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THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF GERMAN GREAT WAR VETERANS

Emotion, Transnational Identity, and Loyalty to the Nation, 1914-1942

Erika Kuhlman

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macmillan

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ISBN 978-1-137-50156-1 ISBN 978-1-137-50160-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016940878

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Acknowledgment

I would like to thank the many people who helped make this book possible. Idaho State University's College of Arts and Letters generously supported my research by awarding me with a sabbatical and course release time. The Interlibrary Loan department at Oboler Library helped me secure many of the sources I used to support this study. Christian Wilbers told me about the letter collection at the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv in Dresden: thank you again. It was Frank Trommler who pointed me in Wilbers's direction to begin with. Thank you to the First World War Studies listserv participants, one of whom alerted me to the fact that Bruno Richard Hauptmann was indeed a soldier in the German Army during the First World War. Thanks to archivist Mark Falzini at the New Jersey State Police Museum, who seemed genuinely excited to hear that someone was interested in Hauptmann for a different reason. Finally, a big thank you to Kristine Hunt, who drew the map used to illustrate this volume.

Contents

1 Introduction 1

2 The Weapons They Carried: Brutality and Veterans' Memories of the First World War 21

3 Desertion: Emigrants' Wartime Mobility, Their Transnational War Experience, and the Myths of War 45

4 Emigration, National Loyalty and Identity, and Anti-Semitism During the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany 69

Epilogue 99

Index 113

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1 Bruno Richard Hauptmann's wartime and postwar travels, 1918–1923, based on his memoir The Story of my Life (1935). Map by Kristine Hunt. 50

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Abstract This chapter presents the significance of international migration after the First World War, as demobilized soldiers, colonial units, and displaced persons were sent home. German Great War veterans returned to a defeated nation, a defeat that had a specifically negative impact on those men who had been sent off to war with great expectations of a swift victory and glorified heroism. The humiliated nation-state attempted to retain control of its population by minimizing, if not reversing, the notion of defeat. As veterans grew disillusioned with overreaching Germany bureaucracies, many of them wanted to leave the country. The German government, again demonstrating its desire to control its people, took steps to prevent them from emigrating.

The end of the First World War in November 1918 marked a watershed moment in the international migration of human beings. Soldiers demobilized and returned home, colonial soldiers were dispatched back to their native lands, and the redrawing of the world map by the treaty-makers at Versailles sparked a shift among people who did not care for the new boundary lines. Nation-states, emboldened by their strengthened wartime authority, began controlling the movement of their citizens in unheard of ways. Restrictive immigration laws meant that people were no longer welcome where they once had been, and could less often choose where they wanted to live. People's racial and ethnic identities more often

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8_1

restricted their ability to change their residences.[1] An additional development, the requirement that travelers carry government-issued passports, indicated that citizens' movements were now being monitored by state bureaucracies, and it was in the pages of those passports where people's names, nationality, appearance, and sometimes their religion—their identities—were recorded for the world to see. World War veterans, members of the younger and more volatile generation of Europeans, whose heads had been filled with expectations of victory and heroism in 1914, were among those most likely to want to change their postwar circumstances. German ex-servicemen found the defeated society to which they returned in late 1918 particularly burdensome, considering their recent experiences with that colossal, bureaucracy-to-end-all-bureaucracies, the German military.

Before August 1914, Great War veteran Johann Grossmann had fought fires around the shipyards in the northern port city of Hamburg. He spent the war years aboard ship in the German Navy. Upon his discharge in 1918, the attempts he made at regaining the order and pleasures of his former civilian life were met by failure, and nearly all his shortcomings he attributed to the war and to his nation's defeat in it. Grossmann readily expressed his disillusionment with German postwar society when he relocated back to his childhood home of Fürth, in northern Bavaria. As he later explained in his memoir, the much-revered Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, commander of the Germany military and later president of the Weimar Republic, had promised all honorably discharged servicemen the opportunity to own a piece of land "with which to grow their own cabbage." This gift was to be regarded as a reward for their military service. Grossmann, an aspiring farmer, first felt the scales drop from his eyes when he learned the truth about Hindenburg's promise:

> As my child was about to be born, I asked at the bank how I could obtain the land that Hindenburg had promised. The bank official rejected my query in one sentence. So, I asked a member of the Bavarian Parliament how I could acquire the land that veterans had been guaranteed. He replied, "You'll need 21,000 German Marks to buy land." He was a war cripple. The two of us, a war cripple and a man without a Fatherland, laughed the laugh of two cuckolded fools.[2]

Grossmann undoubtedly felt foolish to have believed Hindenburg's outlandish promise. In the last sentence of the passage, the veteran compared different losses that had occurred as a result of the war: loss of limbs and

renunciation of homeland. In referring to both men as having been cuckolded by the war, he compared soldiering with the intense shame of sexual betrayal. The nation, for which he had made the heroic, larger-than-life sacrifice expected of him when he went to war, had humiliated him, making him feel small.

Grossman's experiences mirror what historian Adam R. Seipp has called the "crises of reciprocity" that plagued postwar nations during the period of demobilization. Veterans expected rewards commensurate with the sacrifices that they had made, and nations, according to Seipp, fell far short of the payback expected by returning Great War soldiers.[3] As the navy man's setbacks continued, his cynicism deepened. Upon his discharge, he had looked for work in Hamburg for two years without success. Moving back to Fürth had not relieved his unemployment. He began to imagine emigration as the answer to his problems. He visited the local office of the *Reichswanderungsamt* (RWA), or German Immigration Bureau. Here, he asked for information about circumstances in other countries. The RