nor the ideas he embodied.

Southern hopes and fears for Potential dominated the public landscape in the interwar era, but those concerns merely operated in the foreground. The all-important backdrop remained white supremacist Heritage, repeatedly found in unsubtle, grotesque forms. While much of the South expressed concern over a New South fascination with maximizing potential via technology and infrastructure, those improvements specifically benefitted white Southerners. Beyond confederate tourism that went along with New South promotion, cities made direct appeals to white visitors, providing reasons they would benefit and prosper. For example, the previously mentioned 1922 brochure promoting New Orleans took time to highlight demographics, mentioning that the “Negro population [was] 100,930,” but that, from a proportional standpoint, New Orleans stood as only the “eighteenth of twenty-six Southern cities in percent of Negro

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<sup>121</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 4, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, Letter “Written by one of the many recipients of his protection and friendship,” July 1943.

<sup>122</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 4, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, Stephen D. Timberlake, “Letter to J.S. DeJarnette,” September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1943.

<sup>123</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 6, Correspondence: Dr J.S. DeJarnette, Allen G Roach, “Letter to J.S. DeJarnette,” September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1943.

<sup>124</sup> The Library of Virginia, Records of Western State Hospital, 1825-2000, Series 1, Subseries E, DeJarnette Personal Files, Box 073, Folder 9, Correspondence: Dr. J.S. DeJarnette, List of those contributing to Dr. DeJarnette’s Gift, November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1943.



population.”<sup>125</sup> Perhaps more telling, the pamphlet emphasized that “the New Orleans death rate for 1921 for whites is 13.7” a rate lower than Baltimore, Cincinnati, Denver, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Los Angeles.<sup>126</sup>

Although much interwar Southern civic activism literature appeared divorced from the racial discussion, a subtle, but noticeable strain of maintaining democracy as part of white supremacy persisted. In Atlanta, the League of Women Voters advertised its issues in newspapers that devoted regular articles to the enforcement of Jim Crow: from a chain gang “negro cook” who fled his position and was chased down by bloodhounds, to a detailed article on “a negro [who] was shot last night through the hip as he struggled with a detective to avoid arrest on whisky charges.”<sup>127</sup> The police shooting, ultimately resulting in a flesh wound, occurred in front of the “store of [a] convicted bootlegger” and a “white boy” was also arrested, as a material witness.<sup>128</sup> Just a few pages over laid an effusive appraisal of Atlanta League’s efforts. More specifically, three speakers had been invited to discuss important topics with the Richmond League: Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, Virginia Governor Harry F. Byrd, and sociologist Howard Odum. All three speakers advocated different aspects of white supremacist thought, Freeman being an avid Lost Cause enthusiast, Byrd an ardent segregationist, and Odum added an intellectual air to racism. The league turned to noteworthy speakers, all three white men with specific expertise in the vestiges of white supremacy.<sup>129</sup> The major point here being that the discourse of strengthening civic engagement and democracy went hand in hand with maintaining

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<sup>125</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, LPR141, Paul Sanguinetti Records, Box 4, Folder 7, UCV- Camp Joe Wheeler, *A Brief for New Orleans*, 1922, 2.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>127</sup> Georgia Archives, League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Series 6, Folder 6a, “Get Out the Vote” Clippings, 1934-1940 and undated, “Gan Guards Chase Breakfast to Earth.”

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, “Detective Wounds Negro in Scuffle.”

<sup>129</sup> The Virginia Library, JK 1883 V82 R5 v. 1-4, Richmond League of Women Voters, *The News Bulletin*, v. 1-4, Dec 1928, Richmond League of Women Voters, “The January Luncheon,” January 1926, 3 & “The Virginia Institute and the State Convention,” April 1927, 2.

white supremacy. Ultimately, both issues could be discussed in public without needing to duplicate the message because white Southerners firmly believed that continuity of one ensured the longevity of the other.

Lizzie Henderson, a former president of the UDC, often spoke of State's Rights and other confederate propaganda, but even in her discussion of moral standards and Potential, it became clear that the ideal moral model absolutely had to be white. "Every drop of blood" in the man she endorsed for the presidency, Oscar Underwood, was "American, he and his people have had no need for hyphens."<sup>130</sup> That snide, and all too unsubtle, jab at "hyphenism" signaled clearly that morality and whiteness were American, and particularly Southern. White Southerners worried about maximizing the purity of the white race. Some support for that came from sterilization of those deemed to be weakening the white race from a physical standpoint. As "defectives" were removed from the reproductive pool, the remaining "ideal" whites would produce generations stronger than contemporary generations. However, sterilization would not be enough as disease and mental disabilities were not the only factors hindering the Potential of the U.S. South. The specter of miscegenation threatened to undermine all efforts to maintain the purity of the white race. If whites succumbed to the "temptations" of interracial sex, many white Southerners feared the fallout could be catastrophic. Only a pure white race would be able to guide Southerners, and by extension the rest of the world, towards a bright future. Therefore, Potential in the U.S. South pivoted on racism that only needed light prodding from Segregationists, putting on full-display the extent to which everyday white Southerners actively sought and endorsed racial inequality.

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<sup>130</sup> Lizzie George Henderson, "What Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson Thinks of the South's Greatest Opportunity."

## **We Want to Build a Wall**

A palpable look of disgust spread across the young woman's face. Despite being the model of Bavarian health – full cheeks, hair tied up – the absolute fear in her eyes betrayed a deep-seated Bavarian anxiety. She tried her very best to angle her face away from the trouble looming beside her, craning her neck as far as humanly possible. She also held her hand up between her and her attacker, using it as a last barrier to slow the terrible onslaught she faced. What did she flee? A very, very sick man. His eyes sunken, hair disheveled. The contrast between her health and his infirmity considerable. His face stood far too close the young woman's and worse still...he was in the middle of a cough. The young woman and the sick man formed part of an interwar Bavarian nightmare where the sick roamed the countryside, effortlessly infecting the healthy in impossible to avoid situations. This scene featured prominently on a poster distributed throughout Bavaria with the following phrases surrounding the hypochondrial fever dream: "Coughing spreads Tuberculosis. Do not let someone cough in your face."<sup>131</sup> The Bavarian State Association to Combat Tuberculosis, centered in Munich, printed and spread the poster as one in a series of such warnings to Bavarians, hoping against hope to hinder the spread to tuberculosis throughout interwar Germany.

This poster series wavered between informative, common sense public health reminders to darkly comedic warnings of grave threats to the Bavarian future. For example, one of the Association's posters offered medical professionals, specifically those dealing with pulmonary patients, access to information they had gathered.<sup>132</sup> The poster featured the heading

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<sup>131</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 16.

<sup>132</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 15.

“Tuberculosis is curable” alongside the image of a nun with parents, all of them tending to a child.<sup>133</sup> A very calm poster that contrasted the tangible panic of the coughing poster. However, another poster in the series took a different turn, depicting a man spitting on the floor near a baby, warning that “Bacilli-containing spit is contagious.”<sup>134</sup> All three posters spoke to a major concern dominating the Bavarian mindset, protecting the Bavarian youth. Emerging from the First World War, the downtrodden experiences of Bavarians have been highlighted throughout this work. However, it is worthwhile to yet again emphasize that the war destroyed a generation of Bavarian youth. That staggering amount of loss fundamentally altered the generational expectations for Bavarians. The public sphere fixated on interwar youth because they would absolutely be forced to take over with less of a transition period. Those ahead of them who should have taken responsibility for Germany’s future had been killed in hails of machine gun fire, disabled by mustard gas and artillery bombardment, or died under the duress of the Spanish Flu. Bavaria’s interwar youth faced more scrutiny than any generation preceding it, because to lose yet another generation would doom Bavaria.

All of Bavaria faced a brand-new world with unprecedented challenges. What would life in a more assimilated Germany look like? What did it mean to be subject to harsh foreign military and economic interventions? What was Democracy, a republic, communism, fascism? Were they Bavarians, Germans, Europeans, Catholics, agnostics, white? Questions about the future dominated the Bavarian psyche and those anxieties often manifested themselves in a preoccupation with the youth who would, in all probability, have to answer these questions. Coming out of the war, many Bavarians felt the instability and changes rapidly altering their

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<sup>133</sup> Nürnberg Stadtarchiv, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 15.

<sup>134</sup> Nürnberg Stadtarchiv, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 17.

previously known world that threatened the development of their youth. What would young people raised in the wake of defeat look like when they came to age? That question horrified many straight-laced Bavarians.

In January 1921, physicians and experts on youth development from all over Munich gathered at the University of Munich, “dedicated exclusively to the spiritual distress” of Munich’s children.<sup>135</sup> The event featured exhibitions of photos depicting children living in deplorable conditions, physically affected by numerous maladies that demonstrated in vibrant detail the stakes of the present fight. The attendees sat in on lectures from experts who spoke with authority on the diversity of Munich children’s plight after the war. One lecture, given by a Professor Hecker, proclaimed that children remained the only means to help the world abandon war, believing that children could be “a reconciling bridge between peoples,” namely because everyone recognized, whether German, American, English or “even from France” that ensuring the well-being of children was the only true means of survival.<sup>136</sup> Even in Munich, where a child welfare program had run throughout the war, experts observed decreases in child body size and weight, as well as increased tuberculosis, skin disorders, and numerous other diseases. Because fatality numbers went unchanged, Hecker worried that the belief that “the children of Munich did not suffer at all during the difficult time” remained pervasive in the public health community.<sup>137</sup> Even if they were alive, Munich children, and other kids across Bavaria, had absolutely been negatively impacted by the war and blockade.

“We can see it and hear it every day,” Hecker exclaimed, “that these children are not what we want them to be...our children in Munich stand out from other countries’ children in

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<sup>135</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 13972, “Das Münchner Kind Nach Dem Kriege,” 1921, 3.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid, 11.

terms of appearance, strength, and performance.”<sup>138</sup> While Hecker agreed that in the present, this “phenomenon may seem insignificant and perhaps not strictly scientific,[but] a later generation will hold us accountable for our short-sightedness.”<sup>139</sup> The situation posed a dire threat and if Munich, the Bavarian capital, did not address the problem, the abject neglect of child health would lead to “the deaths of hundreds, of thousands of children.”<sup>140</sup> With the severity of the situation laid out, the next speaker specifically addressed disease, opening with the reality that, as the war began “a huge diphtheria outbreak, which had not been observed for years or decades, passed through the city.”<sup>141</sup> Munich, unlike other spots, had been well prepared to help its children through the war, ensuring a base line of nutrition until the darkest times of the Hunger Blockade. While fatalities did not change much, the speaker argued that this outbreak had nonetheless weakened children who were “becoming tubercular” at progressively lower ages, a reality that would have long term impacts on the generation “that will only be apparent in [the coming] years.”<sup>142</sup> The war also increased sexual activity and promiscuity amongst Munichers. The consequent “carelessness and bluntness of adults” then led to an outbreak of children being born with syphilis.<sup>143</sup> The new Bavarian youth would not be the healthy souls that had marched into trenches at the start of the war.

Other discussions at this Munich conference called for an increase in births citing a “need for large families.”<sup>144</sup> If nothing changed, Munich and Bavaria’s populations would face a worse demographic crisis than the war and Spanish Flu. A different lecturer detailed how the war had caused a steep decline in education, because “schoolhouses stood empty” as troops increasingly

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 16-17.

took over those spaces, moving children “to new schoolhouses every week.”<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, those between the ages of 15 to 18 were often kept out of schools and apprentice programs to be deployed in war industry. This rising generation could be criminally undereducated, a reality which did not speak to a bright future, but rather a generation prone to delinquency. The next speaker addressed these concerns, focusing on the increases in youth crime during and after the war. The war “created neglect and out of that sprang criminality.”<sup>146</sup> While Munich prioritized war, it provided young people more independence and high-wage war work that led to the youth becoming insubordinate to their parents and indulging in “vanity and tinsel, dancing and pleasure, for car trips and fast train journeys,” and about any other sinful pursuit a Bavarian could imagine.<sup>147</sup> Worse still, “twelve and thirteen-year-old boys and girls have romances, regular intercourse, and whole elementary school classes are sexually infested.”<sup>148</sup> This much promiscuity, the speaker worried, would bring about the “complete dissolution of the family” and with it core staples of the Bavarian future, cast asunder by a surging sea of teenage hormones.<sup>149</sup>

To recap, this 1921 gathering of Munich medical and professional experts convinced themselves that their present generation of youth would be the tiniest, least healthy, most disease-riddled, undereducated, sex-crazy bunch of insubordinates the world had ever seen. Every generation has looked skeptically at the upcoming generations, fearing that the new group would upend the future and bring doom to all society. That said, this component of human nature can easily be accelerated and aggravated by the pressing issues of the day. In this case, many Bavarians looked upon the youth with fear because adults could not stop circumstances from

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 33.

damaging their own Potential, much less protect the young. A sense of urgency defined this 1921 gathering, as the fallout from the war produced so much anxiety that Bavarians transferred their sense of helplessness onto the youth who they hoped to bring vicarious stability, unable to secure their own.

During the 1920s and 1930s, numerous organizations formed in the name of protecting the development of Bavarian youth. The People's Collection for the Relief of Child Misery in Bavaria called for donations to specifically address "the consequences of years of food shortage for our children has become incurable."<sup>150</sup> They elicited further pity, stating that "many years of malnutrition, lack of clothing, cold weather, and disturbed sleep have caused a large number of children to become rickety, sick, and miserable."<sup>151</sup> They hoped to bring relief to "screaming child misery."<sup>152</sup> In 1921, this organization released a pamphlet titled "Help Our Children," featuring poems and essays calling for financial support. One stanza of a poem, written by teacher Eduard Diener, echoed the conclusions being made in Munich:

"What suffering childhood has already experienced!  
The parents taken away by death  
Already they are dull at a young age,  
Already threatened by disease and germs."<sup>153</sup>

Another poem claimed that the "youth lives on and on...To be the German future!"<sup>154</sup> However, if not aided, children would experience ruin at the hands of unprecedented difficulties.

Expectations for the youth saturated an essay, titled "Our Hope," that called on readers to protect "the most precious good entrusted to a people: our children."<sup>155</sup> The essay declared that "the

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<sup>150</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 13972, Volks=Sammlung zur Minderung des Kinderelends in Bayern, *Deutsche Kinderhilfe*, April 1921, 2.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>153</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 13972, Eduard Diener, *Helft unseren Kindern!*, 1921, 6.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>155</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 13972, *Unsern Hoffnung!*, 1.



great mass of our children stand on an abyss,” pushed over the edge by “tuberculosis, rickets that rage among the starved bodies, terrible homeliness, lack of linens, clothing and personal hygiene.”<sup>156</sup> The author lamented that “the future of our people is in shallow rags!”<sup>157</sup> Bavarians needed to not “idly watch as our youth is destroyed.”<sup>158</sup>

In Nuremberg, one organization raised funds to develop a non-profit student kitchen to help maintain student nutrition.<sup>159</sup> The city of Augsburg took interest in the development of its youth, providing many youth-centered activities to make up for what the war had taken away. They built more playgrounds for children and hosted a youth concert to instill a “stimulating, even inspiring effect on the youth.”<sup>160</sup> One of the more significant endeavors occurred during the summer of 1930, when the city of Munich and the state of Bavaria planned to throw a large festival dedicated to Bavaria’s youth. The organizers declared that, “after the devastation of the war years, after the severe material and moral damage of the post-war period,” considerable efforts had to be dedicated to helping the youth, upon who “the future of Europe will depend.” The festival would feature “lively performances, lectures, debates, and courses,” meant to promote education and development.<sup>161</sup> To these planners, “the most important benefit for the city of Munich and its future development will come from the fact that through this enterprise, the city will be able to win over the young hearts and the women and men entrusted with their

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>159</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 654, Folder 1, *Satzung des Vereins Studentenhilfe H.t.S. Nürnberg, e.V.*, August, 1921.

<sup>160</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 233, “Jugendkonzert in städtischen Jugendheim,” *Neuen Augsburger Zeitung*, Nr. 45, February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>161</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Ausstellung & Messen, 45/a, “Vorentwurf für eine Ausstellung München 1930 Münchner ‘Jugendsommer’ Ausstellung für Schule, Erziehung und Volksbildung,” 1929, 2,

education.”<sup>162</sup> For many, helping engage the youth and providing them support through difficult times remained the immediate solution.

While youth support dominated the Bavarian landscape, the public health community mobilized themselves to develop a future where Bavarians remained both alive and healthy. The Bavarian State Association to Combat Tuberculosis, the creators of the disgusted young woman poster mentioned earlier, addressed these very concerns: the diminishing Potential of Bavarians due to tuberculosis. This organization utilized visual mediums to spread information about this disease that ravaged interwar Bavaria. These posters were not overly scientific, but rather spoke a language of physical Potential that everyday Bavarians could easily comprehend. For Bavarians, very familiar with the pain of death, the association made it known that “tuberculosis is widespread in Germany” noting that, in 1923 alone, the disease killed ninety-thousand Germans.<sup>163</sup> Looming death imagery, including a menacing skull, punctuated these statistics, trying to force Bavarians to take this menace seriously. However, death and destruction would not work on all Bavarians, particularly those partaking in a vibrant entertainment culture that purposefully flew in the face of mortality. To reach jocular Bavarians, the association printed a poster depicting a party in which most people were enjoying themselves with the notable exception of two very sad women. Below the image ran a list detailing the initial symptoms of tuberculosis, which included weight loss, loss of appetite, anti-social behavior, and fatigue.<sup>164</sup> While many posters emphasized that tuberculosis could be treated if caught, the association desperately warned people of the declines they could face if they contracted tuberculosis, be it to their social life or their physical health.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>163</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 20.

<sup>164</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 18.

The Bavarian State Association to Combat Tuberculosis stood among many interested parties trying to spread a message of protecting Bavarian health. However, all this messaging borrowed from social hygiene, clearly tapping into Bavarian cultural ideals about morality and behaviors independent of medicine. For example, a rather paternalistic poster hung throughout Nuremberg explaining how healthy living differed from the unhealthy equivalent. The image of a “healthy” home represented a paragon of social hygiene: well-lit, open space, a clean, modern kitchen complete with a woman actively cleaning to the enjoyment of two very happy children. The “unhealthy” home contrasted this idyllic home: cramped, dark, and dusty.<sup>165</sup> A similar poster featured two kids playing in an apartment with the heading, “Bad apartments favor illness.”<sup>166</sup> These messages unsubtly explained to the Bavarian public that irresponsibility in maintaining a socially hygienic household could easily spread diseases to their children, and by extension the community.

Many parties feared children acquiring tuberculosis would ruin yet another generation, and so, medical warnings often deployed youth imagery to shame and instill panic in their adult caretakers. One notice explained the various ways tuberculosis could be transmitted, all four panels depicting children engaged in otherwise innocent actions that the poster claimed could be deadly. The first panel featured a child getting infected by expectoration, like the poster of the disgusted young woman, while the second warned of dust containing tubercular fungus. The third panel cautioned Bavarians about mud and dirt, but the fourth panel exuded hypochondrial panic. This poster scared parents into boiling all their milk out of fear of giving child milk from

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<sup>165</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 14.

<sup>166</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 23.

tubercular cows.<sup>167</sup> While social hygiene prevailed throughout the culturally conservative Bavaria, that did not mean that a eugenic disregard for and hostility towards the disabled prevailed in Bavaria. No, instead Bavaria looked kindly on its disabled, particularly in the 1920s, as many of the physically disabled had been rendered so as a result of service in the First World War. In Nuremberg, an informal club assisted in caring for the city's physically disabled, which, in 1924, raised enough funds to build a physical home for their care. A formal organization developed in interwar Bavaria to supervise schools for "mentally abnormal" youth.<sup>168</sup> The organization helped attach auxiliary schools to larger schools, further facilitating mentally disabled children. They also assisted "state-run educational institutes" in setting up similar schools "for the less-gifted from smaller and rural locations."<sup>169</sup> Discussion in everyday Bavaria did not segregate the disability community, but instead focused on diseases and behaviors that threatened Potential.

While tuberculosis remained a major concern, another series of titillating diseases featured prominently on the Bavarian public health landscape. On June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1924, the German Hygiene Museum brought one of its traveling exhibits to the town of Bamberg. The museum firmly believed in spreading knowledge about good public health, believing that the healthier Germans were, the better German life would become. Along those lines, the museum wanted to help "every serious thinker who follows with fearful anxiety the terrifying spread of sexual diseases and tuberculosis."<sup>170</sup> The museum had little trouble eliding these two major threats to Potential. While admittedly both were "fundamentally different in their origin," they still posed

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<sup>167</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 37.

<sup>168</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Schulamt 1220, "Der Bayerische Hilfsschul-Verband," 1.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>170</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + 10981, Deutsches Hygiene Museum, "Geschlechtskrankheiten und Tuberkulose," 1.

“the greatest bodily dangers.”<sup>171</sup> While the museum acknowledged that only doctors could treat disease, “the preservation of the people makes it compulsory for everyone to take precautions.”<sup>172</sup> The museum exhibit educated citizens on the nature of sexually-transmitted diseases, using numerous compelling visual aids that detailed “the sex organs, the pathogens, distribution, manifestations, and treatment.”<sup>173</sup> Of the numerous graphic visuals presented, one relevant poster featured three captioned pictures: the first of a man sick with syphilis, another of a happy family, and a final picture of a man dying alone in the streets.<sup>174</sup> The captions asked if the reader suffered from syphilis? If so, did they “want to get well and enjoy happiness,” or would they rather be alone to let the disease control their life?<sup>175</sup> The solution called for Bavarians see a doctor, which ultimately became the major suggestion for those infected.

The German Hygiene Museum may have taken a leadership position, but there were numerous interested parties throughout Bavaria hoping to combat sexually-transmitted diseases. The Munich chapter of the German Society for the Control of Sexually Transmitted Diseases mobilized across Bavaria to address “the need of the time,” i.e. the “unprecedented spread of sexually transmitted diseases.”<sup>176</sup> Urgency pervaded the organization ensuring that they could not “stay idle at any cost, otherwise the German nation will suffer serious damage to its health, which it would have to bear for many generations.”<sup>177</sup> They particularly wanted to help “innocent victims, the women and especially the children,” from being exposed to such diseases by the promiscuity of others.<sup>178</sup> The social hygiene references could not be missed; STDs carried

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>174</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + 10982, *Ausstellung: Die Geschlechtskrankheiten und ihre Bekämpfung*, 1919, 3.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>176</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + 10981, Die Ortsgruppe München der Deutschen Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten, “Euch Hochwohlgeboren,” October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, 1.

ample moral weight as an issue and Bavarians flocked to them as a means to not only protect health, but also the moral standards of a Bavaria becoming increasingly sexual in the new Weimar culture that increasingly turned away from social conventions and propriety.

No matter how tangible fear for children's health could become, much of the public discourse installed social hygiene standards amongst Bavarians. Yet another tuberculosis poster featured a very strong man – a sharp contrast to the sad women and the coughing man from earlier posters – who took advantage of two “curing agents” that the authors argued would protect people from tuberculosis: air and water.<sup>179</sup> Another group released a poster depicting a mother and kids playing in a field and by the water, similarly seeking outdoor exercise as protection from tuberculosis.<sup>180</sup> The suggestion to go outdoors and be active signaled a general feeling that interwar Bavarians were not getting out and about enough, particularly the youth who chose sex and materialism over Alpine air. That sentiment dominated throughout public health posters including a particularly sad image of a man drowning and the simple, yet incredibly condescending admonishment to the reader, “LEARN TO SWIM,” a grim indication of how little some Bavarians thought the youth experienced nature.<sup>181</sup> If the young confined themselves to the great indoors and city life, they would not only become susceptible to physical diseases, but would leave themselves vulnerable to other social ills, particularly alcoholism.

Staying with public health posters for just a bit longer, concerns over alcoholism pervaded throughout a state where alcohol consumption carried considerable cultural value. Readers will remember that a whole festival in Rothenburg ob der Tauber was predicated on the

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<sup>179</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 19.

<sup>180</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 25.

<sup>181</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 86.

ability of the town's mayor to drink a gigantic stein in one gulp. Often posters against alcoholism tried to limit consumption to social events and suggested Bavarians avoid drinking and instead work. Many posters warned against trying to work while drunk, often featuring gruesome images of potential workplace accidents.<sup>182</sup> Work place accidents maiming and killing Bavarians became such a problem in Nuremberg that, at the end of February 1929, German businesses hosted an Accident Prevention Week to address the problem.<sup>183</sup>

While admonishments to work sober prevailed, the most powerful imagery deployed against alcoholism involved depicting the harm it brought to families. A social welfare office advertised that they could help families impacted by alcoholism, conveying that message via the image of a child and mother looking with shame at a drunken father.<sup>184</sup> The Health Guard of Munich released an anti-alcohol poster in 1922, depicting a very drunk man with bottles of beer in both hands. The poster asked all alcoholics "Where is your sense of responsibility?"<sup>185</sup> The drunken man in question held one bottle in the air, in the middle of a swing directed towards a woman, crumpled on the ground, presumably from a previous blow. The imagery was clear; alcoholism turned men into abusive brutes and not the upstanding patriarchs needed in these hard times. The poster warned Bavarians to beware of alcohol because "drunkenness shatters body and mind, it threatens to frustrate and make you and your family unhappy."<sup>186</sup> Bavaria's public health community became worried about alcoholism not because of diseases related to over-consumption, but the social impacts that undermined much needed stability.

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<sup>182</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 80. Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 235.

<sup>183</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 111.

<sup>184</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 230.

<sup>185</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe C Amtliche Provenienzen der bayerischen Zeit, 48 Gesundheitsamt, Hygiene-Museum, 235.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

Bavarians, as can be imagined, did not universally abandon alcohol, but the desire to lessen its abuse remained all the same. One of the more interesting episodes of Bavarian prohibition efforts involved the Nuremberg District Association Against Alcoholism (BVN). The BVN charged itself with combating “the dangers of alcoholism” in Nuremberg by allying with other regional and national interests.<sup>187</sup> One 1925 BVN effort deserves mention: the time Nuremberg prohibition advocates started a non-alcoholic restaurant. Specifically, the restaurant, named “The Crown,” would not sell any alcohol, quite a changeup in Bavarian cuisine which, to this day, relies heavily on alcohol consumption. The Crown would be a limited-liability company operating on a non-profit basis. The BVN coordinated with women’s organizations in the city to get the restaurant off its feet. The primary financial backer, though, became the Bavarian Milk Supply, a company with a vested interest in providing an alternative to alcohol in Bavaria. This restaurant became much beloved by the Nuremberg prohibition community, but without the backing of big milk, many of its members were aware the effort would fail.<sup>188</sup>

The Crown had its uses, but prohibition efforts in Bavaria relied primarily on public education initiatives to spread their message across the state. In 1932, the Bavarian State Association under the German Association against Alcoholism requested a two-thousand-mark grant to develop a course for Bavarian teachers and welfare officials, as well as additional funding for continuing the scientific research on the “effects of alcohol consumption on Health, Mortality and Crime.”<sup>189</sup> Regarding health and mortality, a small propaganda war had broken out

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<sup>187</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 920, Folder 1, „Satzung des Deutschen Vereins gegen den Alkoholismus.“

<sup>188</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 920, Folder 4, Bayerische Milchversorgung, “An den Deutschen Verein den Alkoholismus Bezirksverein Nürnberg,” June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1936.

<sup>189</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 920, Folder 5, Bayerischer Landesverband des Deutschen Vereins Gegen den Alkoholismus, “Gesuch um einen Zuschuss von 2000 aus den Reichs und Landesmitteln zur Bekämpfung des Alkoholmissbrauches,” December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1932.



in Bavaria between those who backed prohibition and “big alcohol.” Beer interests sponsored and spread literature backing the health benefits of alcohol consumption, often deploying statistics that those who abstained from alcohol lived shorter lives than those who engaged in moderate drinking. Alcohol, according to those special interests, supposedly had lots of benefits: a useful remedy to snakebites, aided child fever, and, “when consumed in large quantities,” could cure people of bed sickness.<sup>190</sup> Better yet, the more one drank, the more Bavarian they were, as one expert declared in a speech titled “The Ethnic Importance of Alcohol, especially Wine,” before the German Wine Congress.<sup>191</sup> Their opponents in public health countered that “a very large part of our male world dies prematurely as a result of alcohol.”<sup>192</sup> More specifically, five to six percent of deaths of men between twenty and forty were directly caused by alcohol, a conservative number, they argued, because physicians did not always know a person’s alcohol habits when determining cause of death. Both sides of this debate fought using the same Potential-heavy rhetoric. The beer industry touting that responsible alcohol consumption would help Bavarians live their best lives while the public health community believed that the same substance would hinder Bavaria’s Potential.

In 1933, the German Women’s Organization for Alcohol-Free Culture, based in Düsseldorf, wrote a letter of thanks to the Bavarian National Association against Alcoholism. Evidently, the Bavarian organization had sent them numerous flyers declaring “Do not give alcohol to your children!”<sup>193</sup> The prevailing concern behind minors drinking was not alcoholism, but rather that drinking would cause Bavaria’s youth to take up a life of crime. Returning to the

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<sup>190</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 920, Folder 5, Dr. Bandel, “Alkohol Abstinenz,” *Bayerische Ärztezeitung*, Nr. 21, 1933, 2.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>193</sup> Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 920, Folder 5, Gisella Teleky, Letter to Herrn Stadtobermedizinalrat Dr. Bandel, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

1921 Munich health seminar, one of the lectures emphasized fears of youth delinquency pertaining to crime, fears that prevailed in the wake of the First World War. “Out of moral neglect,” the speaker argued, “delinquency necessarily arises; they are twin siblings.”<sup>194</sup> Statistics backed those sentiments, claiming that, in 1920, nearly four times as many criminal charges were filed against the youth than filed in 1913, the year before the First World War broke out.<sup>195</sup> The descent to crime began innocently enough, the speaker detailed, usually by skipping or abandoning school. As the war raged and truancy continued unabated, the youth engaged in other crimes, most notably “opportunistic theft.”<sup>196</sup> “Soon,” he continued, “it came to pass that for a young man stealing was more profitable and easier than even high-paid work.”<sup>197</sup>

An article in an Augsburg newspaper, titled “Growing Uncertainty,” expressed worry for the future following the repeated arrests of juvenile burglars. The article discussed the many complaints “that adolescents, who are considerably demoralized by forced idleness,” quickly turned to a life of crime.<sup>198</sup> Increased news of arrests and assaults left many across Bavaria with “a silent insecurity emanating largely from young people.”<sup>199</sup> Newspapers regularly offered up reports of youth crime to a Bavarian audience craving that as evidence that times were indeed as bad as they seemed. The article mentioned earlier highlighted several crimes in a very small amount of column space. The author detailed the time three young men harangued a saleswoman at a cheese shop when they refused to pay more than a small pittance for high end cheese. Another two young men, who the paper named, were arrested for burglary after being caught

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<sup>194</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + 13972, „Das Münchner Kind Nach Dem Kriege,” 1921, 35.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>198</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 233, “Wachsende Unsicherheit,” *Neuen Augsburger Zeitung*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1930.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

with stolen goods and a pistol.<sup>200</sup> In Munich, the Communist Youth League lamented that “the vast majority” of male youth leaving school had no jobs or apprenticeships lined up.<sup>201</sup> This situation formed a capitalist “army of the unemployed,” an army that took whatever jobs became available, regardless of “suitability, pleasure, and love for the profession.”<sup>202</sup> Aspiring engineers became carpenters, while leatherworkers became salesmen. The future seemed dim for a youth that did not experience an easy transition into employment. The solution offered by the Communist Youth League, namely communism, differed considerably from many Bavarian sympathies, but all sides of the spectrum recognized the problem of youth underemployment.

Another newspaper asked, “What is to blame for youth crime?” The author expressed “gravest concerns” over increased crime, but refused to blame “unemployment or economic hardship” claiming that those problems were “almost non-existent.”<sup>203</sup> Blame instead needed to be placed on the “carelessness, lack of restraint, and adventurousness” of this new generation that acted with impetuous abandon.<sup>204</sup> “Not infrequently,” the author observed “respect for religion, state, law and order, history, old age, and true merit are undermined” amongst much of Bavaria’s youth.<sup>205</sup> Such admonishments echoed the familiar critiques older generations have long handed down to their descendants. Youth crime provided Bavarians a means to cope with the increasingly complex and fraught world: it provided Bavarians somewhere to put their blame for the state of the world.

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Schulamnt 2801, “Schulentlassen und arbeitslos,” *Neue Zeitung*, May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1932.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 233, “Was ist schuld an der Jugend Kriminalität?,” *Neuen Augsburger Zeitung*, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1931.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

Ultimately, many blamed parents for the “still rare exceptions” of youth descent into crime.<sup>206</sup> Because parents had supposedly favored detachment, adolescents lost their respect for authority. If that detachment went unchecked, the damage to the youth could be considerable. As the author of the previous article aptly put it, “every generation forms its own youth,” and creates the potentially fatal conditions those youth live in.<sup>207</sup> To reverse the storm, “spiritual moral values must regain power over our lives” and the family needed to “become the fixed center” of life that would instill in the youth “a sense of duty, of personal responsibility, of custom and honor.”<sup>208</sup> According to various Bavarians, the older generation had taken their eyes off the ball when it came to instilling their values onto the youth, a reality which threatened the expected family-oriented future.

The Catholic Youth Support Club associated with the archdiocese in Munich, unlike the author of the above argument, acknowledged that, in 1931, poverty continued to be a chief scourge harming Bavaria’s young. “Bitter poverty has struck thousands of children,” to such an extent that “children being fed with only coffee or tea and potatoes is a very common phenomenon.”<sup>209</sup> However, adults did not help that harsh reality, nor were they easily moved by the plight of a physically disabled or sickly child, often turning their backs on a “morally endangered child.”<sup>210</sup> The club felt that such people, when confronted, spoke about “a neglected child or adolescent with some discomfort, perhaps even with a certain contempt.”<sup>211</sup> This club tried to set up a safety net for helping at-risk youth. They did not blame the young, but instead the older generation who not only neglected these children but also perpetuated poor morals that

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> “Was ist schuld an der Jugend Kriminalität?,” *Neuen Augsburgs Zeitung*, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1931.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Schulamt, 1305, Kath. Jugendfürsorgevereins der Erzdiözese München Freising, “Rechenschaftsbericht für das Jahr 1931,” 3.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, 1.

would continue to corrupt generation after generation. After all, they warned, many of the cases they received began with “parents separated...Parents divorced...in jail.”<sup>212</sup> The youth were endangered, but it was the adults who were neglecting their development forgetting that only the youth could “build a new world for us!”<sup>213</sup>

Many Bavarians felt they had let the shortages of housing go on unchecked, thereby plaguing Bavaria with a plethora of slums. These slums became the major targets of many progressive gatekeepers who attempted to address fears of Bavaria’s declining moral standards. The Mother’s Club of St. Moritz, based in Augsburg, believed, with considerable certainty, that the slums of the city corrupted their youth. These mothers proposed a revitalization of the city’s Lech district, which had ceased to be the home of a dominating crafts industry. In the interwar era, Lech became the residence for Augsburg’s poorest citizens. The area fell into in such poor condition that advocates for improvement claimed that the extent to which Lech threatened “families, married life, children, and youth welfare...[was] quite frightening.”<sup>214</sup> The district featured small, cramped houses occupied by impossibly large families. As the department asserted, “the half-lightless lanes promote hopeless activities [and]...perversions; the streets completely grant sinful freedom where an alley becomes the gutter of vice.”<sup>215</sup> Lech posed “the worst danger to the moral health” of the city, threatening to contaminate “external and internal public health.”<sup>216</sup>

Given the thorough conservatism of Bavarian Catholic culture, it should be unsurprising that many blamed the corruption of the youth on government permissiveness of sex. The Mother’s Club of St. Morritz, angrily exclaimed slums were proof positive “that apparently the

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>214</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 234, “An das Jugendamt der Stadt Augsburg,” March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1932, 1.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, 1.

whores are more protected by law for their mischief than we are for our children.”<sup>217</sup> This jab referred to Augsburg police’s lackluster regulation of prostitution and pornography. Those policemen defended themselves claiming that they were bound by the 1927 Law for Combatting Venereal Disease.<sup>218</sup> Before the war, prostitution had been illegal, except for state regulated brothels. In 1927, the Weimar government passed an anti-VD law that abolished state regulated brothels, which had become zones of rampant misogyny and repeated abuses of authority. Simultaneously, the law decriminalized prostitution but mandated that anyone observed to have a venereal disease had to seek treatment. In the effort to halt the spread of VD, the law lifted previous bans on the advertisement of contraceptives, a sore point for Bavarian Catholics theologically opposed to contraceptive use.<sup>219</sup> Many in Bavaria blamed this law, and those who enforced it, for spreading sex in public. Bavarians fretted constantly over the easy access Bavarian youth had to smut.<sup>220</sup> “Bad books, films and shows” put sex on display in new and graphic ways that the older generations felt helpless to stop.<sup>221</sup> In February 1933, the city of Augsburg made a firm declaration that such “filth” needed to be cleansed from shops and public spaces “with all due regard for the growing youth.”<sup>222</sup> “Magazines whose title pages contain nude pictures” needed to be confiscated, as well as those that contained “indecent advertisements or otherwise offensive writing or images.”<sup>223</sup> Unless Bavarians offered up models of the behavior

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>218</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 234, Stadtjugendamt Augsburg, “Gefährdung von Jugendlichen durch Dirnen,” March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1932.

<sup>219</sup> Julia Roos, “Prostitution Reform and the Reconstruction of Gender in the Weimar Republic” in *Living Weimar: Between System and Self*, 2006.

<sup>220</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 234, “Bekämpfung von Schund und Schmutzschriften,” *Nachrichtenblatt des Deutschen Städtages*, Nr. 12, October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1933.

<sup>221</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 233, “Hilfs- und Schutzbedürftige Jugend,” *Augsburger Neuesten Nachrichten*, Nr. 155, July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

<sup>222</sup> Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Bestand 36, Nr. 234, Stadtjugendamt, “Bekämpfung öffentlicher Unsittlichkeit,” August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933, 1.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid, 1.

they hoped to instill in future generations, many feared that the youth would descend into a cesspool of pornography and crime from which Bavaria would never emerge.

In a fractured interwar world, many Bavarians relied on formalized youth groups to help provide good modeling for the supposedly troubled, endangered youth. Many of these groups anchored themselves to political ideologies, mapping the values and future goals of their larger political organizations onto children. Such political youth groups formed throughout Bavaria spanning the political spectrum. In September 1919, a small publication called *Echo*, published in Nuremberg, was written by the German Democratic Youth Association of North Bavaria. *Echo*'s mission intended to help Bavaria's youth sort out the "transitional stage" they had entered following defeat in the First World War.<sup>224</sup> The publication lamented that the war had turned Germany into an Icarus, whose efforts to reach the pinnacles of power had left Germany burnt and fallen. "Our people represent the old," and it would take a sincere effort from the youth to find new culture, new ideals, and a "new, uplifting path."<sup>225</sup> The group called on the youth to take up the banner that the revolutionaries of 1848 had held to bring democracy to Germany. They asserted that "radicalism from the left [and] reaction from the right must not gain the upper hand," otherwise a legacy of German democracy would be lost.<sup>226</sup> While *Echo* displayed Bavarian proclivities for Tradition and Suspicion, their primary concern involved maximizing the Potential of the youth who they hoped would shore up democracy in Bavaria and Germany for years to come.

Despite the failures of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, communism still had a place in Bavarian political discourse and, by extension, had a hand in youth organization. The

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<sup>224</sup> Stadarchiv Nürnberg, Bestandsgruppe E, Dokumentationsgut privater Provenienz, E 6 Vereinsarchive, Nr. 606, Folder 1, *Echo der Deutschen Demokratischen Jugendvereinigungen Nordbayerns*, September, 1919, 1.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, 1.

Communist Youth Association of Germany (KJVD) recruited membership in Bavaria, particularly in Munich and Augsburg, where communism had its strongest presence. The KJVD provided all members, who ranged from age fourteen to twenty-three, with a small membership book that provided its members guidelines of behavior and standards for representing communism now and moving forward. Communist youth, the pamphlet argued, needed to be suspicious of the police and courts because, historically, those institutions had ensured “the maintenance of bourgeois state power” and, as a consequence, would “suppress the activity of the communists.”<sup>227</sup> Much of this pamphlet provided suggestions for avoiding police along with explicit instructions to not divulge specific materials or objectives to state authorities. In June 1931, a Berlin-based communist-themed youth camp proposed an alternative to bourgeois summer camps that charged parents to educate and enrich children’s lives, something that communists felt the state should have already been doing. They argued that the people “must wrest the working-class children from the influence of the bourgeoisie and educate them for class consciousness and participation in class struggle.”<sup>228</sup> This group recruited children from all around Germany, including Munich, to attend urban summer camps that would involve walks through host cities where the children would see the problems that plagued capitalist Germany. In particular, the children would be exposed to “the situation of the working-class child in Germany” that would be heavily contrasted with “the socialist construction in the Soviet Union.”<sup>229</sup> Thus, the communist youth organizations sought to help save children by exposing them to the circumstances that would eventually lead to their expected revolution.

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<sup>227</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands, *Mitgliedsbuch des KJVD*, 14.

<sup>228</sup> Stadtarchiv München, Stadtjugendamt, “An alle BL. der KPD, des KJVD, IAH, RH, Sportler, Freidenker, Internationaler Bund!” June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1931, 2.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, 4.



Perhaps more on point with much of the Bavarian youth club experience, the very popular Bavarian People's Party sponsored their own youth group known as the *Jung-Bayern-Ring* (JBR). This group acknowledged that the "youth belongs to the future," but that they needed to be prepared to have a political affiliation brought about by firm education, not "the empty slogans and hollow phrases" that dominated the present political arena.<sup>230</sup> In a fast-developing and ever-changing world, the JBR would ensure that the youth would have a "deep love" of Bavaria and be mindful of Bavarian values that remained "strong bridges" connecting the old with the new. The JBR hoped "to build a new Germany with strong hands" by encouraging young Bavarians to find "the right path."<sup>231</sup> The youth needed to avoid "the sad confusion of our days" and focus on "truth and contemplation."<sup>232</sup> More specifically the JBR hoped to instill their motto into the Bavarian youth's mindset: "For the Cross! For the Homeland."<sup>233</sup> As discussed in the last chapter, the BVP coded as a nationalist, Catholic political party prioritizing Bavaria in a new Germany. The BVP developed the JBR to pass those values onto a younger generation, thereby securing their ideology for the future, an ideology that taught its young members that "the only correct way to renew the people and the individual was on the rock-solid foundation of Christianity and therefore also patriotic thought and genuine action."<sup>234</sup>

Members of the JBR theoretically understood that "the concept of the fatherland is sacred" and that they needed "to be proud of our beautiful Bavaria country, of our peculiarity."<sup>235</sup> That would be fine, however, if that pride was not painted by the Suspicion that dominated Bavarian Expectation. Enemies constantly threatened to undermine the Bavarian

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<sup>230</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, Jung Bayern Ring, *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 1.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>232</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, Georg Stang, "Wir Alten und ihr Jungen," *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 2.

<sup>233</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, "Jung Bayern heraus!," *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 3.

<sup>234</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, Martin Luible, "Programmatisches von Jung Bayern Ring," *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 3.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, 3.

future and the JBR wanted to ensure that the youth were aware of those perceived threats. The JBR advised its charges to never forget “all those German brothers who have been snatched away with cunning and violence,” a very charged statement indicating that the World War had, with conspiracy and forethought by many with ill intent, eliminated a vast portion of German and Bavaria’s potential.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, Bavarian youth were told “the year 1918 brought us revolution, but not freedom; the year 1919 the Treaty of Versailles, but not peace.”<sup>237</sup> Thus, JBR instilled a distrust in the international community that wreaked havoc and prevented the creation of a “great German homeland,” furthering an isolation that helped reinforce the isolation and exclusion at the heart of Bavarian Heritage.<sup>238</sup>

Outward Suspicion operated in the JBR, as it did throughout the BVP, but the youth chapters also shared the BVP suspicion of internal threats that undermined Heritage. A specific BVP flyer threw support behind their youth initiative by painting a grim view of the various enemies plaguing Bavaria. Said flyer opened by warning that “Bolshevism lurks, robbing your religion, destroying your churches, driving away your priests.”<sup>239</sup> Additionally, “the terrible social distress of our time creates a bitterness that assumes frightening forms.”<sup>240</sup> Consequently, Bavaria’s “working youth runs the risk of falling into desperate radicalism.”<sup>241</sup> If those perceptions were not bad enough, the BVP assured the public that “unbearable political tensions” tore the Bavarian people apart, while “the restoration of Prussia’s supremacy will crush the Bavarian state.”<sup>242</sup> Times were bad, but surely Bavarians would not give into “pacifist reveries”

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>237</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, “Jugend und Vaterland,” *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 4.

<sup>238</sup> Martin Luible, “Programmatisches von Jung Bayern Ring,” *Bayern Wacht*, January 1924, 3.

<sup>239</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 + BS 2833, “Starkt die Bayernwacht Bewegung,” 1.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, 1.

and “make sure our young men are cared for by a movement that rejects any socialism.”<sup>243</sup> The BVP called for support and volunteers for their youth organizations who would educate the youth in Bavarian values and prepare them to make any and all sacrifices “for the defense of the fatherland.”<sup>244</sup> The BVP intended to build up a generation of followers immune to the perceived ills of their society. In fact, this new generation of Bavarians would, with the backing of their citizens, be the brick and mortar of BVP desires “to build a wall...a wall that defies the storms.”<sup>245</sup>

A wall provided an apt metaphor for Potential in Bavarian Expectation. Walls can define a space, like the ancient walls that surround Nuremberg indicating the older sections of the city. However, walls define themselves by what they are trying to block. A dam stops rushing currents, the walls of a house keep out the elements. In the case of Bavarians, the idea of a wall stood for a barrier to slow the onslaught of the new, tumultuous world. If Bavaria could surround itself with a series of walls to block the “outside world,” then its citizens could focus on making much needed repairs to their community. If radical socialism and exploitative capitalism could be barricaded, the youth could get reacclimated to the life of responsible work and face less temptation to turn to a life of crime. If Bavarians could impede access to smut, alcohol, and dancing, then perhaps the young generation could rediscover the traditional Bavarian morals to anchor their lives. If Bavarians could exile the irresponsibly sick, putting up a physical barrier between healthy, responsible Bavarians and the infested degenerates of Europe, they could raise a generation of healthy Bavarians capable of making up for the losses of war, epidemics, and the depression. If sheltered behind a such a wall, Bavarians could turn back the clock and save themselves for a brighter expected future.

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, 2.

Problematically, walls cannot turn back time, themselves an antiquated means to protect from the outside world. After the First World War, the globe became much smaller and vastly more interconnected. There would be no stopping American Jazz from invading Bamberg homes. No wall would prevent publishers from spreading pornography, nor deny access to Bavaria's expansive alcohol market. Walls could perhaps quarantine diseases, but like the poster of the disgusted woman that started this section, often all people are really left with to stop a disease is their own hand, hastily thrown up as a last chance barrier. A wall represented the Bavarian desire to acquire time and distance to repair themselves from the interconnectedness of their new era. The reality, however, was the disgusted woman: most Bavarians in the interwar era looked around them in horror, distrusting everyone around them, frantically trying to use whatever was available to protect themselves.

That exclusionary self-interest defined Bavaria's approach to their changing world and generated an audience ready to accept Nazi thoughts that security for the future could only come at the promise of exiling perceived threats. Be they physical, medical, moral, or racialized, everyday Bavarians readily adopted Nazi Segregationist arguments and willingly participated in a system that purged threats. The Nazi quest to rebuild the national community overlapped with sincere Bavarian desires to shield and reconstitute their ranks. Although Euthanasia programs and the Holocaust took matters a step too far, many of the socially hygienic Nazi arguments calling for firmer moral beliefs, investments in education, and minimizing the influence of globalism, found willing adherents throughout an Interwar Bavaria desperately attempting to shield its youth from the damaging and constantly changing present.

## Potential

On March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1922, Belle Kearney addressed the Business and Professional Women's Club in Meridian, Mississippi. A Mississippi native and former teacher, Kearney had built a long career as a gifted public speaker. On this occasion, she opened her remarks by praising women as her loyal compatriots, but nonetheless nodded to Mississippi men claiming, "Chivalry has not passed in Mississippi, nor the spirit of fair play."<sup>246</sup> The audience mollified, Kearney declared that she stood before them with a "heart filled with cheer for the future."<sup>247</sup> Kearney was running for one of Mississippi's two U.S. Senate seats, and her campaign embodied the multi-faceted components of Expectation thus far discussed. Her reverence for Southern Tradition was well credentialled by her background as the "tragic" Old South daughter of a wealthy Mississippi plantation owner who lost that capital following the abolition of slavery. She appealed to both conservatives and progressives in the South, the former because she expressed ample Suspicion over bolshevism and the latter for her long career as a suffragist. However, Belle Kearney visited Meridian because she had a great deal to say about the vital importance Potential had for her vision of the future.

A former teacher, Kearney became a staunch advocate for education reform, a sentiment near and dear to many Southern progressives who observed a steadily increasing education gap between themselves and the rest of the country. Kearney shared that in the wake of the First World War "it was discovered that one-fourth of our enlisted soldiers could not write a letter nor

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<sup>246</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, B/K21ad, Belle Kearney Campaign Management, "Address of Miss Belle Kearney, candidate for the United States Senate: Delivered before a public audience at the court house in meridian, Mississippi," March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1922, 2.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 2.

read a newspaper.”<sup>248</sup> Illiteracy ran rampant throughout the U.S. South; in Mississippi, Kearney intended to throw her support behind the state’s Anti-Illiteracy Association. Kearney called for the group to gain access to census data, lobbied for increased funding, and called for increased teacher volunteerism. The best way to close the education gap and boost the South’s competitiveness, according to Kearney, involved investing time, effort, and money into education, which would absolutely boost Southern Potential. While admirable, Kearney knew that altruism in the name of education would only get the Mississippi voter so far. She had the carrot; she needed to show her audience the stick:

“An aged white man was employed by my brother last summer to pick cotton. One day I said to him, “For whom do you intend to vote next year at the August primary?” “I am disfranchised,” he replied. “Why?” “Because I can neither read nor write.” That old man, with his strong body, his keen blue eyes and blonde hair unstreaked with gray was a pathetic figure. Illiteracy had stolen from him his supreme right in citizenship.”<sup>249</sup>

Literacy tests long operated as one of the primary ways white Southerners deprived African-Americans the opportunity to vote. However, as Kearney and many other Southern progressives pointed out these tests similarly discriminated against poor whites.

Kearney’s solution to the situation was not removing that sacred Jim Crow institution, but instead educating whites so they could elevate themselves, further securing white supremacy. Kearney had long held this position, dating back to her 1903 speech before the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Channeling the spirits of UDC women past and present, she claimed that the South struggled for forty years, “bravely and magnanimously” with the enfranchisement of “4,500,000 ex-slaves, illiterate and semi-barbarous.”<sup>250</sup> She continued,

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>250</sup> Belle Kearney, “The South and Woman Suffrage,” *Woman’s Journal*, 4 April 1903. Reprinted in Aileen S. Kraditor, ed. *Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Quadrangle Books, 1968), 263.

“Southern States are making a desperate effort to maintain the political supremacy of Anglo-Saxonism by amendments to their constitutions limiting the right to vote by a property and educational qualification.”<sup>251</sup> Kearney did not wish to return to the world of slavery, praising God for freeing black men, but as far as she was concerned African-Americans needed to remain subservient and know their role. She made that sentiment crystal clear by wishing black men “all possible happiness and all possible progress, but not in the encroachments upon the holy of holies of the Anglo-Saxon race.”<sup>252</sup> Kearney warned her turn of the century audience that white advantage was shrinking because industrial schools, like Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute – which she mentioned by name – educated black men providing them more economic and social capital than many whites. Eventually, such advances would lay bare the systemic inequality inherent in the South and “embittered by his poverty and humiliated by his inferiority” the only avenue left for black men would be insurrection.<sup>253</sup> Her solution in 1903 was “the enfranchisement of [white] women [who] would ensure immediate and durable white supremacy.”<sup>254</sup> In 1922, as she ran for the senate, she called for investment in white education. Both solutions, nearly twenty years apart, brought benefits to whites and hindered the development of African Americans. These fights, on education, access to the ballot, and on so many other fronts were waged over the long-term Potential of the races.

Bavaria did not have a readily deployable race-oriented rhetoric to mobilize segregating instincts like in the U.S. South. The Bavarian situation was more chaotic though because the region lacked one easily recognizable group on which to focus their frustrations. Rather, Bavarians acknowledged that their future continually grew dimmer, but they had no clear groups

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid, 263.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, 265.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, 264.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, 264.

to blame. Apart from being hostile to visitors and angry at delinquent young men and women, little presented itself to the frustrated Bavarian desperately looking for a target to scorn. Their true opponent, just as in the South, were complex forces far beyond the control of everyday people. Delinquency, alcoholism, crime, disease, unemployment, civic apathy, brain drain, globalism, immigration, underfunded education, urbanism, sexuality; these problems did not have easy answers nor quick solutions. Confronting them also involved surrendering personal autonomy, acknowledging that one stood as a small entity, swept up in a complicated system of interconnecting, pervasive problems. It became much easier to find some group upon which to focus one's existential angst. If people could find such a group to ostracize and hinder, then it made far too much sense to blame that group for perceived declines.

Potential and opportunity went hand in hand; the more people who competed in a zero-sum world, the less likely any one person or generation could reach their potential and succeed in an unknown future. This zero-sum, finite view of the world informed a simplistic narrative of self-interest that operated at the heart of segregated states. In the Jim Crow South, potential investors and tourists in the New South needed to be assured of the considerable advantages that white opportunity held over black opportunity. White civic structures needed to be preserved and strengthened in order to uphold the system of segregation that protected white opportunity. Finally, if the white race was the biological paragon, then it absolutely needed protection from the diluting forces of disability and miscegenation. Race intertwined all white Southern fears about Potential. In Bavaria, the story differs somewhat because there was not a direct racial construction to ostracize, only bad-faith actors. The diseased needed to be more responsible and the healthy needed to avoid them. Similarly, morally upstanding Bavarians needed to recognize the vice that had pervaded their communities and avoid it either with or without the help of the



state. Finally, the youth needed to be protected from poor influences and indoctrinated with the appropriate worldviews. These exclusionary and isolating tactics served Bavarians well, but also fostered mistrust and panic throughout their community. However, that aimless fear of one another eventually changed.

When the Nazis rose to prominence, they did so, in part, by finally providing Bavarians and other Germans with a racial construction to focus all of their fears and anxieties upon: the Jews. The prevalent anti-Semitism that long pervaded European culture provided a vast network of discriminatory justification to tap into. The BVP desperately tried to use Communists as the group Bavarians should turn against, but communism and socialism had a presence in Bavaria that ensured those thoughts would only go so far. Jews, however, became a useful group to focus anxieties. Problems over unemployment and economic difficulties could be blamed on a vast Jewish capitalist conspiracy to undermine Bavarian potential. Crime, sex, alcoholism, could all be passed off as symptoms of that conspiracy, as Jews benefited in some way from economic instability and cultural annihilation. Jews could also be blamed for communism and a new streak of secularism as Bavarians deemed Jews the traditional enemies of united Christianity who preferred exploitable divisions. Beyond conspiratorial Jews, everyday Bavarians could blame Jews in their communities for disease and poverty, lumping them in with the perceived increase of diseased, unassimilated immigrants, regardless of whether they were fleeing anti-Semitism in other corners of Europe or had lived in Germany their entire lives.

Nazis benefitted from everyday adoption of the Segregationist mindset that turned Jews into a racialized community for targeted segregation and hostility. For Bavarians in search of an easy solution to a complex series of problems, the segregated state the Third Reich installed did wonders. No longer fixated on distrusting one another, they could discriminate against Jews and

feel free to believe in Bavaria's steady recovery towards their best future. The problem though was that nothing had actually changed because Jews were no more responsible for the complex negative influences of the world than African Americans were for the South's own problems. In fact, a joke ran throughout Germany that during the 1934 Nazi Boycott of Jewish Businesses:

“Julius Streicher, the spokesman for the anti-Jewish boycott, received a telegram from a small town in northern Germany. It read: “Send Jews immediately – stop – otherwise boycott impossible.”<sup>255</sup>

Although the joke depicted a northern German town reaching out to one of Bavaria's most prominent Nazis, Streicher, much of Bavaria could have cited a similar reality. Jews did not register much on their daily radar because their population was minimal in the region. Resistance to anti-Semitism certainly existed throughout this region, but not in large quantities and certainly not in any capacity that would have undermined Bavarian efforts to realize their stable and privileged futures. Nonetheless Segregationists, like the BVP and the Nazi Party, received political support for promoting a nationalist message that cannot be separated from its racially exclusionary consequences. Bavarians lent support to Segregationist political movements because they believed, as these parties argued, that the key to protecting and maximizing their potential required drastic measures, measures everyday Bavarians could stomach because the prominence of Jews in their lives was minimal. The negatives of the Third Reich would be experienced by people outside of Bavaria and, therefore, not their problem – or so they thought.

Bavarians and white Southerners did not actually benefit themselves in any long-term fashion by participating endorsing Segregationist mindsets and movements. Their Potential still remained threatened by lack of access to education, increased economic strife, lackluster health care, complex generational differences, and secular, commercial interests. However, those forces

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<sup>255</sup> Rudolf Herzog, *Dead Funny: Telling Jokes in Hitler's Germany* (Melville House, 2006), 83.

could be ignored because nothing easy would ever resolve those problems. It remained easiest to turn on an imagined, racially-constructed group to ensure that what little they believed existed could steadily be turned over to the dominant group. Self-interest dominated Expectation, particularly in terms of Potential, because everyday white Bavarians and Southerners absolutely felt entitled to a bright future where their communities had access to the best opportunities for development and growth. If that had to come at the expense of people they already cared little for or barely had experience with, so be it; it was an all too small price to pay to secure their much-desired future, a reality Segregationists readily benefited from as they advanced their racist agendas.

## CHAPTER 5

## Segregationist Futures

**Three of a Kind**

On a crisp Autumn Saturday in Atlanta, Georgia, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1941, to be exact, the Georgia Institute of Technology, colloquially known as Georgia Tech, challenged Auburn University on Southern hallowed ground: the football field. Before such contests could commence, the “Ramblin’ Wreck Parade,” named after the beloved moniker for one dean’s 1916 Model T, had to roll through campus. This parade has evolved over the years, but in 1941 student floats operated as the major component of the pre-game ceremony. A float constructed by the Phi Kappa Alpha drew a lot of attention on this particular October day. Said float featured a banner that said, “Full House beats a Three of a Kind.” The three of a kind in question, represented by students in costume, were the Auburn Tigers, Governor Eugene Talmadge, and Adolf Hitler.<sup>1</sup>

Multi-term Governor of Georgia and avowed White Supremacist Eugene Talmadge thrived on controversy. His political career flowed from one scandal and abuse of power to another, but rural Georgia adored Talmadge, electing him Governor four different times, by healthy margins, over the protest of Atlanta voters. Talmadge’s abuses of authority earned him a controversial nickname, “the Wool-hat Dictator.” Always plain spoken, many everyday Georgians loved that Talmadge considered himself “mean as hell.”<sup>2</sup> A larger-than-life figure, Talmadge’s white supremacy dominated the political landscape throughout the state. During a campaign event in Moultrie, Georgia, Talmadge told an audience “before God, friend, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1941, as cited in Patrick Novotny, *This Georgia Rising: Educations Civil Rights, and the Politics of Change in Georgia in the 1940s* (Mercer University Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Rufus Jarman, “Wool-Hat Dictator,” *Saturday Evening Post*, June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1942.

niggers will never go to a school which is white while I am Governor.”<sup>3</sup> Education had always operated as a particularly important aspect of Talmadge’s campaigns. He often touted the need for increased teacher’s salaries, but his major hope, throughout his long career, remained the need to maintain segregated schooling. Talmadge made segregation a personal mission, hoping to remove from Georgia’s universities “foreign professors trying to destroy the sacred traditions of the South.”<sup>4</sup> He particularly hated the Rosenwald Fund, a charity meant to help African American students gain access to higher education; he called the scholarships “Jew money for niggers.”<sup>5</sup> His ardor eventually resulted in the 1941 firing of Professor Walter Cocking who had expressed support for integration. Talmadge then forced two protesting members of the Board of Regents to resign. The whole affair resulted in all Georgia universities temporarily losing their accreditation. That reckless disregard for the value of their degrees angered the Georgia Tech student body, along with many other Georgians, concerned over the damage Talmadge’s bigotry had done to their educational potential.

Talmadge provided scholars a unique case of a radical character who gained a considerable amount of everyday support because of his radicalism. That said, Talmadge did lose his 1942 bid to become governor, as he had lost previous bids for the Senate. The leash which Georgia voters gave Talmadge went only so far it seemed. However, in 1946 he was re-elected Governor only to die before being sworn in. Voters correctly identified Talmadge as a staunch supporter of Jim Crow and consequently flocked to the Wool-Hat Dictator to right the ship after the changes brought to Georgians’ social and economic lives. Even in a Georgia that had seen Hitler’s regime fall and the ills of the Holocaust laid bare, the Southerner most often compared to

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<sup>3</sup> Randall Kennedy, *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word* (Vintage Books, 2002), 9.

<sup>4</sup> Michelle Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South*. (The University of Georgia Press, 2001), 103.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 103.

the Führer, and rumored to have been quite the fan of *Mein Kampf*, received a firm vote of confidence from Georgians. Clearly, despite everything, many Georgia voters felt Eugene Talmadge remained the best bet to ensure their futures.

Eugene Talmadge entrenched inequality in a Georgia and U.S. South that still deals with the legacies of Jim Crow in a similar fashion that Bavaria continues to confront its roles in the crimes of the Nazi Party. These complex pasts are made all the more difficult and painful to sort out because everyday people long avoided bearing responsibility for their role in perpetuating racialized inequality. The Talmadges and Hitlers absorbed much of the blame for racism as everyday people gladly accepted the notion that they were merely stooges unaware of the sinister machinations of radical racists. Historians have had some difficulty making the idea everyday complicity in racism stick, but significant progress has been made. One cannot un-see images of whites in their Sunday best watching the lynching of an African-American or hundreds of Bavarians lining the streets offering up salutes to Adolf Hitler. The segregated societies of the Jim Crow South and the Third Reich did not rise out of thin air, nor were they isolated in a bubble. Everyday people willfully participated in and benefited from these racist arrangements and, moreover, lent support towards their maintenance.

As this dissertation has repeatedly pointed out, everyday whites in Bavarian and the U.S. South willing propped up Segregationist mindsets in exchange for a chance to realize components of their complex, privileged futures. That said, outright racism of the tone of Talmadge remained rare in both the U.S. South and Bavaria. It would be inappropriate to call everyday people Nazis and full-blown bigots based on analysis thus far. However, everyday people should not be significantly separated from Segregationists. In many ways Segregationist Expectation was structurally akin to the everyday equivalent: a blending of romanticized pasts

with suspicions of the present and a desire to maximize potential, all converted into a *mélange* of expectations both hopeful and pessimistic. Although everyday people often vocalized their frustrations and abhorrence with Segregationist vulgarity and violence, they nonetheless did very little to hinder the development and actions of some of the more radically violent Segregationist movements; the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan. In the Interwar era, everyday people permitted the existence of the Klan and the Nazi Party despite their known racialized hostility and violent extremes. That tolerance – and, in certain places, active, enthusiastic endorsement – came from the perception that, despite radical violence, the Klan, Nazis, and everyday whites shared a similar vision of the future, one in which Heritage and the privilege it inspired remained safe from the diversity of forces bringing about its decline.

Understanding overlapping Expectation between radical Segregationists and everyday people provides useful insights into everyday complicity in racialized inequality. While everyday people recognized similarities, numerous examples and anti-Klan and anti-Nazi literature in Bavaria and the U.S. South indicate that everyday people understood key differences between the pragmatic goals of their own visions of the future and the intensity of radical Expectation. For the Klan and Nazis the past was not merely idealized; it became sacrosanct. The anxieties of the present turned into the all-consuming nightmares of impending doom. Potential was not theoretical, but tangible and quickly fading. The future was not merely expressed in terms of optimism and pessimism, but rather salvation and oblivion and the difference between them was razor thin. Radical Segregationist Expectation intensified the inequality and violence of the privileged visions of the future everyday people endorsed. By severely underestimating radical Segregationists – or just not caring – everyday people benefited from the radical machinations of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party. The problem was, as this chapter will demonstrate, radical

Expectation surpassed everyday Expectation in ways that people in the Interwar era tolerated to the detriment of countless racialized others and their own historical self-respect.

### **Superstition, Ignorance, and Fanaticism**

In July 1923, Asheville, North Carolina drew visitors from all parts of the country, particularly those of considerable wealth seeking a retreat at the nearby Biltmore Estate. However, that month, an entirely different group arrived in the sleepy mountain town. Knights, Titans, Wizards, and Dragons found residence in hotels and homes throughout Asheville in numbers never seen before outside of a mythological tale. Not the stuff of legends, these Knights, Titans, Wizards, and Dragons were merely the titles given to the officers of the Knights of the Order Ku Klux Klan. The Imperial Wizard, the top Klansman, joined this unvaried crew for a conference on matters of importance to their resurgent organization. Many topics packed an ambitious agenda for this event steeped in expectations of a bright Klan future.

The second Ku Klux Klan embodied the radical white supremacist edge of not only Southern culture, but the United States in the interwar era. Thanks to new found Klan romanticism in the form of Thomas Dixon's 1905 novel, *The Klansmen*, and the accompanying movie *Birth of a Nation*, a new generation of extremist racists adopted the garb of the hooded terrorists that haunted the nineteenth century South. This new iteration of the Klan, however, differed from the previous version in two key ways. First, the second Klan enjoyed a very formal organizational structure. Benefitting from the examples of popular fraternal organizations and better communication technology infrastructure, the second Klan easily communicated across the country, helping the second key difference, the second Klan had a broad nationwide appeal. Not



isolated to the South, chapters of the second Klan spread all over North America extending northwards into Canada and as far West as Oregon. This combination of organizational structure and geographic presence allowed the second Klan to coordinate action, ideology, and message far more effectively than the first vigilante chapter. As such, the second Klan, which still participated in ritual violence and spectacle, became even more dangerous as a beacon of the white supremacist current running underneath interwar American culture. The Klan's broad appeal revealed that racism was not just a fringe, Southern problem, a reality punctuated by the August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1925 Klan march on the nation's capital. On that hot summer day, thirty thousand Klansmen and women marched through Washington D.C.'s streets, many of them with hoods lifted, fearlessly showing their faces and racism to America and the world.

Not a fad, the second Ku Klux Klan embodied a response. A response to the rising status of African Americans in the post-World War affluence that fueled the Roaring 1920s and the Harlem Renaissance. A response to the rise of socialism validated by the Bolshevik Revolution and the burgeoning Soviet state that contributed to the increasing number of immigrants fleeing to U.S. shores. A response to the increasing roles of women who, having gained the right to vote, began to take more and more prominent places in society. The 1920s presented numerous challenges to the definition of white, Protestant masculine hegemony and to defend against those challenges the second Ku Klux Klan returned, spreading their anxieties across the United States.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Recent historiography has explored the Klan as it existed outside the U.S. South. These scholars argue that the Klan more of a mainstream calling to white Protestants across the United States. The diversity of angles with which this organization that despised diversity has been studied is fascinating. A few works that speak to that diversity include: Kelly Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (University Press of Kansas, 2017); Kathleen M. Blee, *Woman of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (University of California Press, 1991); John M. Craig, *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921-1928* (Lehigh University Press, 2014); Glenn Feldman, *Politics, Society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1915-1949* (University of Alabama Press, 1999); Craig Fox, *Everyday Klansfolk: White Protestant Life and the KKK in 1920s Michigan* (Michigan State University Press, 2011); Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (Liveright, 2017); David A. Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern: The Secret*

The Asheville conference operated as one of many events the Klan held to coordinate their goals and messaging throughout their extensive, bigoted network. The proceedings of this Klan conference began with a call to service, sacrifice, and dedication. According to the leadership gathered in Asheville, a Klansman needed to realize he embodied “the soul of honor, possessing unfeigned love, showing kindness.”<sup>7</sup> Klansmen must be “honest, peaceable, and even willing to return good for evil.”<sup>8</sup> This tone may seem strange, but, much like everything related to the Klan, pull back the sheet and unintelligent self-interest shows itself. Service, sacrifice, and benevolence functioned as a means to prove a Klansman’s “superior worth.”<sup>9</sup> Klansmen demanded “the right to be useful,” not just “a passive law-abiding figurehead.”<sup>10</sup> The Klan viewed themselves as a privileged class of white, Protestant men that needed to sacrifice comfort in order to rise above the problems of the world to exert extra-legal pressure.

The schedule of topics to be discussed in Asheville spoke to the notion at the heart of the Klan: the U.S. would be at its best when run by white, Protestant men. If the Klan helped Americans remember that fact, the future would be prosperous. The Asheville meeting intended to discuss patriotism, education, civic engagement, immigration, the youth, women, the press, Jews, religion, and many other topics consequential to the future. The Klan constantly looked at the future, but through eyeholes that purposefully limited their perspective. The gathered Klan leadership felt that “heritages, more valuable than crowns of gold, are handed down to us who are the sons of such worthy fathers.”<sup>11</sup> The Klan built lofty expectations of their importance,

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*History of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); James M. Pitsula, *Keeping Canada British: The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan* (UBC Press, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> East Carolina University, Digital Collections, Identifier: HS2330. K6 A3 1923, *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, At their First Annual Meeting held at Asheville North Carolina, July 1923*, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 2.

anchored by an intense reverence for the first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan. That reverence proved essential as the second Klan believed that its predecessors had been the saviors of the South in its moment of peril. That being held as true, the present iteration could theoretically also bring salvation to a South, and nation, facing a different, but supposedly no less perilous fate.

The lessons of the first Klan were important, not only for the present iteration, but future Americans who needed to be aware of their ancestors. The first Klan had been “a great circle of light, illuminated with deeds of love and patriotism, and holding within its protecting and shining circlet the very life and welfare of our beloved Southland.”<sup>12</sup> The history of the first Klan set expectations high for the version of the Invisible Empire that presented themselves as heirs to this treasured legacy. With that legacy in mind, on November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1915, a ceremony on Stone Mountain in Georgia, the eventual Mt. Rushmore of the Confederacy, commemorated the re-establishment of the Klan in the twentieth century. Truth be told, the event consisted of fifteen or so people, but to hear the Klan retell the event, destiny filled the Georgia air that night. For many Klan members this ceremony became “the visible and audible manifestation of a reincarnation...of a force which has wrought upon life in men and tribes and nations down through the ages.”<sup>13</sup> Going even further, one Klan member remarked that “the angels that have anxiously watched the Reformation from its beginning must have hovered about Stone Mountain...and shouted Hosanna to highest heaven.”<sup>14</sup> The Klan established for itself a legacy that extended past Reconstruction, past the atrocities of Nathan Bedford Forrest, past an

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<sup>12</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 40, Item 13, S.E.F. Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonyokation Held in Kansas City, Missouri Sept. 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1924*, 155.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 157.

antebellum South believed to be “one vast Ku Klux,” extending backward to Martin Luther and the Protestant faith he bequeathed the South.<sup>15</sup>

Such a lineage, regardless of its validity, set very high expectations that needed to be remembered and applied to the problems of the present and future, otherwise centuries of development would be rendered meaningless. Klan ancestors had been “North Europeans of the Anglo-Saxon stock” and the Klan expressed pride in that lineage.<sup>16</sup> This ancestry, predating Viking warriors, supposedly founded America. “All good things,” one Klansman argued, “have come through Christian civilization.”<sup>17</sup> These white Christians had been “fearless pioneers, inheriting the aspirations of the undaunted, the ambitions of the idealists, the honor of the chivalrous, the reverence of the faithful” who built “a civilization better than the world has ever known, wherein free men may live and rear their children in liberty, security and justice untainted.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, America, in the mind of a Klansman, endured as the sacrosanct gift to white Protestant men to be protected from all outside intervention.

Klan Tradition faced threats by external forces that all Klansmen needed to regard with extreme Suspicion. Women’s suffrage, crime, immigration, communism, capitalism, internationalism, all arose from the perceived slippage of white male domination in the United States. That said, no problem vexed the second Klan more than immigration. The word “flood” featured frequently in anti-immigration discussions, along with other liquid visuals, like “murky waters of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that flood our beautiful land from shore to shore,” “plunged,” “immigration is poison and they propose to give us one-half glass today and one-half glass next

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<sup>15</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 40, Item 12, Elizabeth M. Howe, *A Ku Klux Uniform*, 1921, 18.

<sup>16</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonyokation*, 79.

month.”<sup>19</sup> The Klan considered immigrants “murderers, white slavers, thieves,” as well as “paupers [and the] diseased.”<sup>20</sup> They feared others immigrants brought radicalism to the U.S., not the nationalist radicals that made up lynching circles, but rather the detestable socialist radical who sought never ending revolution resembling – forgiving yet another aquatic visual – “water on this wheel.”<sup>21</sup> The simple answer to why the Klan leadership felt overcome by immigration did not reside in actual fears of crime or communism, but rather the “Un-American” perception of these new visitors.

The second Ku Klux Klan waged its own battle over “hyphenism,” as in “Irish-American, German-American,” claiming that “any sort of hyphen absolutely makes impossible any kind of loyalty to the American government, its ideals and institutions.”<sup>22</sup> These “foreigners,” the Klan contended, “did not come to regenerate America,” but instead labored to benefit themselves at America’s expense.<sup>23</sup> Self-interest certainly stood as a sore point in Klan Suspicion. The Klan believed very strongly in a sense of community, or what they would call “Klannishness.” Isolation within the confines of the United States functioned as a betrayal, and a contagious one at that. Not only did immigrants supposedly serve their own self-interests, but in doing so, blinded white Americans, forcing them to abandon cooperation to compete economically with both immigrants and one another.<sup>24</sup> The perceived decline in core American values and the expansion of “foreign” interests weighed particularly heavy on the Ku Klux Klan.

No “foreign” interest dominated Klan thought as much as the supposed interference brought about by international Jewry. The second Klan frequently mentioned Judaism, deploying

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<sup>19</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 59, 17, 11.

<sup>20</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, *Official Document from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama*, 1926, 8. *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 68.

<sup>21</sup> *Official Document from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama*, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 40, Item 25, *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, 4. *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klönvokation*, 64.

<sup>23</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

all the standard anti-Semitic tropes. In Asheville, one Klansman claimed that the Jew's "economic value to society is that of the middle man" who gains his wealth "from the emergencies and tragedies of the poor."<sup>25</sup> At the Kansas City Klonvocation the following year, a different Klansman declared that Jews "think of brotherhood in terms of dollars."<sup>26</sup> "He would have American wealth for his own."<sup>27</sup> Beyond financial stereotypes, the relative isolation Jews seemingly maintained from the rest of the United States frustrated many Klansmen. Klan leadership believed that the Jews had organized their own "Klan" many centuries prior and, instead of dedicating themselves to the betterment of society around them, Jews instead isolated themselves, working for the benefit of their own communities. Concerns circulated in Klan literature that Jews had successfully created a "Jewland in America," which would eventually become "dangerous business" for the United States.<sup>28</sup> Jews isolated themselves socially, religiously, economically, and even sexually as one Klan paper claimed that Jews did not often allow their daughters to intermarry as part of their own racial purity scheme. Klansmen very quickly covered their anti-Semitism by asserting that the freedom Jews were permitted in the United States "had not been accorded elsewhere upon the face of the earth."<sup>29</sup> The Klan clearly believed Jews had little appreciation for those freedoms afforded them and would "destroy the American group mind."<sup>30</sup> Anti-Semitism left the hooded leadership with a pressing question: why did the Jewish clan succeed whereas the Ku Klux Klan, a group founded on American values, received so much condemnation?

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>26</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation*, 145.

<sup>27</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 60.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation*, 145.

The Klan ardently believed that they were, at all times, under fire in a constant, but thankless battle for the soul of the United States. Klansmen frequently expressed frustration with the various views expressed publicly about their organization. For them, the Klan faced “slander of a foreign owned press [and] the unrestrained molder of American public opinion.”<sup>31</sup> The Klan took umbrage in not being taken seriously. This group of vigilante masqueraders despised that many in America deemed them “a peculiar class of individuals who delight to conduct sheeted parades.”<sup>32</sup> Anybody who takes the painstaking time to read through the “Kloran,” the Ku Klux Klan handbook on meeting rituals, will know that, despite the prevalence of the terms Kilgrapp, Klaliff, Klokard, Kludd, Klabee, Kladd, Klarogo, Klexter, Klokann and its plural Klokann, this organization took itself quite seriously.<sup>33</sup>

Attempts at mockery clearly got under Klansmen’s skin, particularly those regarding their signature hooded mask.<sup>34</sup> In one Ku Klux Klan newsletter, Alabama members were asked to remain diligent to ensure that Klan opponents did not “pull any fake raids or the like for the purpose of giving the Klan unfavorable publicity.”<sup>35</sup> The idea that opponents of the Klan donned the infamous masks was ridiculous but the Klan used this idea to condemn independent, “reckless firebrands with private hatreds to appease.”<sup>36</sup> The Klan publicly resented being implicated with violence stating:

“Any man of any color or creed who charges the Ku Klux Klan with being an organization which fosters and perpetrates acts of lawlessness and deeds of violence is either willfully blind or is a malicious, slandering, lying fool who, because of some inborn prejudice, seeks to

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<sup>31</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 60.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 130.

<sup>33</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Closed Stacks, Pamphlet Collection, Box 40, Item 24, *Kloran*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, 4. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, *Kloran or Ritual of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, Little Rock, Arkansas, 4-6

<sup>34</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 127.

<sup>35</sup> *Official Document from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama*, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Howe, *A Ku Klux Uniform*, 1921. S.E.F. Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 3.

destroy an organization that is law-abiding, and that demands the enforcement of laws by those who have been duly elected to office.”<sup>37</sup>

The Klan was violent, but the Klan leadership outwardly insisted they were merely an advocacy group. The leadership constantly asserted that they were “not anti-anything,” denying their “intention to destroy anything.”<sup>38</sup> Other people, the leadership argued, had “inborn prejudice” and were “willfully blind,” not the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>39</sup> Insults directed at the Klan did not reside in genuine, truthful facts, but rather came from “newspapers controlled by Jewish and Catholic influences.”<sup>40</sup> Klan members argued that these papers spread “fake news,” published false accusations, and created unnecessary unrest. In many ways Klan members gained more energy from such accusations, believing such vicious attacks indicated that opponents feared valuable Klan work. To that end, these attacks were “proof positive that Romanism, alienism and anti-Americanism of every type recognize the Klan as their most powerful antagonist.”<sup>41</sup> Clearly, the Klan was quite adept at disregarding accusations, defending themselves not through honesty or debate but rather awkwardly wielding their own blunted self-importance.

While these accusations and criticisms wore on the leadership, the Klan nonetheless relished a fight, particularly fictional ones. One 1926 Klan newspaper, originating in Birmingham, Alabama, featured a column titled, “Do you Know?” Below that question featured many different statements laying out conspiracy theories about Catholicism. Such statements included “That the Pope is a political autocrat,” “that a secret treaty made by him started” the First World War, “Roman Catholics compose one-sixth of our population and hold three-fourth

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<sup>37</sup> *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 65.

<sup>39</sup> *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 95.

<sup>41</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonselvocation*, 66.



of the public offices.”<sup>42</sup> The argument that the Pope operated as a hidden political autocrat stemmed from one of the major issues the Klan took with the Roman Catholic Church, separation of church and state. In the Asheville meeting, the separation of church and state featured frequently as a point of discussion, mostly regarding Catholicism. One Klansman asserted that “it is an axiomatic fact that the state has no right to interfere in matters of religion, and is separate and distinct therefrom, religions and religious differences and causes must not be injected into matters of the state.”<sup>43</sup> Believing that the government was filled with Catholics who held the Pope as “divinely appointed” presented a constitutional crisis that the Klan desperately fixated upon.<sup>44</sup>

The Klan expressed the fear that international ideas seeped into the American consciousness. They particularly focused on “the East,” i.e. the North-Eastern bloc of states in the United States, a place they contended was a “stronghold of alienism, hyphenism and un-Americanism.”<sup>45</sup> Those poor, misguided, and dangerous Eastern souls “appear not to have recognized the insidious character of the invasion they have permitted” because they have been “dulled by the superficial doctrines of the Melting Pot.”<sup>46</sup> Another Klansmen spoke, perhaps more concisely, accusing Northeastern intellectuals of accepting “the destruction of Americanism as an accomplished fact...befuddled with the philosophy of a Communistic universalism.”<sup>47</sup> The Klan, on multiple occasions, equated Bolshevism with anarchism and argued that it “and every other ‘ism’ or cult has for its object the overthrow of the government of the United States.”<sup>48</sup> Klansmen touted communism as incompatible with the American way of

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<sup>42</sup> *Official Documents from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 113.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 113.

<sup>45</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonsvocation*, 64.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 67.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 140.

<sup>48</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 124.

life, and as such, it would never garner Klan tolerance. Such intolerance was evidenced in a Klan flyer spread through Alabama that featured in big bold blackened letters “Communism will not be tolerated.”<sup>49</sup>

The Alabama Klan responsible for that flyer did not spend time pursuing the treatises of noteworthy socialists for a nuanced analysis of the differences between the free market economy and a socialist enterprise. Instead, the flyer had little to say about political economy, placing emphasis on the major sticking point Klan members had with Communism. The line below the indication that communism would not be tolerated read “Negroes Beware Do Not Attend Communist Meetings.”<sup>50</sup> The flyer continued:

- Paid organizers for the communists are only trying to get negroes in trouble.
- Alabama is a good place for good negroes to live in, but a bad place for negroes who believe in SOCIAL EQUALITY
- The Ku Klux Klan is watching you...Take Heed
- Tell the communist leaders to leave. Report all communist meetings to the Ku Klux Klan Post Office Box 651 Birmingham Alabama<sup>51</sup>

The eliding of communism with the Civil Rights Movement should come as little shock as that same trope would be dragged out countless more times during the movement’s long life. Klan Suspicion regarding Jewish isolation, immigration domination, Catholic theocracy, intellectual propagandizing, communist anarchy all merely indicated the racial prejudice at the heart of Klan Heritage. “Social Equality” “individualism” and “Universalism” combined to undermine the established white, Protestant hierarchies Klansman came to accept as the status quo. Therefore, any hope to maintain a white supremacist Heritage needed to combat these ideas and the stifle any African-Americans who would prosper from their advancement.

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<sup>49</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, *Negroes Beware Do Not Attend Communist Meetings*.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid

It can be tempting to look at the Ku Klux Klan as some ridiculous radical organization clutching desperately to both the past and their linens. The driving force behind the radicalism of the second Ku Klux Klan was not adoration of Tradition. No, the Klan found motivation from the Suspicion that the tumults of the 1920s and 1930s would bring about the destruction of white civilization they held dear. The Klan remained incredibly mindful that they fought for a white supremacist future. The Imperial Wizard, in his opening remarks before the Asheville meeting, declared, clear as day, “you must base your hopes for the future on native born white citizens.”<sup>52</sup> Another Klan leader claimed “the Klan is fulfilling a needed mission in urging upon Americans the duty of preserving America’s race heritage.”<sup>53</sup> Yet another Klansman, this time at the Kansas City Klonvokation, asserted “it is clear that if this state of affairs continues, the American race is doomed to ultimate death.”<sup>54</sup> Suffice it to say, countless foes made the situation dire for white supremacy and the Klan felt pressure to save white dominion and the race’s Potential from complete and utter doom.

In Asheville, one Klansmen aspired “to leave behind us foot prints that other men will not be ashamed to follow.”<sup>55</sup> A more verbose Klansmen claimed, “we must begin today to build bridges across the chasms that lie in the pathway of the American youth of tomorrow.”<sup>56</sup> While abstract, the Klan kept both eyeholes firmly fixated on Potential. For example, one assertive Klansman argued that “if we go on perfecting our plans and accomplishing our purposes within one decade of today every fair minded man and woman in America will thank the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan that they saved America in one of her most awful crises.”<sup>57</sup> Refuge in the past was

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<sup>52</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 11.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 125.

<sup>54</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvokation*, 147.

<sup>55</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 20.

<sup>56</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvokation*, 21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 36.

not the letter of law, rather various kinds of “progress” received ardent support, even those twentieth century concepts of a less seemly nature. Although not universal to Klannishness, eugenics made its way into Klan literature, as it had entered the Southern consciousness discussed last chapter. The Grand Dragon of Alabama used eugenics to criticize the situation immigration left the white American race. He trotted out the stereotypical assertions of immigration brining criminals and “persons of professionally immoral type.”<sup>58</sup> However, the Grand Dragon also took issue with “public charges in hospitals or other institutions from causes existing prior to their arrival.”<sup>59</sup> These groups of “lunatics, incompetents and criminals...value to the country would obviously be less than zero.”<sup>60</sup> That said, eugenics never became the dominant vehicle for realizing the Klan’s intended future. Rather, like much of Bavaria, Klan discourse on Potential considered children the best investment towards developing a Klan future.

A great deal of Klan literature dealt with issues of maximizing the potential of white youth. One interesting, but troubling paper read at Asheville, titled “The Responsibility of Klankraft to the American Boy,” spent considerable time demonstrating the value of eugenic science to the youth of America. The author asserted that public schools could be better supported in “the reclamation of deficient boys” thanks to a new budding technology, “scientific mental tests.”<sup>61</sup> Many, both inside and outside of the Klan, believed that these tests signaled preconditions for criminal or psychopathic behavior. This Klan eugenicist asserted that humanity had been “afflicted with weeds and pests, which poison and starve the springs of the mind.”<sup>62</sup> To avoid infestation, the author argued that “the mightiest efforts of science today should be exerted

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<sup>58</sup> *Official Document from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama*, 5.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 5

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 82.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 82.

in behalf of the children.”<sup>63</sup> The Klan spent considerable time stressing that the battle for the future, while fought on many fronts, needed to ensure victory over the minds and spirits of America’s youth. In Asheville, the leadership discussed the recent founding of the Junior Ku Klux Klan, a youth recruitment, indoctrination, and militancy group meant to explicitly “develop our youth into Klansmanship, a process equally beneficial to them and to us.”<sup>64</sup> These heads of the Invisible Empire recognized that “the boys of today are the men of tomorrow.”<sup>65</sup> As such, they wanted to spread Junior Klan units across the nation. By 1924, paramilitary youth Klans existed in Ohio, West Virginia, New Jersey, Michigan, Alabama, California, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Maryland. However, in the South, the formal Junior Ku Klux Klan never became terribly fashionable, despite the occasional appearance of a child dressed in a miniature robe. Instead, the Klan’s battle for the Southern youth occurred in public schools.

The Ku Klux Klan, both the leadership and organization, fundamentally believed that public education would realize their vision of the future. The Imperial Wizard opened the meeting in Asheville asserting that “the greatest duty of America today is to build up our educational system.”<sup>66</sup> He went on to say:

That those who come after us- the children who now prattle at our feet, may grow into better men than we have been, that their devotion to our Country may be more unselfish than ours has been, that a better generation of men and women may follow after us, to strengthen our government and adorn its future history is our dream, our hope, our inspiration.<sup>67</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan emphasized public education as an instrument to instill civic virtues and patriotism in the youth. Many local Klan chapters hosted parades, festivals, and fundraisers to to

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>64</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonevocation*, 74.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 213.

<sup>66</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 10.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 20.

benefit public schools. If improved, the Klan hoped public schools could become a bulwark of “American” values. Klan commitment to education included making public school free across the nation which would allow all children, boys and girls, the opportunity to experience a “God-given instrument with which the forces of superstition, ignorance, and fanaticism” would be defeated.<sup>68</sup> The irony of a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan hoping for the end of “superstition, ignorance, and fanaticism” was likely lost on a fanciful organization that nonetheless sincerely invested considerable efforts into public education.

Many Klansmen felt assured that education would eventually end “bolshevism, radicalism, and every other noxious ism.”<sup>69</sup> However, for that to happen public schools needed to deploy the most valuable weapon against such despised ideologies, the Christian Bible. The Klan proclaimed themselves a Protestant organization and they contended that “it is our obligation to God that we place the Open Bible in the Public Schools of America.”<sup>70</sup> Biblical instruction maintained utmost importance to the Klan as a foundational text that formed, according to the leadership, “the basis of our Constitution, the foundation of our Government, the source of our laws, the sheet-anchor of our liberties, the most practical guide of right living, and the source of all true wisdom.”<sup>71</sup> The Bible remained the primary educational issue for the Klan, but close behind was the English language. The Klan perceived that the presence of foreign tongues in the U.S. emphasized the internationalism that plagued their society. An English language law featured in discussions in addition to the prohibition of printing anything not written in English. Sacrificing instruction of the Bible or the English language would, in the mind of one Klansman,

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 116.

<sup>69</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonsvocation*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 61.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 61.

lead to a future where Americans believed that “Jesus Christ is a myth and the Bible a fable.”<sup>72</sup> Such a reality would indeed be terribly apocalyptic for many Protestants who entered Ku Klux Klan. If public school became fully supported by adequate tax revenue and directed towards “proper” methods of instruction, all “problems, civic and political, will be solved.”<sup>73</sup> For that matter, the school system would be able to find “tens of thousands of Edisons and Bells and Fords.”<sup>74</sup>

That said, the question presses; what would the much-desired future of the second Ku Klux Klan look like? A chauvinist masculinity operated at the foundation of Klan Expectation. The Asheville leadership asserted that the Klan needed to offer “the exemplification of noble ideals of chivalry,” that emphasized “the chastity of our women.”<sup>75</sup> One paper, titled “A Tribute and Challenge to American Women,” emphasized the notion that women should remain in submission and inhabit the domestic sphere. Emphasis on adoration for mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters further reinforced gender norms. While begrudgingly accepting that “the exercise of women’s rights in the affairs of the State is inevitable,” endorsements of Women’s Suffrage remained few and far between.<sup>76</sup> The Klan statement given to its female members that “no longer will man say that in the hand of woman rests the necessity of rocking a cradle only,” left a lot to be desired.<sup>77</sup> The leadership did allow “Miss Robbie Gill,” the Imperial Commander of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, to address the Kansas City Klonvocation, albeit after the reading of a report on her organization authored by the male Grand Dragon of Arkansas. In said report, the Klan vision of women became clear. Women needed to “pledge themselves to support the

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>73</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation*, 25.

<sup>74</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation*, 24.

<sup>75</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 45.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 87.

Junior Klan by influencing their sons to become loyal members of the Junior Klan and they promise in every way to succor this division of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.”<sup>78</sup> The Klan implemented a women’s division, but its purpose was not to operate as an organization of benefit to women’s interests. Instead, Klan women took on the responsibilities they were expected to carry out in the home, raise children and support their men.

A Klan future prioritized male domination of the public sphere. Klansmen expressed severe disappointment with the prospect of women voting and the begrudging support given to the women’s branch signaled the desire to ensure male control of women’s voting power. Such efforts spoke to a key component of Klan anxiety, emasculation. The rise of more assertive women was fearfully mistaken as rising effeminacy frequently featured throughout Klan literature, alongside the hope for a masculine future populated with “he-men,” “big, manly men,” “real men, courageous, who flinch not at duty,” “men of dependable character; men of sterling worth.”<sup>79</sup> It would take a “man’s Man to protect the women of the South, who were the loveliest, noblest and best women in the world.”<sup>80</sup> These men would embody “the sublime principles of a pure Americanism.”<sup>81</sup>

Klan leadership asserted that these men of character were to “protect the home and the chastity of womanhood.”<sup>82</sup> What were women and the home being protected from? Well, the simple answer, returning to the weight of Potential on Expectation, had always been miscegenation. The “mixing” of the races would, as far as the Klan was concerned, lead to the obliteration of the white race. Concerns over inadequate masculinity and more assertive women inflated fears of miscegenation to the extreme. An issue pamphlet on Klan policies declared, in

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<sup>78</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonevocation*, 113.

<sup>79</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 4, 129. *Kloran*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, 31.

<sup>80</sup> S.E.F. Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 5.

<sup>81</sup> *Kloran*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 36.



bold type face that the Klan stood against, “intermingling of races in social relations.”<sup>83</sup> In Kansas City, Klansmen argued that “we cannot permit a race so different to mix with ours.”<sup>84</sup> Yet again miscegenation faced condemnation, this time because of “infectious cancerous elements that are seeking to destroy America by malignant amalgamation.”<sup>85</sup> Spoken in terms more akin to eugenicists, the Grand Dragon of Alabama called miscegenation “not only biologically disastrous but [it also gave] rise to grave social problems.”<sup>86</sup>

What the world needed, the Klan argued, was not racial mixing, but instead “Americans to increase their birth rate, as rapidly as do the alien races.”<sup>87</sup> Concerns over black activism and a rapidly changing public sphere indicated that the safe havens for white population growth had steadily declined. The Klan took every opportunity to assure people that they were true friends to “the negro,” but that did not change their conviction that most African Americans remained “race-usurpers.”<sup>88</sup> Klansmen considered African Americans “an inferior race and Klansmen are sworn to protect him, his rights and property and assist him in the elevation of his moral and spiritual being.”<sup>89</sup> Those tremendously conceited, condescending, and paternalistic thoughts concluded with the promise that a Klansman’s duty first and foremost is to “the preservation of the purity of *his* race,” meaning, the Klan looked out for black racial purity by prioritizing and maintaining the white race.<sup>90</sup> The Klan worried that miscegenation would undermine the fabric of society. White women needed to be protected by white men who would be strong enough to keep their wives at home and create viable members of a new generation that would transcend the problems of the present.

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<sup>83</sup> Alabama Department of History and Archives, Alabama Textual Materials Collection, *Ku Klux Klan Flyer*.

<sup>84</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klönvokation*, 151.

<sup>85</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 132.

<sup>86</sup> *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, 5.

<sup>87</sup> *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klönvokation*, 146.

<sup>88</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 60.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 125.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, 126.

Klan Expectation relied on a fundamentally white supremacist future. White supremacy would forever remain the letter of the law for Klandom across the South, and the nation at large. One Klan flyer asserted “All of Christian Civilization depends upon the preservation and upbuilding of the White Race.”<sup>91</sup> The Klan felt that America had been specially created for White Men and anything else would be a “violation of divinely established laws.”<sup>92</sup> More to the point, the Imperial Wizard addressed his leadership in Asheville with a particularly strong assessment of the Klan’s vision of the future. He said, “in the future as in the past, the hope and destiny of the nation rests in white supremacy. It will preserve the doctrines of popular liberty which lie at the foundation of our government, these ideals which are enshrined in the constitution of the republic and our free institutions.”<sup>93</sup> The Klan relied on a platform of white supremacy and, as the above and oh so much more Klan literature indicated, the future depended on the maintenance of a racial hierarchy that placed whites on top. Only a future that not only recognized such a vision as valid, but also made white supremacy a lived reality would satisfy the radical nationalists that made up that all too visible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan. Everyday maintenance of racial inequality would not be enough to secure the Klan future. By dressing in robes, assembling in public, and participating in violent spectacle, the Klan actively refused subtle inequality to reinforce white hegemony; they wanted whites, blacks, and all other people of color to be made painfully aware, with stark clarity, that the future would explicitly benefit the white race. Such a reality meshed well with much of everyday Southern expectation. That is why many white Southerners viewed the Klan with more embarrassment than outright condemnation; the Klan refused to keep their mouths shut and in their ridiculous spectacle threatened to bring an

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<sup>91</sup> *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>93</sup> *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons*, 17.

end to any future Jim Crow privilege, but for many Southern whites the “good” of the Klan outweighed the bad.

### **The Deepest Sense of Ethics**

In a July 1933 New York Times interview, Adolf Hitler equated his own rise to power with that of an unexpected historic figure. Per Hitler, Oliver Cromwell “secured England in a crisis similar to ours, and he saved it by obliterating Parliament and uniting the nation.”<sup>94</sup> Yes, Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England who ruled in the power vacuum that followed the English Civil Wars, featured as a source of Nazi inspiration, and not just for Hitler. In 1929, R.W. Darre, the eventual Reichminister of Food, used Cromwell in support of his blood and soil ideology, a thought system that placed a racialized value in German agricultural roots. Darre reminded those who looked down on Germany’s peasant tradition that “it was the peasant Cromwell who laid the foundations of England’s overseas empire.”<sup>95</sup> While repeated references to an English historical figure may seem odd, the Nazi memory of Cromwell fit perfectly with Nazi tradition. Nazis considered Cromwell a Hegelian “Great Man,” tinged with historical destiny and capable of instituting significant change by sheer force of will. Nazi Tradition highlighted historical heroes because the whole of National Socialism relied on the notion that Adolf Hitler was one such historical hero. By calling on historical heroes and tying them to the actions of Adolf Hitler, Nazi Tradition bent already embellished histories to the benefit of Nazi actions, lending an abstract legitimacy to the brand new Third Reich.

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<sup>94</sup> Adolf Hitler and Anne O’Hare McCormick, “Hitler Interview in New York Times, July 10 1933,” in *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939*, vol. 1 (Howard Fertig, 1969), 429.

<sup>95</sup> R.W. Darre, “The Peasantry as the Key to Understanding the Nordic Race,” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, edited by Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp, University of Texas Press, 1978, 105-106.

In a similar vein, Nazism offered constant and adamant praise to Frederick the Great, the enlightenment era monarch of Prussia. Hitler offered a particularly gushing comment that Frederick II “compensated for the uncertainty of success with the abundance of his ingenuity, the boldness and decisiveness of his orders, and the daring with which his regiments fought.”<sup>96</sup> Chief National Socialist ideologue Alfred Rosenberg opined that Frederick the Great’s reign consisted of “the best forces of German history, the best ideas.”<sup>97</sup> Darre, via an elaborate thought exercise, argued that “if Frederick the Great had had the misfortune to be our contemporary,” he would be faced with a “group of Germans who would damn him utterly.”<sup>98</sup> Living in a demoted and downtrodden Germany, Nazi thinkers looked longingly on the examples of men who deftly engineered the expansion of Prussia and the eventual unification of Germany. From National Socialism’s earliest stages, Nazis hoped to similarly unify all Germans under their banner. To do so involved having, as Nazi ideological founder Dietrich Eckart asserted, a “substantial man,” like Otto von Bismarck.<sup>99</sup> Continuing, Eckart argued that “Great Men,” who propelled nations and people forward, must be “anchored in essentials” and immune to the greed of misused power.<sup>100</sup> Bismarck and Frederick received praise for their military strength, mainly because they understood “the elementary military concepts of honesty, loyalty, willingness, readiness for action, the spirit of sacrifice and comradeship,” ideals Nazis held in high esteem.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*, ed. Gerhard Weinberg, trans. Krista Smith (Enigma Books, 2003), 44-45.

<sup>97</sup> Rosenberg, Alfred. “The Folkish Idea of State,” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, edited by Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp. University of Texas Press, 1987, 65.

<sup>98</sup> R.W. Darre, “Marriage Laws and the Principles of Breeding,” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, ed. Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp, University of Texas Press, 1978, 111.

<sup>99</sup> Dietrich Eckart. “Men!” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, edited by Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp, University of Texas Press, 1987, 3.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>101</sup> Victor Lutze, *Here Speaks the New Germany*, Pamphlet #12, in [Doc. 2471-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. V. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 211.

Tradition often involved rosy interpretations of the past, if not outright fabrication. For the Nazis, the past existed as more than a remembered lineage to be honored; history was also theory to be implemented. One SA pamphlet immediately followed praises of Bismarck and Frederick with a warning that “the moment these figures had accomplished the fulfillment of their aims...a period of decay always set in,” a decay in which “their ideas were consciously or unconsciously destroyed.”<sup>102</sup> To stop this cycle, Nazism intended to turn every SA member into “the political soldier of the new Germany... immune against all kinds of political plagues.”<sup>103</sup> This historical interpretation meshed well with Nazi ideas of “struggle, of initiative, of heroic thinking.”<sup>104</sup> As such, the Nazis not only inserted these values into their historical memory, but also utilized those fabricated memories to validate Nazism.

Without a doubt, Nazis were the first *Sonderweg* historians; they repeatedly asserted that everything in German history had led straight to their seizure of power. National Socialists considered themselves heirs to a German historical mission that their contemporaries had utterly abandoned. Nazism would provide its future adherents not only with Germany’s greatest hits – strong military, more land, strong leadership – but also fix a key historical mistake Nazis felt plagued their present, the defeat in the First World War, which called German history into question and brought in its wake a liberalism that threatened to undermine the continuous path of German historical development.

Hitler once contended that “in 1918 we thus stood at the conclusion of a completely pointless and aimless waste of the most valuable German blood.”<sup>105</sup> In the various condemnations of the Great War penned by Nazis, both large and small, the soldiers seldom

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 214.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 218

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 218.

<sup>105</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s Second Book*, 84.

faced criticism. Alfred Rosenberg contended that “the World War laid bare the tragic fact that while millions sacrificed their lives these sacrifices accrued to the benefit of forces other than those for which armies were ready to die.”<sup>106</sup> Germans had rushed “to enter the service of the fatherland with ever-increasing rapidity” receiving little reward for such sacrifices.<sup>107</sup> Germany’s war dead served a fundamentally important part of the Nazi Tradition. German sacrifices in the trenches turned those soldiers into historical heroes, of the same merit as Bismarck and Frederick the Great. Rosenberg argued that eventually people would “realize that these twelve million men of the white race are martyrs; that all of them are both sacrificial victims of a collapsed age and heralds of a new one.”<sup>108</sup> Even Otto Strasser, the exiled leader of the Nazi left, believed that the “World War was only the first act” of a “German revolution.”<sup>109</sup> The Nazi thinkers argued that soldier-sacrifice produced the National Socialism that would restore the natural flow of German history.

To validate soldier-sacrifice as the origin of the Nazi Party, Nazi Tradition rejected notions that the First World War “had all been in vain.”<sup>110</sup> German defeat called “all the sacrifices and privations,” “the hunger and thirst of months,” “the hours” and “the death of two millions” into question.<sup>111</sup> To bring meaning to the World War, and the whole Nazi movement, the Nazis deployed Suspicion, arguing that the World War would have been Germany’s triumph, but unaccounted for enemies had undermined Germany’s chance at victory. Gregor Strasser, the pre-1933 Nazi number two, agreed, claiming that the results of the Great War “betrayed the

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<sup>106</sup> Rosenberg, Alfred. *Race and Race History and Other Essays by Alfred Rosenberg*, edited by Robert Pois, (Harper Torchbooks, 1974), 33.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 168.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>109</sup> Otto Strasser, “The Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution,” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, ed. Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp (University of Texas Press, 1978), 106.

<sup>110</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 204.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 204-205.

national interests of the German people.”<sup>112</sup> Other Nazi thinkers felt that the First World War had, by the end, become an exercise in capitalistic war-profiteering. Dietrich Eckart asked “Did we die for the benefit of the loan sharks?”<sup>113</sup> For Eckart, “the bearers of capitalism...conjured up the World War.”<sup>114</sup> Alfred Rosenberg seconded this sentiment arguing that “World War itself turns out to be for the most part a speculation of the western stock exchange powers.”<sup>115</sup> Easily taken with conspiracy theories, it is little wonder that Nazis looked around post-World War Germany with grave Suspicion informing their Expectation.

Nazi thinkers, authors, and propagandists expended considerable effort trying to spread their Suspicion across Germany. Sometimes that effort overlapped with their abuse of the historical record. A Nazi authored piece, titled “Luther on Judaism,” used Martin Luther’s virulent Anti-Semitism to demonstrate that “Jews at all times have been the same.”<sup>116</sup> The authors deployed Luther quotes detailing usury, blasphemy, malice, and the need to separate Jews to incorporate Nazi prejudices into German Tradition. By the end of the pamphlet, the author called on Protestants and Catholics to heed the historical legacy, not only of anti-Semitism, but Jewish manipulation. Giving into “the crush of humanism and tolerance” would “completely deny the insight and direction of the greatest German Protestant.”<sup>117</sup> While tolerance and pacificism complicated the Nazi’s long-term vision of the German future, the author of “Luther on Judaism” specifically called for fighting against “Judaism and Jewish capitalism,

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<sup>112</sup> Gregor Strasser, “From Revolt to Revolution,” in *Nazi Ideology before 1933: A Documentation*, ed. Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 98.

<sup>113</sup> Dietrich Eckart, “The Twister,” in *Nazi Ideology before 1933: A Documentation*, ed. Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 7.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> Rosenberg, “The Folkish Idea of State,” 63.

<sup>116</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS-Mischbestand, Sammlung Streicher 61, “Luther und das Judentum.”

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

which subordinates everything to the considerations of its money bag.”<sup>118</sup> Capitalist exploitation, particularly at the hands of Jews, dominated Nazi Suspicion.

Any Nazi future relied on purging “undesired” elements from the German national community. The Jews, as the “parasites” under which Hitler believed “the whole of honest humanity is suffering,” operated as the locus of Nazi suspicions.<sup>119</sup> Whatever problem Germany faced, Nazis attributed it, in some capacity, to Jewish interference and manipulation. Although Bismarck received praise for unifying Germany with powerful might, the Nazis felt he dropped the ball regarding how to rule the newly created, diverse Germany. The *Kaiserreich*, Nazis argued, could not handle the vast numbers of new people and so the true German “body of the people” began to dissolve.<sup>120</sup> Offering a similar, if more blunt critique Alfred Rosenberg criticized Bismarck for granting more influence to liberal, Jewish elements.<sup>121</sup> Rosenberg also mistrusted mainstream organized religions and called for their abolition because he believed they functioned as tools of Judaism. Otto Strasser focused on the dissolution of capitalism, which spoke to deep-seeded racist anxieties about the power of Jewish wealth. The Weimar Republic, or as Alfred Rosenberg would call it a “race-destroying democracy,” operated a Jewish tool to prevent the rise of historically minded people, burying them in a sea of majority rule.<sup>122</sup>

Nazism looked with considerable repulsion at an allegedly severely decaying German national culture. The rise of mass-culture and internationalism in Germany’s Weimar years called into question everything Nazism stood for. Alfred Rosenberg argued that “democratic, race-corrupting precepts” brought about “the carefully planned decomposing” of Germany.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 150.

<sup>120</sup> Adolf Hitler, “Speech in Reichenberg on December 2 1938,” in *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939*, ed. Norman H. Baynes, vol. 1 (Howard Fertig, 1969), 88.

<sup>121</sup> Rosenberg, “The Folkish Idea of State,” 65.

<sup>122</sup> Rosenberg, *Race and Race History*, 59.

<sup>123</sup> Rosenberg, *Race and Race History*, 158.



Nazism relied on the concept of self-sacrifice for the perceived greater good of the national community, but the rise of social democracy replaced notions of self-sacrifice with group rule, removing any sense of individual responsibility in the nation. Hitler attributed the rise of social democracy to the efforts of the Jewish dominated press that used rhetoric of liberalism and rights, in addition to tabloid journalism, to put down the superior individual in order to justify a mob mentality rule. Rosenberg provided very damning assessments of democracy, claiming that ideas like “freedom, generosity, freedom of trade, Parliamentarism, emancipation of women, equality of mankind, equality of the sexes...sinned against a law of nature.”<sup>124</sup> This “effeminate world,” created by the permissiveness of the Weimar Republic, had to be destroyed and replaced by notions of “authority, self-elimination, discipline, protection of racial character, [and] the recognition of the eternal polarity of the sexes.”<sup>125</sup> The Weimar Republic and social democracy abroad actively undermined society and needed to be replaced by a truly German vision for the future, i.e. National Socialism.

Beyond the fears of internal German decline, Nazi Suspicion believed that the Great War had opened the door for the rise of bolshevism in Russia, creating a severe threat to Nazi Expectation. The mere existence of such a communist nation, much less one so close, gave National Socialism considerable anxiety. Even after his exile and brother’s assassination at Nazi hands, the left-leaning Nazi Otto Strasser contended that Marxism remained “a deadly peril to Europe.”<sup>126</sup> Beyond its ideological trappings, Nazis argued that bolshevism set a trap for those too desperate to realize Marxism’s true intentions. According to Hitler, Marxism was simply “training an economic storm troop...with which to destroy the national economic

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<sup>124</sup> Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, 1930, 503.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 503.

<sup>126</sup> Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, Translated by Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), 95.

independence.”<sup>127</sup> Similarly, Nazi SS leader Heinrich Himmler equated Marxism with “mass murder and starvation” as well as “robbery and expropriation.”<sup>128</sup> Marxism stood as a “weapon of terror” that the First World War had allowed to dominate Russia.<sup>129</sup> Nazis believed that a historical precedent had been set and unless actions were taken, Germany and the rest of the world would fall victim to the Marxist annihilation of historical progression.

From its inception, Nazis touted their militant wing, the SA, as their answer to communism on the street level. If Nazism would survive, communism needed to be met and physically beaten. The SA then constituted an act of prescient defense. In National Socialist ideology, “the Storm Troops were and still are today the fist and propaganda arm of the movement.”<sup>130</sup> Continuing, “we have to teach the Marxists that the master of the streets in the future is National Socialism, exactly as it will once be the master of the state.”<sup>131</sup> Printed out of Munich, the weekly periodical *Der SA-Mann* reached SA members across the Reich, providing its readers firsthand insight into Nazi Suspicion. In keeping with the publication’s militant tone, much of the news regarding the Soviet Union focused on their military prowess. Articles detailing Soviet naval advances and the potential of the USSR to become a Baltic power intimated to the readers that not only was the USSR’s present existence a problem, but the time would come when confrontation became necessary. One article discussing the role of the SA in a new Germany explained that the SA must first “be the guaranty of the power of the National Socialist State against all attacks from without as well as from within.”<sup>132</sup> Nazi leadership knew

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<sup>127</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 322.

<sup>128</sup> Heinrich Himmler, “Farmer, Wake Up!,” in *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation*, ed. Barbara Miller-Lane and Leila J. Rupp (University of Texas Press, 1978), 97.

<sup>129</sup> Hitler, *Hitler’s Second Book*, 235.

<sup>130</sup> Victor Lutze, Writings of the Hochschule for Politics, Edited by Paul Meier-Beneckensten, in [Doc. 2168-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 775.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, 775.

<sup>132</sup> “Der SA-Mann im neuen Staat,” *Der SA-Mann*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1934, 1.

the struggle with communism functioned as a fundamental component of their ideology and the SA embodied that anxiety.

Julius Streicher, the Bavarian anti-Semitic editor of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer* lived and breathed Suspicion and conspiracy. Very few Nazis expressed as much virulent and radical racism as Streicher, whose offensive newspaper published many extreme stories, blatantly fabricated and often bordering on the pornographic. In 1933, Streicher argued that by voting Nazis into power, Germany had woken up, determined to combat “Bolshevist criminality” to the point of extermination. For him “the Marxist movement in reality [was] a Jewish movement...to make the confused, aroused masses into an enormous army of Jewish slaves.”<sup>133</sup> The Third Reich formally rewarded his anti-Semitism by making him Gauleiter of Franconia, putting him in charge of much of Nazi Bavaria. Despite such responsibilities, Streicher still spent much of his time railing against the ever-present Jewish conspiracy that threatened all hopes for a Nazi future. He repeatedly claimed that Germans “fell victim to the devilish poisoning of the Jewish world press.”<sup>134</sup> Streicher blamed Jews for the burning of the Reichstag building and prattled on endlessly about their supposed plans, often citing the fabricated *Elder Scrolls of Zion* to paint the tired picture of a vast and powerful Jewish international conspiracy motivated to destroy Germany and its new Nazi protectors. Streicher once indicated that a vast meeting of rabbis, Jewish billionaires, Jewish bankers, and other prominent Jewish leaders specifically gathered to discuss hindering Germany’s advances. Per Streicher, the meeting proved that “the Jews know that Germany’s victory in its domestic and international struggle for freedom means

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<sup>133</sup> “Der Schuldige,” *Der Stürmer* #10/1933.

<sup>134</sup> Ernst Hiemer, “Der Stürmer und seine Leser. Freund und Feind im In- und Ausland / Wie der Jude den Stürmer haßt,” *Der Stürmer*, #17/1935.

the end for Pan-Jewry.”<sup>135</sup> For Streicher, and much of National Socialism, a vast Jewish conspiracy existed that, while detrimental to the world, seemed personally aimed at Germany.

In the same way that Bavarians feared losing yet another generation of German youth, the Nazis were beside themselves with fear of losing a generational conflict with the rest of the world. A major component of those fears involved the rising independence of women in the Weimar Republic. As Germany’s “New Woman” became an increasing reality throughout the interwar era, National Socialism feared what a society would look like if women refused to marry and have children. Nazi anti-feminist stances often received criticism for their severe disconnect from the changing tides of society. A Nuremberg newspaper that leaned social democrat posted a large cartoon on their pre-election newspaper that mocked the Nazis as “Innovators of Germany,” contrasting that title with images displaying their backwardness. One of the cartoons featured a woman in a jail cell with a sign saying “childless.” The caption below the picture read “What is a Woman good for, nothing but sex? She should stand firm and have Children. Otherwise she will be thrown in Jail.”<sup>136</sup> This parody did not drift far from Nazi attitudes that very much viewed women primarily as wombs for future Nazi generations. Such a consideration placed women on the frontlines of Nazism’s battle to realize Germany’s full Potential.

In 1934, the Nazi government banned women from the legal profession. Around the same time Hitler gave a speech on the Nazi view of a woman’s role in society, in which he stated women in the Third Reich must be willing “to risk her life to preserve this important cell [the Reich] and to multiply it.”<sup>137</sup> Every birth, according to Hitler, became a battle a mother “waged

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<sup>135</sup> “Die Geheimpläne gegen Deutschland enthüllt,” *Der Stürmer*, #27/1933.

<sup>136</sup> Staatarchiv Nürnberg, NS-Mischbestand- Sammlung Streicher- Nr. 64- “Das sind die „Erneuerer Deutschlands!” Fränkische Tagespost, Wahlzeitung.

<sup>137</sup> Adolf Hitler, “Hitler’s Views on the Role of Women, September, 1934.” in *Documents of Nazism, 1919-1945*,

for the existence of her people.”<sup>138</sup> Women’s value in the Third Reich thus remained tied, almost exclusively, to their ability to give birth, raise, and educate children. A joke ran throughout Nazi Germany that famous Nazi leader Hermann Goering, an enthusiast of medals and accolades, had switched sexes, becoming a woman so that he could have a chance at a medal given to prolific Nazi mothers. The Third Reich did present women with various incentives for child-birth to rejuvenate Germany’s population. Most famously, the June 1933 Law for the Reduction of Unemployment’s fifth section laid out an in-depth incentive structure for a young family to produce multiple children. Under this law, in a marriage between two German citizens – a category that would be meticulously defined in racialized terms – if the wife left her job, the government provided the couple a substantial loan in the form of vouchers for household goods and luxuries. A strict condition of the loan called for the wife to remain unemployed throughout the duration of the loan term. However, for each child the couple gave birth to a fourth of the loan would be forgiven. Therefore, if a couple had four children, they received a free one-thousand marks from the government. The Nazi government viewed the loan program as a great success, citing figures in 1935 that there had been a 27.3 percent increase in marriage and 86,503 more births over the first six months of the program.<sup>139</sup> These statistics, likely fabricated, represented a sincere belief in Potential, choosing to maximize German capability first and foremost through increased births.

Unlike Bavarians who focused on public health in the present, Nazis divorced themselves from the living present, favoring long-term initiatives. In many ways Nazi discourse on Potential considered the present generation a lost cause, only useful as an initial blueprint for what an

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edited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham. (Jonathan Cape, 1974), 365.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, 364.

<sup>139</sup> Fritz Reinhardt, “Reinhardt on the Economic Recovery, January 29, 1935,” in *Documents on Nazism, 1919-1945*, ed. Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (London: Jonathan Cape, 1974), 367.

eventual Nazi citizenry might look like. That spirit permeated Nazism, especially the SA which Nazism needed to become a “school for practical National Socialism for all German men.”<sup>140</sup> The present generation of SA men however would primarily set an example for the rest of the German people, becoming “a bridge over which the present-day German youth can march free and unhampered as the first generation into the formed Third Reich.”<sup>141</sup> Essentially, the SA needed to hold down the fort until the next generation had been readied and prepared. For a Nazi vision of the future to flourish, the SA needed to not only fight and defend ideology in the streets but help the next generation of Nazis develop. However, the heavy lifting of child indoctrination and preparation would be left to the notorious Hitler Youth, an organization that operated as the living, breathing embodiment of Nazi Potential.

In December 1936, the Hitler Youth became the official organization responsible for the ideological development of Germany’s youth. In step with Nazi concerns over Potential, the law formalizing the Hitler Youth declared that “the future of the German nation depends upon its youth, and German youth shall have to be prepared for its future duties.”<sup>142</sup> The Hitler Youth operated as the Nazi Party’s youth group, similar to other such groups attached to political parties mentioned in the previous chapter. The formalization of the Hitler Youth represented a commitment to indoctrinate children in National Socialist thought, children who would either advance through Nazi ranks or perpetuate that ideology throughout everyday society until they got married, had children, and sent those children for their own Nazi education. If the Third Reich had lasted for multiple generations, this vision would have been realized as the Nazis had,

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<sup>140</sup> Victor Lutze, *Writings of the Hochschule for Politics*, Edited by Paul Meier-Beneckensten, in [Doc. 2168-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 775.

<sup>141</sup> “Der SA-Mann im neuen Staat,” 1.

<sup>142</sup> “Law on the Hitler Youth,” December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1936, in [Doc. 1392-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 972.

during their brief rule, already created die hard, ideologically driven youth who were compelled to die in defense of the collapsing Nazi state at the end of the Second World War.

In keeping with the spirit of biding time, Nazi youth activities often transplanted themselves on top of existing German youth festivities. For example, in Bamberg, a summer youth festival had frequently been held and in 1933, the first summer of Nazi rule, the Hitler Youth made a prominent presence at the event.<sup>143</sup> The following year, the festival became far more Nazified, featuring a march of the SS, SA, and Hitler Youth all decked out in full regalia, brandishing swastikas and shouting out calls of “Heil Hitler” that rang throughout the *Residenz*. That year, the Nazi-directed Bamberg government declared the festival to be a celebration against “all international enemies of German freedom,” turning the previously apolitical event into an ideologically driven parade.<sup>144</sup> In 1935, the festival emphasized the need to end class warfare, a Nazi argument that ostensibly called for unity under their banner thus eliminating the political opposition throughout Bavaria and Germany. Although the festival had been referred to as the “German Youth Festival,” the Nazi takeover culminated in 1937, when the festival became known as “Hitler Youth German Youth Festival.” Bamberg became further synonymous with Nazi Youth activities when, in July 1938, the female equivalent of the Hitler Youth, the BDM, held a two-week gathering of young German women. As the city prepared, they estimated that nearly six-thousand young women would visit, making Bamberg “the city of the BDM!”<sup>145</sup> Both festivals prominently featured Nazi iconography alongside the images of healthy, happy, active youth flourishing in Bamberg, one of the most Bavarian places in the whole state. The Nazis hosted numerous such events across Germany, trying to relay an image of their Expectation that

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<sup>143</sup>Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 20386, Deutsches Jugendfest, “Fest der Jugend,” *Bamberger Tagblatt*, June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

<sup>144</sup>Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 20386, Deutsches Jugendfest, *Bamberger Tagblatt*, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

<sup>145</sup>Stadtarchiv Bamberg, Hauptregistratur, C 2 + 30216, *Bayerische Ostmark*. July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1938.

as more and more youth adopted Nazism, their Potential would place the German future on increasingly surer footing.

Beyond the measures of indoctrinating and developing a model youth, the Nazis worked to craft an elite group of German men. The *Schutzstaffel*, or as they were better known SS, formed not only an elite honor guard and political squad for Hitler, but, as their leader Heinrich Himmler had declared, they would also “create an order of good blood which is able to serve Germany.”<sup>146</sup> The SS, through responsible breeding practices, would pass down “these virtues as a full heritage.”<sup>147</sup> Before ever gaining power, the Nazi leadership put strict regulations on SS membership to ensure this new order would consist of only “Nordic German men,” upon who “the future of our folk rests in the selectiveness and preservation of the race.”<sup>148</sup> The Nazis built up the SS through strict control of marriage and procreation, an apt term as SS documents relating to sex were devoid of romance, favoring harsh eugenic terminology for sexual intercourse. A race and settlement office selected “mates of the SS men and promote[d] the creation of child-rich families,” with an emphasis on racially and biologically superior pairings.<sup>149</sup> The Great War had taken much of Germany’s racial potential, which left it presently weak for the struggles ahead. Only by pulling together the remaining “best blood” of the German race did the Nazis feel they had a chance to revive the race.

Men became the driving force of this renewal effort; responsibility fell on their shoulders

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<sup>146</sup> Heinrich Himmler, “Himmler’s Address to Officers of the SS-Leibstandarte ‘Adolf Hitler’ on the ‘Day of Metz’” in [Doc. 1918-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 558.

<sup>147</sup> Heinrich Himmler, “The New Germany Speaks Here, Book 11,” 1936, in [Doc. 1815-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 489.

<sup>148</sup> Writings of the Hochschule for Politics- History and Structure of the SS” in [Doc. 2284-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 976.

<sup>149</sup> “SS Soldier Friend,” 1942, in [Doc. 2825-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. V. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 462.



to ensure they had four racially viable sons, a matter which was deemed not private, but “his duty towards his ancestors and our people.”<sup>150</sup> Himmler explained that “a nation which has an average of four sons per family can venture a war: if two of them die, two transplant the name.”<sup>151</sup> Forward thinking as ever, the SS recognized that war would serve a key function in the Nazi future. On numerous occasions, Hitler stressed that military expansion and seizure of *Lebensraum* would elevate the German race’s power to unprecedented levels. He blamed Germany’s present land shortage on the much-despised Treaty of Versailles. A smaller Germany would remain dependent on trade with other nations and could be subjected to another Hunger Blockade. The only way Germany would be able to reach its Potential would be through war. If the best of the German race were to have any chance in this future battle, Germany needed more SS men.

The SS did not focus too much on the roles of the women brought into this arrangement beyond the entirely unflattering term “mate.” The SS intended to “place and care for racially and biologically and hereditarily valuable pregnant women,” but only after they had gone through a thorough screening process to determine if the SS could expect them to “produce equally valuable children.”<sup>152</sup> However, the Third Reich did create a certain accommodation for women. In October 1939, the Nazi government issued an order to the SS that said, in no uncertain terms, “German women and girls of good blood can fulfill a high obligation even out of wedlock by becoming mothers of children of soldiers going to the front.”<sup>153</sup> Such acts were not considered evidence of “promiscuity,” but instead bed rocked in “the deepest sense of ethics.”<sup>154</sup> Like other

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 465.

<sup>151</sup> Himmler’s Address to Officers of the SS-Leibstandarte “Adolf Hitler” on the “Day of Metz,” 557.

<sup>152</sup> “SS Order for the Entire SS and Police,” 1939, in [Doc. 2825-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. V. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 466.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 466.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 466.

German women, SS wives and mothers received acknowledgment in terms of their ability to produce viable children for the future. Apart from that role, the SS had little use in spending time demarcating a further space for women. Himmler's most "flattering" praise of women came hand in hand with men saying that "SS men and you mothers of these children" should have felt considerable honor because childbirth showed faith not only in Hitler and National Socialism, but also "the willingness to do your share for the perpetuation of our blood and our people."<sup>155</sup> The greatest honor then, for any woman, remained the act of bringing a child into the world, at least as far as the SS concerned itself.

Turning to SS progeny, what was the goal for these children born out of careful eugenic construction? The daughters had a destiny as mothers and wives ahead of them, but the sons entered a stringent selection process to determine if they too would become future SS members. Candidates took exams, both physical and mental, to determine their fit; even in the event of failure the SS assured them that "many possibilities" existed to "make oneself useful to the nation."<sup>156</sup> Acceptable candidates immediately became "bound to the National Socialist ideology" and were expected to embrace "the most valuable elements of the young German generation."<sup>157</sup> These children became the true hope for a new Nazi elite. They would help usher in a new era and lead the rest of the *Volksgemeinschaft* through the process of its own strengthening. These children operated as the fundamental component of a new world order, one that would eventually bring to fruition "a new, destined community of Europe into whose spearhead, standard-bearer, and elite troop the SS has made itself."<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 467.

<sup>156</sup> "The SS Calls You," in [Doc. 3429-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. V. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 133.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 134.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 134.

Future generations would ultimately bring the Nazi vision to reality, not the present citizens and leaders. That understanding can be found throughout Nazism, but particularly in a 1935 *Der Stürmer* article which argued that, even at the end of their lives, Nazi citizens served an all-important function:

“But these gentlemen still have a duty to fulfill. The day will come when they lie on their deathbeds. In the moment they give up their souls, they perform the best deed of their lives! They make room! They leave room in the sun for a forward-striving youth! A youth trained in the school of National Socialism! A youth that early on learned to love the *Stürmer*! A youth trained by the Hitler Youth, the Labor Service, the people’s army, and the S.A.! A youth that will solve the racial question! *Der Stürmer* greets this youth. No battle is too hard for it!”<sup>159</sup>

Echoing such a sentiment the SS were told by Himmler that “when fate determines sooner or later, that as the first generation of the SS, we are no more, then we can hand down these virtues as a full heritage, as the best tradition to those, who are SS men after us.”<sup>160</sup> Thus every living Nazi operated as “a part of the future in a sad present” because they had “paved the way for the new Germany.”<sup>161</sup>

The Nazi vision of the future thus divorced itself severely from the present in a way that everyday Bavarian Expectation never could. Everyday people could and did make sacrifices for the future, but not to the severe detriment of the present. Everyday Bavarians actively worked to ensure that the present could strengthen itself to inform the development of a better future. Bavarians underestimated the willingness of Nazis to look wantonly towards their desired future with reckless disregard for the present. Bavarians who had advocated building a metaphorical wall to shelter themselves in their postwar recovery hardly envisioned a future where they would

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<sup>159</sup> Ernst Hiemer, “Der Stürmer und seine Leser. Freund und Feind im In- und Ausland / Wie der Jude den Stürmer haßt.”

<sup>160</sup> Himmler, “The New Germany Speaks Here,” 489.

<sup>161</sup> Ernst Bayer, *The History of the SA, 1938* in [Doc. 2168-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 778. Victor Lutze, *Here Speaks the New Germany*, 211.

be dragged into another global war. While anti-Semitism prevailed in Bavaria, it is relatively impossible to find a coherent anti-Semitic strategy for the future that everyday Bavarians could get behind. Their anti-Semitism was general and stereotypical. While the racialized state the Nazis developed did not face much opposition, Bavarians did not envision the mass-murder of Jews in an industrial genocide. Everyday Bavarians, much like many everyday Germans and nationalist politicians, miscalculated the seriousness with which the Nazis pursued their radical agenda. The belief that the Nazis were a normal political party interested in maintaining a normal government led Bavarians down a path not towards their desired future, but a much darker future, unwanted by everyday Bavarians seeking to preserve their Heritage in a complicated Interwar world.

### **Radical Expectation**

Amid the reconstruction and renewal of the German race, a telling conversation occurred between members of the Nazi leadership: Joseph Goebbels, – the Nazi Propaganda Minister – Herman Goering, – Hitler’s number two – and Reinhard Heydrich – SS member and Holocaust proponent – as well as many other key leaders. During the meeting, Goebbels was particularly animated. With shock in his voice, he exclaimed “it is still possible today that a Jew shares a compartment in a sleeping car with a German.”<sup>162</sup> This revelation elicited a strong reaction from those attending. Goering replied that it would make sense to give Jews and Germans separate compartments. Panicked, Goebbels asked what if the train was packed? Goering, trying to sooth

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<sup>162</sup> “Stenographic Report of the Meeting on “The Jewish Question” Under the Chairmanship of Field Marshall Goering in the Reichs Air Force, 12 November 1928. in [Doc 1816-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 432.

the diminutive propagandist, proposed that Jews would only have access to one cart, all the Jews after that cart filled up would be out of luck. Not eased in the slightest, Goebbels pressed, “suppose, though there won’t be many Jews going on the express train to Munich, suppose there would be two Jews in the train and the other compartments would be overcrowded. These two Jews would then have a compartment all to themselves.”<sup>163</sup> Contemplating such a grave concern, Goering asserted that in that event no law would be needed, “we’ll kick [the Jews] out and he’ll have to sit alone in the toilet all the way!” Goebbels remained unsatisfied claiming there ought to be a law preventing his imagined disaster as well as “a decree barring Jews from German beaches and resorts. Last summer....”<sup>164</sup>

That long conversation continued, provoking debates over Jewish access to resorts, forests, parks, schools, and long-distance phone calls. This meeting counted as just one of many meetings and conversations centered on the Nazi solution to Germany’s “Jewish Problem.” If the efforts to create a renewed German race were going to be successful in any way, shape, or form, Nazis needed a solution to the presence of Jews in Germany. Opinions varied across the Nazi leadership, as typified in the above meeting. Goebbels expressed panic at accidentally meeting a Jewish person. Goering rest assured of a German’s position in the Reich’s social hierarchy. Heydrich took a hardline position arguing for further isolation and exclusion. In that same conversation, he argued that, as many Germans could not benefit from various cultural and relaxation activities, Jews certainly did not deserve access to these activities.

These debates raged on as Nazi leadership tried to do something new and heinous, installing a segregated society. Installing segregation in Germany was a gradual effort, but the above conversation occurred on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1938, barely a day after the infamous

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 432-433.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 433.

Kristallnacht violence that saw Jewish stores and synagogues burned, Jews beaten and killed, and the bill for it laid at the feet of the very Jewish victims harmed. Even at this advanced stage of the Reich, the solution to the Jewish problem had no definitive answer. Continued segregation seemed to be the prevailing preference. Hand in hand with building a new race went the removal of influence and presence of Jews in German society. The Nazi future could not exist in a world where Jews and Germans were equal under the law. Segregation would manifest that belief and back it with the force of law.

Both the Ku Klux Klan and National Socialist German Workers Party expressed a firm appreciation for their past and felt the need to carry on important legacies. Those glorified and fabricated legacies often validated the Klan and Nazism's existence, but neither group intended on duplicating the past. Klan leadership did not advocate bringing back the institution of slavery, although they certainly wanted African Americans to be subordinate and less than second-class citizens. The Third Reich was not an attempt to bring back a monarchy, absolute or constitutional, but instead a new government experimenting with installing a state sponsored racial hierarchy. Both honored the past, but not at the expense of realizing a future that they hoped would surpass the wildest dreams of that imagined past.

For both Nazism and the Klan, the present was a living nightmare with enemies around every corner. Both groups expressed concerns over the decline of white male dominion: the Klan from a perceived position of strength and the Nazis facing oblivion. Toleration and increased support for internationalism gave both nationalist organizations cause for concern. The villains of both tales were all too similar. Jews used money and the press to drive a wedge dividing previously unified societies. Political Catholics and their loyalty to the Pope caused a conflict of interest because no house could have two lords. Immigrants brought communism, disease, and

crime that would pollute the race. For that matter, notions of pacifism and racial toleration corrupted an easily impressionable youth. Hatred of Jazz, capitalist exploitation, and a desire to keep their nation independent of the rest of world defined Suspicions of the present felt by radical nationalists on both sides of the Atlantic.

Overlap certainly existed in the two organizations thoughts on Potential. In the 1920s both the Klan and Nazis tried to win the battle for people's minds and convince the public of impending doom. The Klan insisted on investing in the youth, believing their peers were one of the few lost causes they could not follow. The Third Reich did the same, installing educational and indoctrination efforts throughout Germany. Both organizations promoted a eugenic understanding that, in order for their nation, and the world at large, to recover, the white race needed protection and the opportunity for growth. Both organizations looked at ever-expanding non-white populations and encouraged their membership to help stem the tide of non-white children. Chauvinism operated as a central pivot for both ideologies as neither one lent much importance to women apart from the act of creating and then raising children, despite women's inherent value to ideological and social endeavors. Both the Nazis and the Klan took miscegenation very seriously, the former backing their aversion with the force of law while the latter benefitted from a Jim Crow South where sexual intercourse between white and black was not only illegal, but often violently enforced. Both nationalist futures would explicitly keep white men, be they German or American, at the top of the societal hierarchy where they were to remain in perpetuity.

Seemingly cut from the same bed sheet, Nazism and Kluxery had noteworthy differences that precluded them from ever joining forces, chiefly democracy. Nowhere in Klan literature will condemnation of the democratic principles of the United States be found. The Klan held

American democracy as the highest standard and although its members hated some of the results of democracy – internationalism, immigration, that bugaboo “SOCIAL EQUALITY” – the Klan did not advocate major alterations to the American Constitution. National Socialism, on the other hand, desired complete destruction of the Weimar Republic and the “race destroying democracy” it embodied. For Nazism, democracy existed solely to pacify the Aryan race. Instead of allowing the strong to rise to the top, democracy kept them mired in mass rule. Add to those problems the same issues of internationalism and equality the Klan took issue with and it became evident that Nazism could not – and never can – function in a democratic society, whereas the Klan found a way to coexist with and even depended upon democratic rule.

Democratic rule perhaps mislabels the function of government in the Jim Crow South where inequality remained imbedded in the legal system. Segregation had the firm backing of authorities across the United States, legitimizing discrimination in ways that Nazis found very attractive. Before Goebbels, Goering, and Heydrich argued over Jews on Munich trains, the Nazis attempted to install a segregated state in the Third Reich. Nazi belief in Jewish economic power drove their first endeavor to introduce segregation into the Third Reich, the infamous Jewish Boycott of 1933. Nazis hoped this boycott of Jewish stores would cripple Jews’ major source of power and encourage the German populace to continue the boycott until Jewish economic power in Germany had faded. During the day of the boycott, Nazis of all ranks were ordered to avoid any form of physical aggression, instead relying on intimidating presences to lend authority to the boycott. In fact, Julius Streicher stressed to SA and SS men that they were “strictly forbidden” from entering any Jewish business, only permitted to inform the public that a



business was Jewish owned.<sup>165</sup> These orders did not stop violence from breaking out. Lasting just the one day, the boycott was famously unsuccessful. In Bavaria, the boycott was unpopular. A flyer issued throughout Bamberg attempted to guilt the various Bambergers who continued to shop at Jewish stores, asking why they supported Jewish businesses when other Germans did without. Did they realize they were harming German workers and taking money out of the pockets of German businesses? The Nazi flyer then passive-aggressively concluded “we were sure you needed this hint to remind you of your patriotic duty as a consumer.”<sup>166</sup> The boycott’s express goal, crippling Jewish businesses, failed because many Germans, not just Bambergers, chose not to follow their supposed patriotic consumer duties.

While many did not participate in the boycott, there was not much uproar in protest to it. People gave little attention to the large-scale effort to exclude Jews. Without resistance, Nazis felt emboldened to push their exclusionary agenda further. Much has been said of the various Nuremberg Laws, but nonetheless their import to Nazi Expectation bears mentioning. The 1935 Law for Protection of German Blood and Honor entered into law the notion that “the purity of German blood is essential for the further existence of the German people.”<sup>167</sup> The law banned inter-marriage, miscegenation, and even stopped Jews from employing German women in their houses. Alongside this law came the Reich Citizenship Law, which asserted that to be a citizen one had to have “German or kindred blood.” Revoking the citizenship of Jews created further difficulties for the Jewish people as laws in Germany mandated citizenship as a prerequisite for achieving access to human rights. In the Third Reich, only citizens could work for a newspaper,

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<sup>165</sup> Julius Streicher, National Socialist Party Correspondence, NSK No. 359, March 31<sup>st</sup> 1933, in in [Doc 2154-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 761.

<sup>166</sup> Stadtarchiv Bamberg, C 2 Nr. HR 183, “Manschreiben an Kunden eines Warenhauses.”

<sup>167</sup> 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, part I, No. 100, Page 1146. “Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of 15 September 1935” in [Doc 2000-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. IV. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 211.

belong to a union, be a civil servant, be an artist. Jews suddenly had untold numbers of opportunities taken from them. With little protection from the law, all too many Jews experienced the tragedy of being opportunistically reported on by neighbors and colleagues, which increasingly and purposefully cut off Jewish access to the public sphere.

Nazi propaganda continued to push Germans and Jews further apart. Streicher doled out his anti-Semitic poison via the pages of *Der Stürmer*, often calling for people to think of a future where Jews were permitted to run amok. In 1934, his paper warned that “Every little Jewish baby grows up to be a Jew.”<sup>168</sup> In 1935, he called Jews “ignorant, lured by gold...souls poisoned, blood infected, disaster broods in their wombs.”<sup>169</sup> Reminding its readers about the danger of bolshevism, one article argued that by supporting both capitalism and communism, Jews intended to “devour the entire world.”<sup>170</sup> *Der SA-Mann* also stoked the fires of anti-Semitism. In a 1935 article, titled “Finish up with the Jews,” the author called for German women to “finally wake up and not buy any more from the Jews.”<sup>171</sup> They hoped to dissuade women from thinking that the Jews they knew personally were “decent and obliging” people.<sup>172</sup> “To the devil with this nursery tale,” extolled the author.<sup>173</sup> “Snake remains a snake, and Jew remains a Jew!”<sup>174</sup> Other inflammatory and accusing articles included “The Jewish World Danger” and a front-page article depicting various anti-Semitic signs across Germany titled “Jews Not Welcome Here.”<sup>175</sup> All of these efforts served a very specific purpose, to drive a wedge between Nazi citizens and Jews, a wedge that would prepare Germans for a future racial war against Judaism.

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<sup>168</sup> “Der Fluch im Blut,” *Der Stürmer*, #45/1934.

<sup>169</sup> “Legion der Schade,” *Der Stürmer*, #37/1935.

<sup>170</sup> “Das Lügenmanöver Hinter den Kulissen des Moskauer Prozesses,” *Der Stürmer*, #41/1936.

<sup>171</sup> Georg Löschke, “Macht Schluß mit dem Jüden!” *Der SA-Mann*, July 27<sup>th</sup>, 1935, 4.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>175</sup> “Die jüdische Weltgefahr,” *Der SA-Mann*, February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1935, 5. “Juden sind hier unerwünscht,” *Der SA-Mann*, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1935, 1.

Fast forward to Berlin in April 1945, when Hitler went about writing his Last Will and Testament, his chance to have the last word before he took his own life. His final words said something particularly telling regarding the accelerated future he tried to bring about.

“It is untrue that I or anyone else in Germany wanted the war in 1939. It was desired and instigated exclusively by those international statesmen who were either of Jewish descent or worked for Jewish interests....I have further never wished that after the first fatal world war a second against England, or even against America, should break out.”<sup>176</sup>

The above statement, given in 1945, transports us back to the eve of the Polish invasion in 1939. Before 1939, a long list of actions the Nazis carried out in war were not on the table and only in the minds of the most radical of Nazis. Few leaders entertained notions of the extermination of Jews and undesirables; the law of the land called for segregation and deprivation. A fight to the death with Communism felt ludicrous as the Third Reich and the USSR entered a non-aggression pact. Despite the rapidity with which the Nazis came to power, efforts to build a National Socialist future had been gradual. Heading into 1939, the Third Reich resembled the segregated Jim Crow South more than it did the autocratic state of war it would become in a few short months. The Second World War changed all of that. What the leadership previously deemed the struggle of generations, they sought to achieve in years. Ultimately, that greed and ego unwound the Nazi future and, appropriately, brought it to utter collapse, but not before tragically bringing about mass genocide and unprecedented scales of death and destruction. For all of Hitler’s pre-suicidal reflections, he clearly knew that the Second World War had been the death knell to any notion of a National Socialist future.

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<sup>176</sup> Adolf Hitler, “My Private Will and Testament” April 29th, 1945 in [Doc. 3569-PS] of *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. VI. Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 260.

As the Second World War ended, both Nazism and the Ku Klux Klan found themselves on society's fringe, barely having a presence outside of certain pockets, a spot they had occupied in 1919. The high point of Klan influence had been the August 8, 1925 hooded march down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. Little came of that high-profile march to Capitol Hill. The Klan never openly ran the U.S. government, or the South for that matter. Certainly, Klan members and sympathizers held prominent government positions, but the Klan was adamant that it never run as an open political party. In the early years of the Nazi movement, its leaders shared similar concerns. Nazis did not want to participate in the democratic society they despised. Instead, they too considered themselves a movement and in 1923 tried to topple the Bavarian government in Munich hoping to spark a large-scale nationalist revolt. That famous Beer Hall Putsch failed and landed Hitler in jail. Upon leaving prison, Hitler took up the "Legality Tactic," choosing to hold his nose and run in elections with the hope of eventually undermining democracy from within. National Socialism after 1933 became the ruling ideology in Germany. The Nazis ruled, the Klan remained on the outside looking in.

The Ku Klux Klan famously claimed that all of their members formed a vast "Invisible Empire," the idea being that the men hidden behind their robes allowed for anonymous action across the nation. The Klan also kept much of their activities and meetings hidden. Apart from PO Boxes, finding official headquarters for the Klan was a rarity. Joining the Klan involved clandestine networking and could only happen by knowing the right white people. The Invisible Empire preferred the comfort of that invisibility, but Nazis did not share the Klan fear of the limelight. The National Socialist German Worker's Party required uniforms devoid of masks, called formal public meetings, opened local branch offices, and published prominent newspapers. The Nazis wanted Germans, and the world, to know that they were affecting change

in Germany on a mass scale. The Klan, while craving credit, nonetheless operated at a grassroots level trying to bring about change regionally and only rarely making themselves a national spectacle.

The takeaway from putting these two visions of the future into conversation with one another can easily lead to a very old question: why did Nazism not happen in the United States? Abused historical records, paranoid living-hells, and a declining superior race supposedly existed in both regions. The Great Depression weakened both countries and called into question various societal standards. Racial politics maintained their popularity in places across the United States that did not differ tremendously from Eugene Talmadge's Georgia. Beyond that, the Klan held appeal across the nation, as did the Nazi-influenced German-American Bund. The pieces were present; why did the nation not take a turn towards Fascism? Historians have weighed in amply on this point. For one, institutional checks existed, most noteworthy among them the two-party system. Germany implemented a multi-party political environment that gave Nazism the room to become briefly electorally relevant. In a Democratic versus Republican electoral system, fringe political groups only play the roles of spoiler and make engineering something like a fascist party takeover very difficult. Additionally, the Klan, the strongest right-wing radical nationalist organization in the United States, remained uninterested in vying for political relevance. The Klan waged a battle for the soul, not the ballot. Even if that were not the case, Klan membership lacked the numbers and legitimacy to elicit much mainstream support.

While an interesting thought exercise, those institutional checks existed in Germany as well. Regarding the party-system, it was easier for fringe parties to gain momentum, but those parties would also fizzle out in short order. The July 1932 election results that featured the highest gains for the Nazi Party dipped by four percentage points in the November elections held

that same year. Given time, Nazism could have faded back into obscurity. However, conservative parties with ambition and a conservative president unafraid of running roughshod over institutional safeguards gave Nazism the room it needed to take control. Other nationalist organizations not in search of the limelight soon flocked to and were absorbed by the Nazi Party and the nationalist zeitgeist already present throughout Germany became more unified in its messaging and more mainstream. This turn of events could have happened in the U.S., if key people in key places cared a great deal less for the U.S. Constitution and its institutional norms.

While a useful exercise, this work contends that “why did Nazism not happen in America” is ultimately the wrong question to ask. Regarding these two radical futures the far more pressing question would be “why did the Jim Crow South not happen in Germany?” The Jim Crow South constituted a decades long creation, implemented by a diversity of white figures on the local, state, and national level that everyday white people of all classes enforced. Two bigoted truths rested at the heart of the Jim Crow South. One, that white southerners were entitled to the greater share of economic opportunities, better educational offerings, better housing, better public access, better civic resources, and any other perceived benefit a person could receive. Two, any benefit an African American received only came as the result of the kindness of white Southerners; African Americans should not expect anything more. African Americans, though populous throughout the South, did not have easy access to the right to vote, the right to protest, the right to gainful employment, the right to romance outside their race, the right to live where they wanted, and any other perceived right including the right to life in the event racial boundaries were crossed. African American advances certainly could not come at the expense of whites, the penalties for such realities had been grave. The Jim Crow South remained the law of the land for decades, with very little federal intervention. Separate but equal may have

been the goal handed down on high, but any Southerner, white or black, knew that separate always meant unequal.

From 1933 to 1939, Nazi Germany attempted to create its own Jim Crow in Germany. Difficulties arose early on with detection and registration as the target Nazis ostracized could not be as easily identified by the hue of their skin. Nonetheless, Nazi officials went about constructing a racial hierarchy and determining the racial status of all its citizens. Sometimes that involved family histories where one Jewish grandparent could hand down second-class status to their descendants. Other times, eugenic tactics helped officials determine racial status via eye color tests, cranium measurements, and nasal observations. Whatever the method, once the state determined a person was Jewish, they entered a society that gradually ostracized them. No separate but equal clause existed in Nazi law to force inequality into the subtext of the racial hierarchy. In Nazi Germany separate *meant* unequal. Laws existed that explicitly prevented Jews from voting, hindered their economic opportunities, reduced their access to adequate housing, and forbade romantic interactions outside of their racial class. Heading into 1939, Nazi Germany bore strong similarities to the Jim Crow South, but after 1939, that all changed.

Speed, therefore, differentiates Nazism and the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan's insistence on affecting change locally meant that it was going to play a very long game. Their strategy would take considerable time to slowly bring about their vision, whereas everything happened very fast for Nazism. Within three years of forming, the Nazi movement tried to topple government authority in Munich. Barely two years later, they formed a legitimate political party. Their first elections went poorly, so they modified strategies and gained the most votes of any party by 1932. Everything after that moved rapidly, despite the many claims of Nazi leaders who believed Germany's revival would be the task of multiple generations. Belief and action differed in large

part due to the anxiety and paranoia inherent in Nazi radicalism. Nazism, an ideology predicated on the struggle to validate superiority, always felt that fight breathing down their necks. Actions were swift and responses brutal, because history and fate necessitated brutality. Every living moment for Nazism became a fight to ensure the survival of their ideology and the development of a bright future for their followers and race at large.

The Klan, on the other hand, had the ability to be patient. The Klan future was not predicated on an inevitable struggle. The understanding that America would always be a God-given gift to White, Protestant Men provided Klansmen considerable security. No future struggle loomed in the distance; the white race had already won. The Klan feared decline, mostly at the hands of white people who should have known better. White Northeastern Americans who endorsed civil rights, socialism, intellectualism, and multiculturalism could, eventually, bring about the end of White dominion. Nazism, an ideology incompatible with the democracy it lived in, had to react with rabid, public violence in its attempt not just to win, but to be heard and believed. Nazi existence was not self-assured. Even in 1939, when they were their most strong, fears about not having enough land, about potential conflict with Bolshevism, about international Jewry all bore down on the Nazi leadership and their followers. The Nazis could never, ever be as self-assured as the Klan. That constant insecurity drove Nazism to invade Poland and even if war had not broken out at that point, it would have eventually, because the Nazis never felt secure enough to bide their time.

When reading Klan material, the temptation to completely mock them is considerable. They put forth so much idiocy into the ether that it is nearly impossible to take them seriously. Wizards, dragons, titans, kilgraps, a klokan, and all klokann; so many of their claims are devoid of reason that they make Archie Bunker look scholarly. However, after sifting through the



ridiculousness, limited goals with feasible solutions remained. Worries about education were met with calls for increased funding, better teachers, and continued segregation. Fears about immigration most often preceded requests for more thorough vetting and stricter quotas. Anti-miscegenation remained enforced with clear as day violence. Despite their honest to God efforts to complicate nearly every aspect of their organization, the Klan's ambitions were relatively simple, as was their vision of the future.

Now, take Nazism. They too expressed themselves in ridiculous fashion. They over-emphasized the geo-political struggle of races to such an extent that they fetishized the Aryan race. To read through SS material is to take a journey deep inside one of history's most bizarre cults. However, much of the remaining material could be easily understood. Jews were bad, Nazis were good, Communists would murder you in your sleep. But, when sifting through all that material, Nazi goals were limitless and the solutions were very much made up on the fly. The Nazi sense of the future changed considerably over the span of their twenty-four-year existence, but its boundless nature stood as the only unifying factor linking Nazis throughout their run. Unstoppable Nazi ambition constantly sought new barriers to break. Is it any wonder why Nazi scientists developed the first jet engines and inter-continental ballistic missiles, but failed to streamline aircraft production? Nazism lived on a day to day basis, which proved to be a problem for an ideology predicated on realizing a very specific future. Nothing was impossible and so Nazis constantly reached, without ever pausing to build on their successes and stabilize. The Klan future involved a limited scope that would never have satisfied Nazi ambitions. That is why the Jim Crow South never happened in the Third Reich. Nazis tried it, but many only viewed it as temporary, not a potentially permanent societal feature.

People have too often elided these two white supremacist ideologies. The Klan and Nazism had ideological similarities, but their very distinct ambitions made them fundamentally different, but no less convincing to everyday people who mistook overlaps in Tradition, Suspicion, and Potential as affinity for their own Expectations and Heritages. That faith was severely misplaced. In the case of the Klan, their hooded violent spectacle laid bare the white privilege operating not only in the U.S. South, but the United States as a whole. For that matter the second Klan in its broad nationwide appeal, lost its identity as a protector of explicitly Southern white Heritage. However, despite these differences everyday white Southerners still found affinity with a Klan that, while brash and increasingly less Southern, carried out the dirty work that maintained their privileged futures. Everyday Bavarians initially enjoyed a similar benefit from having Nazis implement a racial state. While Nazi interests and actions played out on a national stage, Bavarian Heritage remained in place and was well supported. However, Nazi ambitions dragged Bavaria away from its desires for an insular protected life into full-blown war and genocide. Regardless of this disparity between everyday and radical Expectation, it is important to recognize that for wide swaths of people the Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan were tolerated and supported because everyday whites recognized that radical efforts would theoretically benefit them more than they would harm. The damage done to racialized outsiders was acceptable collateral damage that barely registered on everyday whites' radars as they kept themselves blissfully ignorant of the harm their negligent tolerance of radical Segregationists wreaked on racialized others.

## CHAPTER 6

## Both Hitler and Jim Crow

**Major Offenders**

On October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1947, the *Spruchkammer* V of Nuremberg, one of several denazification courts active in American-occupied Bavaria, heard the case of Hans Kaufmann Schnabrich.<sup>177</sup> The court's authority originated from the March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1946 Act on the Liberation of National Socialism and Militarism. That law, largely authored by U.S. attorneys, set out to eliminate any vestiges of Nazi loyalty remaining in Germany in the wake of the Third Reich's collapse. Five hundred and forty-five such courts operated across the American zone of occupation in Europe. While certainly an ambitious endeavor, the U.S placed firm importance on Germans overseeing the operation of these tribunals and exorcising their own demons. Throughout a long process that wavered between severity and leniency, the *Spruchkammer*'s primary responsibility involved deciding the extent of a defendant's responsibility for and complicity in the crimes perpetrated by the Nazi regime. Most cases brought before the *Spruchkammer* did not go to trial. However, in the case of Hans Schnabrich, the tribunal charged him as a "Major Offender," or in more informal terminology, someone who bore responsibility for the terrors of the Third Reich. Major Offenders, if found guilty, would be sentenced to hard labor, imprisonment, and/or death.<sup>178</sup>

Hans Schnabrich's case provided a unique perspective to this work, unique being the operative word. Firstly, the very next day after Hans' trial, the same *Spruchkammer* heard a

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<sup>177</sup> Chapter presented in a condensed form at Southern Historical Society Annual Meeting, November 2018; This article will primarily make use of documents pertaining to two Spruchkammer cases. Their full citations follow: Staatarchiv Nürnberg, Akten der Spruchkammer V, Stadtkreis Nürnberg, Sch-232. Staatarchiv Nürnberg, Akten der Spruchkammer V, Stadtkreis Nürnberg, Sch-231. For Shorthand, when cited they will be cited as SN-NV-Sch-232 & SN-NV-Sch-231 alongside the relevant descriptors.

<sup>178</sup> Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (Bloomsbury Press: 2013). Information on the *Spruchkammern*, particularly in Bavaria can be found on pages 277-312.

similar case against Hans' wife, Erna Schnabrich, maiden name Nottebaum, who was also alleged to be a Major Offender. Secondly, the couple had separately committed suicide shortly after Hans' July 1945 arrest, meaning the entire trial would be held post-mortem. The couple faced serious accusations of participating in local Jewish pogroms and reporting neighbors to the Gestapo. The *Spruchkammer* had no intention of letting the Schnabrich story evaporate along with countless other stories that disappeared in the carnage of the Second World War. Already an extraordinary pair, the denazification courts also included another dramatic element: before joining the Nazi Party, the Schnabrichs lived in Chicago, Illinois where they first met, married, had two children, and, at some point, became Knights in the Invisible Order of the Ku Klux Klan.

Hans and Erna Schnabrich are a unique transnational case study representing an infinitesimally small overlap in membership between the Ku Klux Klan and the National Socialist German Workers' Party before the Second World War. The possibility of probing the possibly only two people who set flame to a wooden cross and goose-stepped to the Nuremberg rally grounds seems tantalizing, as it must have been to the *Spruchkammer*. The implications of dual membership in two distinct white supremacist organizations certainly suggested an interpretation of the Schnabrichs as being bigots of the highest order; the reality, as might be suspected, was much more complex. This chapter considers Hans and Erna – their complicated globalized lives, the ground level nature of their radical affiliations, the trials carried out after their deaths, and their daughter's frantic defense – to evaluate the nature of complicity within differing national systems of racial oppression. While the evidence thus far seems to indicate two guilty, deplorable individuals, the reality of their lives and their participation in racist organizations proved to be tremendously multifaceted.

## Activists

Hans Schnabrich formally joined the Nazi Party in 1925, immediately entering the Nuremberg *Sturmabteilung*, the militant wing of the Nazi movement often known as the SA. Members of the SA, colloquially called “brownshirts” because of their predominantly brown uniforms, gained a brutally accurate reputation as thugs who violently enforced National Socialism on the streets of Germany. On a cold March night in 1923, in the predominantly industrial city of Augsburg, Nazism barely registered on the political radar of the Bavarian town’s working population. However, a political rally in the popular Ludwigsbau concert hall changed everything when a massive street brawl broke out, injuring twenty-four men and producing a heap of debris that included two-hundred broken beer mugs and seventy splintered chairs. Altercations like the Ludwigsbau brawl had sadly become common given the increase in violent street fights across Bavaria in the early 1920s, but the Augsburg SA described the fight as the stuff of legends. These brownshirts initially encompassed a small group of largely working-class men who valued Nazism, but not as much as a good stout beer, that is, until the “baptism by fire” that was the “hall battle in Augsburg Ludwigsbau.”<sup>179</sup> Brandished SA brutality did not solely confine itself to Augsburg: altercations marked many Bavarian cities culminating in a collective false confidence. Believing they could conquer the world, the Nazis set out in November 1923 to topple the government in the Bavarian capital, Munich, in a putsch that spectacularly failed, left the party outlawed, and caused its leadership to be arrested, most famously Adolf Hitler, who used the jail time to craft his racist tome *Mein Kampf*.

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<sup>179</sup> Michael Cramer-Fürtig and Bernhard Gotto, *Machtergreifung in Augsburg: Anfälle der NS-Diktatur 1933-1937*, (Wißner-Verlag, 2008), 40.

Although temporarily dampened, the Weimar Republic eventually restored legal status to the Nazi Party in 1925 and, with it, the SA. Their return would not be triumphant, however, as Nazis often found themselves in the political minority. Brownshirts felt the danger of isolation and being outnumbered. Visions of the powerful Third Reich remained cloudy and distant; disorganized brawls and bloodied knuckles defined Nazism more than anything. Hans Schnabrich joined Nazism at this primitive stage, 1925, long before the Reich, war, and genocide. Hans entered the SA ranks, becoming a loyal foot soldier protecting and promoting a *volkisch* message on the streets of Nuremberg, unaware that he might actually one day represent Germany's ruling power. Even on the cusp of Nazi ascension to power, official SA orders still advised brownshirts to never leave their house without weaponry, which included a holstered pistol, walking stick, and a whip, for fear of an altercation with the vast forces of the political left.<sup>180</sup> The SA, however, did not shirk from these fights: they prepared themselves for the battles they would face against the leftist enemies of their political ideology.

Erna formally joined the Nazi Party two years later, in 1927, and made herself quite an asset to Nazism in Franconia. Work of Nazi women in Bavaria often involved taking on tasks of a more support-based nature. Women were not expected to defend Nazism with their fists, but nonetheless their various activities enforced Nazism throughout various levels of German society. The National Socialist Women's League (NSF) organized Nazi celebrations, such as Hitler's fiftieth birthday celebration in 1939, when the Gau-Schwaben NSF was asked to practice a "piece of classical music for piano, violin, and cello" for the celebration.<sup>181</sup> The NSF also provided nominal oversight over the League of German Girls (BDM) supervising the indoctrination of young women. For example, in 1937, three hundred members of the NSF and

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid, 44-45.

<sup>181</sup> Staatarchiv Augsburg, NSDAP, NS-Frauenschaft Gau Schwaben, Folder 47, Rundschreiben Nr. 27/39, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1939.

BDM attended an exhibit in Nördlingen, nominally titled “Blood and Race,” that detailed what an “ideal marriage” should look like, including a warning to avoid partners with poor genetic backgrounds. The exhibition also informed the women, in line with Nazism’s chauvinist ideology and Bavaria’s traditional gender roles, that wives needed to be the “support beam” for their husbands to lean on after the exhausting struggles of the day.<sup>182</sup> That support role embodied what it meant to be a woman in the Nazi Party. During such events, Erna Schnabrich shined.

At some point, Hans received a promotion to the rank of *Sturmführer*, a rank equivalent to a lieutenant, having gained credence in a SA that steadily increased its legitimacy within the National Socialist movement. Consequently, the organization took itself much more seriously and began to cultivate their own legends and history. SA organizational historians often exaggerated struggles against the left through the glorification of street brawls from the early movement. A pamphlet detailing “What an SA-Man Must Know” identified the founding of the SA as a 1921 brawl in Munich where fifty-six National Socialists fought against an impossibly high count of eight hundred Marxists, and won.<sup>183</sup> Despite the eventual formation of a formal Nazi state, propaganda continued to confirm the SA’s importance largely through the art of exaggeration. Nazis offered their brownshirts historical lessons that touted the SA as a vital development of German history, destined to convert their ranks into “bearers and heralds of [a] new world view.”<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Staatarchiv Augsburg, NSDAP, NS-Frauenschaft Kreis Nördlingen, Folder 2, Pressebericht der NS-Frauenschaft Nördlingen, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1937. A rich historiography explores the roles women played in the Nazi State. A brief overview of that subject could be gained from Jost Hermand, “All Power to the Women: Nazi Concepts of Matriarchy,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 4 (1984): 649–667; Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (St. Martin’s Press, 1988); Jill Stephenson, *The Nazi Organisation of Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

<sup>183</sup> Staatarchiv Augsburg, NSDAP, SA-Standarte Augsburg, Folder 3/7, “Was ein SA-Mann wissen muss.”

<sup>184</sup> Staatarchiv Augsburg, NSDAP, SA-Standarte Augsburg, Folder 6/1, Schnellbrief SA der NSDAP Sturm 14/12 Günzburg, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1935.

“Old-fighters,” brownshirts who joined the party before 1933, were held in particularly high esteem by the leadership of the Third Reich. As such, On September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933, the Nazi Minister President of Bavaria, Ludwig Siebert, presented Hans Schnabrich with a special acknowledgement of his service to Nazism in Franconia, a recognition that came with a medal, a monetary reward, and status.<sup>185</sup> Throughout the course of their lives, Hans and Erna Schnabrich both earned multiple accolades for their service, including the Golden Party Badge, an honor intended to elevate early members of the Nazi movement and distinguish them from latecomers to the party. Hans also received a special medal recognizing his ten years of service to National Socialism. Late in the war, in 1944, Hans received yet another promotion, this time to the level of civil servant, a remarkably prestigious and stable occupation in the Third Reich’s twilight years. Such a promotion, particularly during the war, had to be obtained via applications, loyalty, and extensive networking; by 1944 Hans and Erna Schnabrich held a well-connected and well-regarded standing within the Nazi social and political system of northern Bavaria.

While the *Spruchkammer* made repeated mention of the many official honors and promotions connecting the Schnabrichs to Nazism, the court intensely focused on the powerful testimony provided by Rudolf Weinheber, a self-described “half-Jewish” man who had spent two and a half months of the Second World War detained in an unspecified labor camp.<sup>186</sup> Weinheber claimed he had attempted to move into Büchenbühl, a neighborhood north of Nuremberg where the Schnabrichs lived. Local Nazi authorities initially blocked Weinheber’s move, which he attributed to Erna Schnabrich’s efforts to raise a list of signatures protesting his new residence explicitly because of his Jewish race and ancestry. Weinheber felt personally harassed by the married couple, particularly Erna, harassment which he believed included a personal

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<sup>185</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Bl 4, October 25, 1948.

<sup>186</sup> “Half-Jewish” is the term used in the trial, “Halbjude.”



denunciation to the Gestapo and his subsequent prison sentence. Weinheber's accusations found support from the testimony of Fritz Erbacher, a neighbor and Social Democrat, who claimed that the Schnabrichs had been "the biggest representatives of Nazi ideas in Buchenbühl."<sup>187</sup>

As Nazism collapsed, the Schnabrichs were forced to face the reality of their crimes and beliefs, particularly after the American occupation forces automatically arrested Hans due to his position as a civil servant and *Sturmführer*. The Schnabrichs's self-reflection did not last long, however, because Hans committed suicide by hanging himself, on July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945, seemingly to avoid any legal responsibility for his potential crimes. Erna, who remained in Buchenbühl, poisoned herself at nearly the same time. On July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1945, she too passed away, never to see her day in court. Ultimately, their double suicide strongly indicated to the chamber that, like so many Nazi men and women guilty of war crimes who had committed suicide before their trials, the Schnabrichs likely shared similar responsibility for the atrocities witnessed on the Jews of Europe.

A problematic piece of evidence further indicted the Schnabrichs: a 1941 letter that Erna had drafted which divulged interesting but alarming details about the Schnabrichs' personal history.<sup>188</sup> The letter foremost stated the couple's loyalty to National Socialism and its ideology. Erna cited a horse-riding injury she had suffered during a Nazi Party function as further evidence of her firm loyalty to the Third Reich. The letter's true value, however, came from her revelation that the couple also belonged to the Ku Klux Klan when residing in the United States. Erna specifically stated that the couple had joined the Klan because of the organization's anti-Semitic beliefs. The 1941 letter demonstrated a vehement and passionate pattern of anti-Semitism as well as an affinity for participation in radical white supremacist militant organizations. When

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<sup>187</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittler: Ganser, April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

<sup>188</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Letter from Ermittler, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

combined with their service record in the Third Reich, witness testimony describing the couple as Gestapo informants, and their dual suicides after the fall of Nazism, one recognized a clear and startling illustration of a “Major Offender.” The chamber went on official record criticizing the couple because, coming “from a democratic state [like the U.S. they] had to know the responsibilities of a democratic citizen” and therefore should have known better than to become entangled in the rise of Nazism.<sup>189</sup> However, after examination the chamber eventually decided that the evidence provided was not strong enough to consider the Schnabrichs Major Offenders. Instead, the deceased couple became classified as “Activists,” a lesser category of complicity within the Nazi regime. Consequently, the state proceeded to implement the only punishment available: the total confiscation of the Schnabrichs’ remaining estate.

The *Spruchkammer*’s initial narrative of the Schnabrichs’ responsibility and complicity in the Third Reich should only be understood as the closing stage of the Schnabrichs shared personal history. Long before their court date, Erna Nottebaum was born on May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1880 in Dusseldorf, and Hans was born a year later in Nuremberg. The timing of Hans and Erna’s immigration to America remains unclear, but they likely did not know each other in Germany and, appear to have first met in Chicago, Illinois in the United States. They married on April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1912, when Erna was thirty-one years old and Hans was thirty.<sup>190</sup> Little over a year later, on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1913, Erna gave birth to their first child, a daughter named Flory Schnabrich.<sup>191</sup> Four years later, the Schnabrichs welcomed a son, named after his father, Hans Wilhelm Alfred Schnabrich, who was born on April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1917.<sup>192</sup> Beyond this limited information, unfortunately not much

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<sup>189</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Der öffentliche Kläger, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1948.

<sup>190</sup> Ancestry.com. *Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. (Accessed 4/15/2018)

<sup>191</sup> Ancestry.com. *Cook County, Illinois, Birth Certificates Index, 1871-1922* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. (Accessed 4/15/2018)

<sup>192</sup> Ancestry.com. *Cook County, Illinois, Birth Certificates Index, 1871-1922* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

remains to provide a specific picture of the couple's life in Chicago, a sadly standard case for the many immigrants who spent portions of their life in bustling American metropolises. However, a compelling, if dark window into Hans and Erna's American lives comes from the hooded company they kept: their membership in the Ku Klux Klan provided many interesting insights into the Schnabrichs' mysterious American lives.

The Schnabrichs' membership in the Chicago Klan was indicative of the Invisible Empire's spread across the country. The Chicago Klan operated as one of the largest in the country during the 1920s, absorbing a vast membership of people angered with the mere presence of African-Americans, Jews, and second-wave immigrants. Membership counts of Chicago's Klan differ widely, but scholars believe that somewhere around sixty-thousand Chicagoans pledged loyalty to the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan in the North resembled the prevalent fraternal clubs that defined everyday social space in the early twentieth century, albeit with a darker and more hate-driven platform. Whereas the Klan became synonymous with notorious racial violence, the Chicago Klan could be regarded as more of a fraternal Ponzi scheme, a reality for many of the Klans across the nation. The Klan mandated that members purchase subscriptions to "The Kourier Magazine," the Klan's official publication, at a rate of seventy-five cents each year.<sup>193</sup> Special instructions handed down to officers with ranks tied to mythical creatures, like "Exalted Cyclops," often said little about actual white supremacist thought. Rather, they included detailed instructions of how to raise, collect, and deposit funds provided by the membership throughout the order.<sup>194</sup> When not fleecing their members for funds, officers needed to "give their time for a proper remuneration to the cause of enlistment and registration,"

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<sup>193</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 1, Folder- Alabama Klan, "KKK Inc. Letter," October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1926.

<sup>194</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 1, Folder- Alabama Klan, "KKK Inc. Letter," December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1926.

ensuring that the Klan's network of due paying members continued to grow.<sup>195</sup> Hans Schnabrich most likely found himself caught up in this version of the Klan, compelled to put his earnings towards tailored robes, initiation fees, and an "Imperial Tax," bringing considerable revenue to Klan leadership.

Erna's life in the Ku Klux Klan would not have differed too much from her life in the Nazi Party: hooded women took on supportive roles and tasks in line with the Klan's patriarchal hierarchy. For example, the Klanswomen of the Realm of Pennsylvania received Christmas cards that distanced them from the male Klan, all the while expressing "deep appreciation for the splendid, loyal service and co-operation you have rendered to the Cause of Klankraft."<sup>196</sup> Klanswomen oversaw youth indoctrination, supervising organizations like "The Tri-K-Klub" which sponsored camps and training for "Protestant American girls," the "Kradle Roll Department" which registered all "Klan babies" providing them with "Arm bands of red and white satin, with a little cradle embroidered thereon [that] are most attractive," and the "Junior Prep Department" meant to "benefit our American Youth."<sup>197</sup> The leadership asserted that the Klan embodied "the exemplification of noble ideals of chivalry," ideals that emphasized "the chastity of our women" and, in step with paternalism, left women few opportunities to contribute to the Klan's national ambitions, relegating women to traditional gender roles.<sup>198</sup> Erna Schnabrich herself, as a mother of two, would likely have been asked to take on such roles in Chicago's vast Klan network.

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<sup>195</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 1, Folder- Alabama Klan, "OFFICIAL DOCUMENT," September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1926.

<sup>196</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 3, Folder- Women of the KKK, "Letter to all Officers and Klanswomen," December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1927.

<sup>197</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 3, Folder- Women of the KKK, "Bulletin 26 Realm of PA," January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1928.

<sup>198</sup> East Carolina University, Digital Collections, Identifier: HS2330. K6 A3 1923, *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, At their First Annual Meeting held at Asheville North Carolina, July 1923*, 45.

It remains likely that the Schnabricks joined the Klan in a socially-oriented spirit, seeking a community of like-minded individuals. Chicago's Klan certainly espoused a system of hatred and white supremacy, but it differed considerably from more virulent Southern chapters which placed more value in outright violent spectacle. The Chicago Klansmen did engage in acts of violence, of course, but as stated, much of the Chicago Klan operated like a fraternal club where members paid dues, socialized, and, in this case, participated in ritualistic racism.<sup>199</sup> Even Klan chapters in the South featured social gatherings, hosting speakers and fireworks shows regularly for their members and their families.<sup>200</sup> Many white Americans, in both the North and South, joined the Klan for networking, community, and even access to broader benefits than might be imagined, such as Klan life insurance.<sup>201</sup> Those affiliated with racist organizations found themselves receiving a wide range of social benefits, which likely convinced the Schnabricks, as it had many like them, to join the Invisible Empire.<sup>202</sup>

The circumstances of the Schnabricks' return to Germany remain unknown, but the Nazi Party that they joined in 1925 had been a far cry from the 1933 iteration that seized control of Germany, itself a version considerably different from the perpetrators of global war and industrial genocide. In many ways the Nazis, when the Schnabricks joined, did not differ extraordinarily from the Ku Klux Klan they had just left. The Schnabricks recognized an overlap

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<sup>199</sup> For more on the Chicago Klan see Linda Brown, *The Coming of the Second Ku Klux Klan*; Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, (Ivan. R. Dee, 1992); Roland G. Fryer, Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, "Hatred and Profits: Under the Hood of the Ku Klux Klan," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 127, Issue 4, (November 2012): 1883-1925.

<sup>200</sup> Alabama Department of Archives and History, Photographs Collection, Box 4, Folder- Ku Klux Klan, "Come to the East Alabama Ku Klux Klan Rally Day at Opelika District Fair," October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1927.

<sup>201</sup> University of Texas in Arlington Special Collections, GA29- Ku Klux Klan, Letter of J.D. Arrington, Exalted Cyclops, Mexia Klan, to Mr. Z.E. Marvin, Great Titan, August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

<sup>202</sup> "Passports to the Invisible Empire" were essentially the ID cards of the Ku Klux Klan. It allowed its holder to "travel unmolested throughout our beneficent domain and grant and receive the fervent fellowship of Klansmen. By this authority you will pass him through the portals of your Klavern to meet with Klansmen in Klonklave assembled." Many can be found in numerous personal collections housed in many of the archives visited for this work. If interested the 1925 "Imperial Passport" of S.O.Scoggins can be found in University of Texas in Arlington Special Collections, GA29- Ku Klux Klan, Imperial Passport, S.O. Scoggins, December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1925.

when, upon their return to Germany, Erna had seen the Swastika armbands of the Nazis, thinking the cloth and its accompanying militarized rituals resembled the KKK armbands of the North.<sup>203</sup>

In the 1928 Reichstag election, the Nazi Party amassed 810,127 votes which earned them two Reichstag seats, which was actually a two seat decline from when the party had illegally run in the December 1924 federal elections. A return to legality had done little to help the Nazis win the war of public opinion. Consequentially, the Schnabrichs joined a Nazi Party still very much a social movement that presented the couple with a forum to express anti-Semitic sentiments and gain networking opportunities.

Like the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Party benefitted financially from its members, often merging propaganda and advertising into official commands to buy Nazi sponsored items. One of the more useful examples of such marketing came from *Der SA-Mann*. The publication included propaganda about the importance of the SA and the dangers they faced, as well as other magazine fare, like cartoons, special interest stories, and swastika-themed puzzles.<sup>204</sup> However, advertisements prominently displayed over several pages indicated that National Socialist ideology was not all the Nazi Party hoped to sell to its paramilitary followers. The most prevalent ads called on readers to purchase propaganda and party publications, such as an advertisement selling the 1935 National Socialist Yearbook that contained “all the information about the organization of the Nazi Party.”<sup>205</sup> The same edition of *Der SA-Mann* included advertisements for the sale of ideological works of Goebbels, steel helmets, guns, timepieces, binoculars, and even garden sheds, all tailored specifically to SA interests, motifs, and design. The Nazi Party benefitted financially from these sales. SA members were the most proximate

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<sup>203</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Begründung, November 10th, 1948.

<sup>204</sup> *Der SA Mann*. January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1935, 12. This page contains a Swastika themed crossword puzzle, an infrequent, but potent demonstration of the pervasiveness of Nazism into the everyday.

<sup>205</sup> *Der SA-Mann*. January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1935, 16.

marks in a vast marketing maneuver to spread Nazi ideology and gain money through burgeoning Nazi consumerism.<sup>206</sup>

Before the Second World War, the market in Nazi and Klan items focused internally on a populace seeking to purchase markers of loyalty and conformity. Advertisements selling white sheets and brown shirts, the necessary uniforms for these supremacist organizations, literally sold members conformity. For under six Reichmarks, a brownshirt could purchase his requisite brown shirt. For forty-three, he could purchase a matching long jacket.<sup>207</sup> In his opening remarks at the 1924 Klonvocation, the Imperial Wizard excitedly announced the founding of a Ku Klux Klan owned and operated robe factory. Such an investment would bring “a considerable profit which has hitherto gone into private pockets” into the Klan treasury.<sup>208</sup> The factory doubled as a printing house that provided “educational matter [and] all Klan supplies and stationary.”<sup>209</sup> The factory released order forms throughout the nation, providing a wide catalog of Klan gear including helmets, binders, letter head, gavels, flags, Bibles, candles, etc. The most noteworthy item from the order form: a chart demonstrating how a member could take and record their own measurements for a tailored Ku Klux Klan robe, manufactured in Atlanta Georgia, and mailed conveniently to their homes.<sup>210</sup> The lofty machinations of the Klan and the Third Reich ultimately mattered little to the rank-and-file membership. Status and community had long been far more important than large-scale racial conflict. One can easily envision Hans and Erna Schnabrich anxiously pouring through magazines and placing orders for the standard regalia. To

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<sup>206</sup> Nazism and Consumerism went hand in hand often as the *Volksgemeinschaft* enjoyed participating in a Nazi economic sphere. See: Shelley Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); S. Johnathan Wiesen, *Creating the Nazi Marketplace: Commerce and Consumption in the Third Reich* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>207</sup> *Der SA-Mann*. January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1935, 16.

<sup>208</sup> Mississippi Department of Archives and History, General Collection, *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation Held in Kansas City, Missouri Sept. 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1924*, 77.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>210</sup> Duke University Special Collections, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Box 3, Folder “Women of the KKK,” Robe Order Form.

many members of both the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party having a uniform and a place meant more than the horrific implications of their movement's goals.

## Followers

In the earliest stages of the *Spruchkammer* proceedings against the Schnabrich couple, Flory Kraft, their daughter, submitted a statement in their defense, dated October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1947.<sup>211</sup> She declared that her father had been subject to automatic arrests in the wake of the war's end, meaning that his apprehension had not been attributed to any specific crime. She further alleged that any claim that he committed suicide to avoid punishment for crimes was patently ludicrous. She asserted that her father must have had a nervous breakdown due to the stress of being imprisoned: he knew he had no responsibility in Nazi crimes but had nonetheless found himself being treated like a war criminal. Flory also insisted that her mother had become depressed following Han's arrest; in that frame of mind, Erna took her life, an argument that could be corroborated by Flory's sister-in-law, who lived with the couple towards the end of the war. She further noted that many of the accolades her parents had received came automatically due to their early Nazi membership, long before the sprawling empire of the Third Reich had ever been a possibility, let alone the Second World War and the Holocaust. Flory urgently argued that her father had been a particularly poor Nazi who held an honorary SA rank. She cited a falling out between her father and the SA leadership that had resulted in a temporary ban as punishment for his repeated absences from political meetings. Essentially, her argument boiled down to the assertion that her parents viewed Nazism as a social club that they had lost interest in as time passed. Although their club admittedly fostered troubling ideas and beliefs, Flory contended that,

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<sup>211</sup> Statement found in SN-NV-Sch-232, 18-22.



ultimately, her parents only used it for socializing and networking, not for perpetrating crimes against humanity.

Flory's written statement also argued that her parents did not benefit financially from the Third Reich. In fact, she indicated that her father's salary did not increase significantly at any point under Nazism. Flory, her brother Hans Wilhelm, and his wife Irmgard were regularly forced to financially assist her parents throughout the war. While the Schnabrich children's occupations are not described in these files, Flory explained that their money did not come from their own personal service to the Third Reich. Her brother, she asserted, remained politically guiltless. She also testified that she herself had been a victim of Nazi persecution because of her Christian faith. According to Flory, at an unspecified point during the Third Reich, she had been arrested by the Gestapo three months after giving birth to one of her two daughters. Due to the stress of the episode, Flory experienced health problems that hindered her ability to produce breastmilk. Consequently, her daughter became severely undernourished and suffered developmentally. Flory believed that she had already suffered numerous indignities during the Third Reich, finally and miserably punctuated by the double suicide of her parents in 1945. The present trial felt like an unnecessary punishment directed not at her parents - but at the surviving Schnabrich children, herself and her brother.<sup>212</sup>

On multiple occasions, Flory had asserted that her parents, in committing suicide, had suffered enough punishment for any supposed crime they may have committed. However, she also knew that if her parents' classification as Major Offenders or Activists stood, their parents' estate became forfeit to the government. Flory believed that she had suffered enough; she did not want the new German government taking any more. When the court ruled in 1947 that the Schnabrichs were Activists and ordered their estate seized, that was the last straw.

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<sup>212</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Flory Kraft Statement, October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

A May 1947 letter from the *Spruchkammer* offices indicated that they were having a difficult time contacting Hans Wilhem, the Schnabrich son, who had failed to respond to an earlier letter and was not present when a representative came to his home.<sup>213</sup> Noticeably absent from the initial proceedings, Hans Wilhelm does not enter the record forcefully until the fallout from his parents' "Activist" verdict, when he hired Hans Kern as his parent's attorney, signing power of attorney over their case and estate to Kern. The new lawyer then began formal proceedings for an appeal, explicitly to see the return of the Schnabrich estate to Flory. Brother and sister arranged to turn over the entire estate to Flory who, and the record was very clear on this matter, intended to use her inheritance to fund her return to the United States. On January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1948, Flory made an additional statement to the President of the Appeals Chamber, who held authority over the *Spruchkammer*.<sup>214</sup> She expressed hope for a quick trial to determine whether she could count on receiving her inheritance. She declared her intention to return to the United States as soon as possible, claiming her right to do so as a native-born U.S. citizen. Although her children were not mentioned in the record, she planned on bringing all three, two daughters and a son, along with her, a truly expensive and cumbersome ordeal in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, made even more difficult as the oldest of her children was barely ten at the time. Flory, determined to see her parents exonerated and their estate returned to her, was absolutely finished with Germany.

Nothing in the record indicated that Flory Kraft or Hans Wilhelm supported Nazism. In contrast, Flory seemed to resent Germany itself, whether Nazi or otherwise, a resentment that perhaps developed after being moved from America to Germany around the age of twelve, quite a dramatic change for a young woman in a formative period of her life. Finances seemed to be a

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<sup>213</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Letter to Hans Schnabrich Jr., May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

<sup>214</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Letter to Präsident der Berufungskammer Nürnberg-Fürth, January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1948.

major concern for Flory, understandable as she was sixteen when the global depression hit Germany. Despite her father abandoning religious faith – which sect is unknown – Flory remained, seeking religion as an alternative to the National Socialist ideology that rose around her. Sometime, around 1941, when she was twenty-eight and a mother of two, her husband needed proof of Flory's Aryan credentials so he could become a National Socialist officer. She turned to her mother, who drafted the 1941 letter that would eventually be used against them. Given that Hans eventually received a promoted, Erna's letter likely helped Flory benefit from the Third Reich at a time when countless others suffered. The defense ardently pushed to see the inheritance from her parents restored so Flory could leave Germany behind, an option not available to most survivors of the Third Reich.

For a woman who had grown up during the glitz of Chicago in the early 1920s and was then transported to Germany to experience firsthand the trials of depression and hyperinflation, losing this inheritance must have been a particularly devastating blow. On April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1947, as the prosecution gathered initial statements against the Schnabricks, they approached the new resident of 51 *Felsenkellerstraße*, the Schnabricks' former home, Clemens Alsmann and his wife.<sup>215</sup> Herr Alsmann was away on a vacation at the time, a well-deserved one as the record stated he had been a concentration camp inmate. Furthermore, the prosecution claimed that he likely had a "legitimate claim to the dwelling," meaning that the home, or at least the property the Schnabrich couple lived on, had seemingly been made available to them only after Alsmann had been detained. Frau Alsmann gave a statement in place of her absent husband mentioning that she had been harassed at one point by Flory Kraft. The court does not detail the nature of this harassment, but one can imagine that Flory had not taken kindly to being deprived of anything from her parents' estate, regardless of the circumstances under which they had acquired

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<sup>215</sup> Alsmann testimony on SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittlungsbericht, Frau Alsmann.

their property. Such entitlement to property and wealth typified those unsympathetic to the plight of victims of racial discrimination. Flory remained focused on restoring her share of her parent's estate, not only prolonging the post-mortem trial of her parent's complicity but running roughshod over the victims harmed by the Third Reich that she had in some way derived benefit.

The new professional legal defense presented their case for an appeal on three key fronts.<sup>216</sup> First, the defense insisted that there was no hard evidence that the Schnabrichs had collected signatures against Rudolf Weinheber, nor was there any evidence of Erna reporting people to the Gestapo, much less the claim that Hans actively participated in Jewish pogroms. To substantiate their argument, the defense submitted four new statements from former neighbors, each testimony featuring a specific assertion: the Schnabrichs had in no way approached them for signatures against Rudolf Weinheber, nor were they aware of any such boycott effort against the self-declared half-Jewish man. In the process of preparing the appeal, Flory gathered witnesses to speak on behalf of her parents. She submitted the statements of three close neighbors and friends who specifically vouched for the Schnabrichs' character. Karl Stein, a close associate, asserted that he himself had no party affiliation during the Third Reich, but the Schnabrichs never put pressure on him to follow the tenets of Nazism.<sup>217</sup> Hans Wartenfebron, who met the couple when they first moved to Buchenbühl, claimed they were "sincere and righteous people."<sup>218</sup> Betti Stein, a close friend of Erna, defended her friend, who the court felt had been a particularly strong follower of National Socialism. Stein insisted that Erna had been helpful and humane.<sup>219</sup> These three joined a list of other new witnesses that had not been part of the Schnabrich's original trial.

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<sup>216</sup> Initial Defense Application for Appeal on SN-NV-Sch-232, 13-15.

<sup>217</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Eidesstattliche Erklärung, Karl Stein, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

<sup>218</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Eidesstattliche Erklärung, Hans Wartenfebron, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947.

<sup>219</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Bestätigung! Betti Stein, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

Many different theories can be presented for this new group of witnesses. A cynic would argue that they could have been part of a newly-formed black market in character statements that operated throughout Bavaria during American occupation.<sup>220</sup> Many people, upon finding themselves in front of the *Spruchkammer*, could quickly acquire a slew of new friends – for the right price that is. An empathetic view would contend that the Schnabrich children possessed a more intimate knowledge of their parents’ social circle than the court’s initial investigators. In all actuality, these new testimonies surfaced not only because Flory knew where to find friendly statements, but as the denazification process wore on, many Bavarians grew tired of the imposition and willfully asserted a lack of Bavarian complicity in Nazi crimes to paint a picture of a victimized Bavaria. Such a picture benefitted all Bavarians: the more people who went along and perpetuated that narrative, the more Bavaria could move on in a collective repression of their experiences. Increasingly denazification primarily rubber-stamped Bavarian efforts to bury their Nazi past and guilt by accepting embellished, favorable testimonies and increasingly granting innocent pleas.

The new defense team exploited the increased permissiveness of denazification to the Schnabrichs’ benefit. They submitted seven additional witness statements ahead of the retrial. All of them verified that the Schnabrichs had been loyal members of the Nazi Party and some of the witnesses corroborated the prosecution’s point that they considered themselves “old fighters.” Generally, the witnesses held Hans in a positive light, claiming he was a good person who was not only helpful, but someone that they could speak to without fear of being reported. Erna, however, had a less flattering picture presented by the witness statements. One neighbor, Amy Lautenschlager, while claiming Hans was a fine man, stated that Erna “made no secret of

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<sup>220</sup> National Archives and Records Administration College Park RG 260 390/47/19/1 Box 168 Records of the Office of Military Government, Bavaria, Weekly Intelligence Reports 1945-47 Periodic Report for Week Ending 28 August 1946, pg. 18 cited in Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler*, 285.

her attitude.”<sup>221</sup> Höcht Emeran said he knew the couple since their move to Buchenbühl. He found Hans to be a “high-minded person,” but Erna often claimed that she would like to report many people for various infractions.<sup>222</sup> Margarete Kraus, who worked in the Nuremberg bottle beer trade, came to know the Schnabricks and said Hans had never tried to politically convert her but did bluntly state that “Hitler was everything” to Erna.<sup>223</sup> Despite the uninspiring opinions of Erna, these witnesses denied having ever been asked for signatures against Weinheber, nor did they recall any such list existing. While Erna certainly enjoyed being a member of the Nazi Party, various neighbors argued Hans remained a good person and that, evidently, there had been more bark than bite to Erna’s Nazism. Therefore, the sum of witness testimony alleged that the Schnabricks had merely been swept up in Nazism and certainly not complicit in the horrific genocide that had taken place, a narrative many Bavarians wanted people to adopt.

The second defense effort argued that the Schnabricks had not committed suicide to avoid responsibility, but rather out of a shared declining mental state following Hans’ arrest. The statement of Hans’ cellmate of two weeks, Ludwig Büttner proved most helpful to this point. The new witness claimed that Hans had been useless without his wife, plunging into a deep depression aggravated by the lack of news from his family. Büttner argued that this reality pushed Hans to make “wrong conclusions.”<sup>224</sup> Irmgard Schnabrich, the then twenty-nine-year-old wife of Hans Wilhelm, offered a unique viewpoint; she had lived with the couple for an extended amount of time and could speak to Erna’s mental state in the days leading up to her suicide.<sup>225</sup> She claimed that the couple had indeed been idealistic and often expressed intense regret that the Third Reich would lose the war. However, she pointed out that the couple seemed

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<sup>221</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittlungsbericht, Amy Lautenschlager.

<sup>222</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittlungsbericht, Höcht Emeran.

<sup>223</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittlungsbericht, Margarete Kraus.

<sup>224</sup> SN-NV-Sch-232, Eidesstattliche Erklärung, Ludwig Büttner, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1947.

<sup>225</sup> Irmgard Testimony found in SN- NV-Sch-231, Zeugin zur Person: Irmgard Schnabrich.

disappointed in Nazism, feeling misled by the party. Irmgard did not offer any specifics though, mostly because Hans and Erna kept many of their internal disputes private. As the war dragged on the couple became very withdrawn and Erna became quite sickly. While the specific details on the suicide did not enter the record, Irmgard's testimony painted a picture of a depressed Erna, separated from a downtrodden Hans, who had her own pressing reasons to consider suicide. The coincidental timing of their suicides was not mentioned, but instead the believable hardships experienced by many Germans in the wake of the Third Reich's fall found emphasis, in the hopes of landing on sympathetic ears.

The most damning piece of evidence in the trial remained Rudolf Weinheber's testimony that the Schnabrichs had personally harassed him because of his racial background as a "half-Jewish" person. Nearly a year later, however, Weinheber's tune changed considerably. In a new statement submitted ahead of the retrial, Weinheber insisted that the investigator who took his original statement had been mistaken.<sup>226</sup> While Weinheber still assured the court that the Schnabrichs had collected signatures to block his move to Buchenbühl, they were not responsible for his arrest by the Gestapo. Rather, Weinheber had been detained for two months when he refused to sign "Israel" to his name when picking up a letter. Such a refusal crossed one of the many arbitrary lines that existed in the Third Reich that segregated Jews from the rest of society. On the day of the retrial, Rudolf Weinheber was still brought before the *Spruchkammer*.<sup>227</sup>

Weinheber stated that he lived fifty meters from the Schnabrichs and experienced their National Socialist credentials. He still insisted that the Schnabrichs had worked to push him out of Buchenbühl, explicitly because he was half-Jewish. He claimed that on one occasion Erna Schnabrich had attempted to block him from shopping in a store, specifically telling him that

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<sup>226</sup> Second Weinheber statement on SN-NV-Sch-232, Ermittlungsbericht, Rudolf Weinheber.

<sup>227</sup> Weinheber witness testimony on SN-NV-Sch-231, Beweisaufnahme: Zeuge zur Person: Rudolf Weinheber, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1948

“You cannot go in.” Then, contradicting a previous statement, he claimed that Erna had been the person who reported him to the Gestapo for not signing “Israel” to pick up his mail. The prosecutor asked Weinheber a follow-up question: what did he think of the fact that, when they had interviewed the neighborhood, no one said they knew about a list of signatures? In response, Weinheber subtly intimated that perhaps the neighborhood suffered from collective willful amnesia. After all, who in 1947 or 1948, after Nazi atrocities had been exposed in stark detail, would willingly admit to boycotting a Jew? Weinheber further claimed he had heard about the list from neighbors. Specifically who? He could not recall; this incident had happened a long time ago. While compelling as a witness, no supporting evidence backed his self-assured blame of the Schnabrichs. The court appeared willing to believe that Weinheber had fabricated the list, or at the very least, was mistaken in the Schnabrichs’ role in the matter.

Once the testimony had been heard the prosecution explained that they reached out to the settlement bureau in Nuremberg about Weinheber being blocked from Buchenbühl. A former employee said that when the move was being considered the settlement bureau had summoned Weinheber’s in-laws to discuss the matter.<sup>228</sup> After the meeting no objections remained for the move; no mention had been made of a list of signatures to block it. The employee did not know who brought Weinheber to the settlement bureau’s attention. Essentially, Weinheber was not blocked from living in Buchenbühl, despite someone tipping off the settlement bureau to block him. Erna could not definitively be linked to the effort.<sup>229</sup> After this information had been shared, along with the various new testimonies presented that day, the prosecution withdrew their case for Major Offender classification citing that if the Schnabrichs had been alive, the prosecution

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<sup>228</sup> Why the in-laws were chosen, the court does not make known, but perhaps it was because they had appropriate Aryan qualifications, Weinheber’s parents being a “mixed-marriage.”

<sup>229</sup> Weinheber Run-In with the Settlement Bureau found in SN-NV-Sch-231, Erklärung den Anklägers, October 25th, 1948.



would have sought the “Follower” classification with a “high probation period,” an even lower tier of complicity than their previous “Activist” status.<sup>230</sup> The *Spruchkammer* concurred: Hans and Erna Schnabrich were declared Followers, albeit suspicious ones. Consequentially their estate was turned over to Flory, the trial was over, and the state would absorb the costs of the trial.

Secure in her parent’s inheritance, Flory Kraft left for the United States. On July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1950, five years after Nazism’s fall, she arrived in New York at thirty-seven years old.<sup>231</sup> The ship manifest provided a few fascinating pieces of information about Flory’s American return. First, she was joined by her three children, Alexandre (12), Olga (11), and the young Robert (4). Second, her husband Otto was not present, perhaps because of the next item on the ship manifest: under marital status, Flory was classified as “D,” for divorce. Flory left Germany, her home of twenty-five years, a single-mother, with three young children. Flory and her children were not headed for Chicago, at least that was not their new permanent location. Seemingly picking a place in the United States as far as possible away from Europe, the family moved to San Jose, California. In August 1956, Flory, Robert, and Olga made a return trip to Germany for a supposedly indefinite stay that ultimately resulted in Flory and Robert returning that November.<sup>232</sup> The mother of three remained in San Jose the rest of her very long life. On April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Flory Kraft passed away and, at the age of ninety-seven, was buried near her daughter Olga, both resting in San Jose.<sup>233</sup> She had been allowed to pursue a long life in the United States

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<sup>230</sup> SN-NV-Sch-231, Der öffentliche Kläger beantragte, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1948.

<sup>231</sup> Year: 1950; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 7855; Line: 9; Page Number: 165 on Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. (Accessed 4/15/2018).

<sup>232</sup> Year: 1956; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 8804; Line: 6; Page Number: 9 on Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. (Accessed on 4/15/2018)

<sup>233</sup> *Find A Grave*. Find A Grave. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/127012940> (Accessed on 4/15/2018)

thanks in no small part to the verdict handed down way back in 1948 that exonerated her parents from guilt in Nazi crimes.

On November 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of 1948, the *Spruchkammer* issued final statements which shed more light on their final verdict.<sup>234</sup> Of Hans, the court stated that he clearly had been a “good advocate” for National Socialism. However, no proof backed any accusations that he had denounced anyone or committed a criminal act. However, he did seek a promotion to the civil service, which was granted late in the Third Reich in 1944. Such a promotion indicated that he benefitted from National Socialism at a time when so many suffered at its hands. Erna, the court declared, could not be definitively proven to be a Nazi informant, but the court remained quite satisfied that she had been “very NS.”<sup>235</sup> Regarding their Klan membership, the court expressed little doubt that the Schnabrichs had indeed been members of the Chicago Ku Klux Klan. They cited that Hans apparently enjoyed the organization’s anti-Semitic tendencies. Erna, similarly, anti-Semitic, had also been quite passionate and taken with the pageantry of both the Klan and the Nazi Party. While the prosecution did not make pronounced use of the documents supporting the Schnabrichs’ Klan membership, the court nonetheless upheld their basic findings. As far as the *Spruchkammer* was concerned, Hans and Erna had been racists and socialites, harmless in effect, albeit absolutely worthy of contempt.

### **Both Hitler and Jim Crow**

Should the *Spruchkammer*’s interpretation of the Schnabrichs be accepted? This work contends that Expectation holds the key to understanding the complicity of the Schnabrichs and

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<sup>234</sup> Final Verdict on Hans SN-NV-Sch-232, 3. Final Verdict on Erna on NV-Sch-231, 3.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

other “followers” within the Nazi Reich and Jim Crow South during the interwar period. The willingness of historical actors to realize their expected, privileged futures provides a very powerful lens to evaluate the scale of devotion that rank-and-file members, like the Schnabrichs, and non-affiliated bystanders had for the more ambitious goals of radical organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party. Traditions of the past, suspicions in the present, and hopes to maximize future potential informed both everyday expectations and the radical goals of the Nazi and Klan leadership. While radical futures overlapped with everyday expectations, the two visions differed considerably in their ultimate desired outcomes. Most everyday people sought incremental realizations of their expectations, not the sweeping and dramatic changes that radical leadership endlessly called for. Where would the Schnabrichs and other such “followers” fit on this spectrum of ideological beliefs?

Malice existed in the various subtle enforcements necessary for maintaining the racial hierarchy of the Jim Crow United States and Germany during the Third Reich. Acts as mundane as who to speak with, where to purchase goods, and where to live made up a vast network of interactions enforcing racial caste systems. The “preferred caste” held untold power over their “racial inferiors” that could be used at any time. At the very least, Erna Schnabrich made herself *appear* to be guilty of such actions. Multiple neighbors emphasized having to speak carefully around her out of fear of being reported. Years later, Rudolf Weinheber still believed she had haunted his every step. Even the appearance of support for a racialized state reinforced its panoptic structure. Hans Schnabrich kept his head down and may not have been the solitary goose-stepping terror of Buchenbühl. One neighbor even noted that he and Hans illegally listened foreign radio broadcasts as the war dragged on. Nonetheless, Hans sought advancement within the official power mechanisms available to him, mechanisms only made possible by a

regime built on racial hatred. The Schnabrichs were most certainly culpable in supporting the racial society of Nazism and Jim Crow, but, like the *Spruchkammer* suggested over eighty years ago, the extent of their culpability in Nazism's genocidal campaigns remained, frankly, difficult, perhaps even impossible, to ascertain and know with perfect clarity.

The Schnabrichs were certainly racists; no one joins two radical organizations predicated on racism without sharing some affinity with their fundamental ideologies. While it is up for debate whether they would have advocated something as brutal as the Holocaust, the couple evidently did not care for Jews. Furthermore, they sought to advance their own social, political, and economic standing within a system of intolerance built at the expense of Jews. As Irmgard stated, once the war began to look bleak, the Schnabrichs' external disposition changed. They became morose and severe because their future started to collapse around them. Hans and Erna had invested in National Socialism: it held the key to the future that they had envisioned for themselves and their children, even if the children themselves were lackluster in their support of Nazism. The Schnabrichs wanted to be part of Nazi Germany to the end of their days. When Nazism fell and the war ended, Hans, at age sixty-four, was arrested; both Hans and Erna responded by taking their own lives. Although the court indicated that they had no means to communicate with one another, one can imagine their joint suicide had been hatched long before Hans' arrest; it could have been one of the many conversations Irmgard noticed the couple discussing in worried, hushed tones. The Schnabrichs witnessed their expected future collapsing. They had no desire to reconstruct a new one; they would die along with the Third Reich.

Post-war denazification impacted historical memory and knowledge for decades. While the process began as an effort to weed out any vestige of Nazism left in Germany, these courts steadily became a means for Germans, Bavarians included, to exonerate themselves of their

complicity in the Third Reich. The world fixated on the Holocaust as a shocking and brutal travesty. The word “genocide” had to be developed to encapsulate the sheer shock at the unprecedented extent of Nazism’s effort to exterminate the Jewish people and the whole of Judaism. The Nuremberg trials of the major figures, hosted in Bavaria’s oldest city where Nazi racial law had been debuted, captivated the world, but unfortunately confined complicity to the orders and actions of a few horrifyingly evil people. World opinion defined individuals as either order-followers or prisoners of genocidal and megalomaniacal dictators. The narrative focus on the extermination camps benefitted Bavarians because it removed attention from the racially segregated society that they participated in and advanced in hopes of realizing their Expectation. The discrimination and violence that filled the Third Reich was the precursor to the Holocaust and those who participated, endorsed, and benefitted from segregation and deprivation laid the groundwork necessary to push the racist agenda of National Socialism to its darkest edge. The Schnabricks and many, many Bavarians who supported the Third Reich, either directly or tacitly, bear some form of complicit guilt in the segregated state they maintained and the Holocaust those policies brought to fruition.

That chain of causality never received appropriate focus: Bavarians were not immediately forced to starkly confront that reality for many reasons, but certainly in no small part because the United States did not force Bavarians to do so. The United States allowed and encouraged emphasis on the extermination of Jews because that violence helped differentiate American racial segregation and violence from Nazi efforts to do much the same, but in the extreme. The U.S. did not, and in many ways still does not, have a clear answer for their complicated complicity in the perpetuation of the Holocaust. American racial laws undeniably operated as the foundation for the Third Reich’s Nuremberg Laws. The U.S. State Department’s anti-Semitism

put such stringent limits on providing Jewish refugees shelter that passport rejections essentially became death sentences. The war effort, in waging a firebombing campaign on industrial and civilian targets, did very little to undermine the genocide that functioned relatively unhindered throughout the war. Those decisions, while occurring at the highest levels, were not out of step with everyday American sentiments, particularly in the U.S. South. Everyday U.S. Southerners supported, upheld, and defended Jim Crow; they voiced firm opposition to immigration and were far more interested in Japan as a combatant than largely white Germany. For generations white southerners had benefitted from racial hierarchy: to call out any Germans for developing a racially segregated society would not only have reeked of hypocrisy but it was simply not something the U.S. South or the rest of the country even felt had been particularly wrong. Germany's crime was horrific mass-killing. In contrast, the U.S. was not engaging in any formal endeavor to exterminate its people of color; segregation would not be added to the newly modified human rights spectrum. That logic simultaneously exonerated countless whites across the world benefitting at the expense of racialized others.

This dissertation fixates on the experiences and views of the everyday white perpetrators in both Bavaria and U.S. South who lived their lives in exclusionary cultures fervently maintained in the face of a broadening, changing world. The voices and experiences of the segregated and victimized were not purposely minimized in this work. Rather their voices do not enter the record with much frequency, demonstrating how very little those perspectives mattered to the everyday individuals who persistently maintained segregation against the othered. Few discriminated viewpoints prominently feature in this work, but their occasional presence demonstrates, in stark clarity, the reality of segregated societies. Rudolf Weinheber, the direct victim of the Schnabrichs as well as the Third Reich's discriminatory standards, paints a

clear picture of the countless indignities racialized others suffered. However countless individuals lived through this dangerous time period where the second Ku Klux Klan and the Third Reich rose to prominence. Sadly though, many others did not. On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1919, the white citizens of Phillips County, Arkansas massacred two-hundred-thirty-seven African-Americans in one of the deadliest lynching episodes in American history.<sup>236</sup> In 1921, hundreds of African-Americans were killed during the Tulsa Race Riot, an understated term for the one-sided brutal violence wreaked through Tulsa, Oklahoma's successful African-American community by white authorities and white citizens.<sup>237</sup> These unbelievably violent episodes punctuated countless acts of discrimination, indignation, and violence that defined a Jim Crow South that countless white Southerners virulently supported before, during, and long after the Second World War.

One of the most prominently known African Americans during the interwar era was Missouri native and Harlem Renaissance giant James Mercer Langston Hughes. Hughes's historic career as a poet, journalist, and vocal activist for African-American causes has rightfully been catalogued in many historic works. In 1943, a series of riots erupted across the United States as racial tensions spiked during a war that propagandized racism against the Japanese, criticized racism from Germany, and ignored racism at home, all the while asking African-Americans to loyally adopt all three attitudes. In response to these realities, Hughes penned a poem, *Beaumont to Detroit: 1943*, which spoke to his frustration in a way that transcended its time period by perfectly encapsulating an anguished moment:

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<sup>236</sup> For more on the Elaine Massacre see: Guy Lancaster, *The Elaine Massacre and Arkansas: A Century of Atrocity and Resistance, 1818-1919* (Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, 2018). Grif Stockley, *Blood in Their Eyes: The Elaine Race Massacres of 1919* (University of Arkansas Press, 2004). Robert Whitaker, *On the Laps of Gods: The Red Summer of 1919 and the Struggle for Justice that Remade a Nation* (Broadway Books, 2009).

<sup>237</sup> For more on the Tulsa Race Riot see: Alfred L. Propy *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921: Race, Reparations, and Reconciliation* (Oxford University Press, 2003). Scott Ellsworth *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (LSU Press, 1992). James S. Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance: The Tulsa Race War and Its legacy* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2002). Tim Madigan *The Burning: Massacre, Destruction, and Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (St. Martin's Griffin, 2003)

*Looky here, America  
What you done done-  
Let things drift  
Until the riots come*

*Until the Policemen  
Let the mobs run free  
I reckon you don't care  
Nothing about me*

*You tell me that Hitler  
Is a mighty bad man.  
I guess he took lessons  
From the ku klux klan.*

*You tell me mussolini's  
Got an evil heart.  
Well, it mus-a been in Beaumont  
That he had his start-*

*Cause everything that hitler  
And Mussolini do  
Negroes get the same  
Treatment from you*

*You jim crowed me  
Before Hitler rose to power-  
And you're still jim crowing me  
Right now, this very hour.*

*Yet you say we're fightin  
For democracy.  
Then why don't democracy  
Include me?*

*I ask you this question  
Cause I want to know  
How long I got to fight  
BOTH HITLER- AND JIM CROW<sup>238</sup>*

Ultimately, this work has felt, at various points, like a thoroughly researched endeavor to prove Langston Hughes' accusation. The dissertation before you is much more than *Lost Cause*

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<sup>238</sup> Langston Hughes, "Beaumont to Detroit: 1943," syndicated by the *Associated Negro Press* in *New York People's Voice* and other papers, July 3, 1943.



and Lederhosen. The effort has not been to take a colloquial look at Bavaria and the U.S. South, but to expose the pervasive white supremacy that hid behind those public trappings. This work demonstrates that everyday people, in two different regions, prided themselves on their exceptionalism and that pride formed a vision of the future that compelled those people to support the development of similar exclusionary systems. Everyday whites in both Bavaria and the U.S. South were motivated by desires for stability and opportunity for themselves, their children, and community moving forward. Entitlement to these futures merged with the intense anxieties that their Expectation might not be realized, pushing everyday people to seek out and support Segregationist causes. Everyday people did not vote for Eugene Talmadge, join the Bavarian People's Party, fall in love with Joseph DeJarnette, or attend Nazi festivals because those were the only options. Germany's political diversity provided Bavarians with a wide array of options to identify with politically; they still chose the BVP and Nazi party because those movement's Segregationist policies presented the best option for realizing their Expectation, preserving their Heritage, and maintaining their privilege. As adored as Talmadge and DeJarnette were in the U.S. South, plenty of opponents made their opposition to these men's thought systems well-known. It did not matter though because Segregationist ambitions suited everyday Expectation. Even if the radical edges were more intense than everyday people could accept, radicalism was nonetheless tolerated. Almost anything would be quietly accepted as long as Heritage and the white privilege it informed would be maintained to form a vital component of an expected, entitled future.

Everyday whites, in both the U.S. and Germany, went to extraordinary lengths to emphasize to one another that the future they felt they deserved faced constant and ferocious assaults. In defense of that future, people weaponized the past as a model for continued exclusion

and, as a legacy, that, if abandoned, would spit in the face of countless ancestors who had spent centuries touting Heritage and white supremacy. They viewed their living presents as a cutthroat arena where Suspicion dominated in a free-for-all for the very soul of a society facing assimilation and moral degradation. Consequently, the future precariously hung in the balance; its only chance would come from those who took responsibility to ensure that upcoming generations would be capable of fighting constant, yet still unknown threats to their hegemony. The belief that not only was the future promised to white people, but that it could only be realized through the exclusion of outsiders functioned as the key Expectation that defined racial hegemony in the Jim Crow South and Third Reich. That Expectation witnessed considerable pain, anguish, hardship, evil, and death on people who were victimized by imagined social constructions.

When the Schnabrichs moved their children across the Atlantic to build a new future in Germany, they likely considered Nazism to be only a very tiny part of that future. However, National Socialism eventually subsumed the Schnabrichs. Nazism twisted the Schnabrichs' desires for stability and opportunity by stoking both Hans' and Erna's inherent anti-Semitism. Those prejudices ceased to be a small part of their lives, but instead became the foundation of their belief system that compelled them, and countless others, to become invested in a National Socialist future, much in the same way white Southerners became invested in Jim Crow. While acts like lynching and the Holocaust may have been despised by some whites within these cultures, challenging the basic racist foundations of these heinous acts undermined opportunities and investments that people desperately desired. The benefit of challenging the status-quo was therefore minimal, making it an easy decision to lend the support, active or otherwise, necessary to maintain these systems of oppression.

The Schnabrichs tell us something very important about complicity in racism. Hans and Erna clearly demonstrate that there was nothing inherently German about Nazism's message nor was there anything inherently American about the Ku Klux Klan's. They willingly joined two movements that told anyone willing to listen – and many others who were not – that the world and its resources were finite and limited. Both movements told their white audiences that mythologized pasts justified that the larger share of the world's resources were both their privilege and natural birth-right. Both movements promised to protect the people's vested interests against all threats, especially from racialized others. Both movements promised to maximize the potential of future generations by ensuring the safe passage of their Heritage in perpetuity, along the way cultivating generations of viable offspring. However, those promises could only be gained in one particular manner: the exclusion of racial others whose very existence challenged the supremacy of white dominion. These Segregationist movements fueled the basest instincts of entitlement, fear, and even love for family by turning those feelings into directed hate. Ultimately, the value of the Schnabrichs is that they have no value. Their story, while seemingly unique, can be stripped down to its nuts and bolts and, in its barest and most basic form, shows that it is only one of millions of countless narratives of complicity. Hans and Erna were people with hopes and dreams that exchanged their decency for a chance at a stable and expected future, a trade far too many people agreed to during Jim Crow and the Third Reich.

## Archives

**Bavaria**

*Staatarchiv Augsburg*

*Staatarchiv Bamberg*

*Staatarchiv Nürnberg*

*Stadtarchiv Augsburg*

*Stadtarchiv Bamberg*

*Stadtarchiv München*

*Stadtarchiv Nürnberg*

**U.S. South**

*Alabama Department of Archives and History*

*Duke University Special Collections*

*East Carolina University Digital Collections*

*Georgia Archives*

*Mississippi Department of Archives and History*

*South Carolina Historical Society*

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Special Collections*

*University of Texas at Arlington Special Collection*

*University of Virginia Special Collections*

*The Virginia Library*

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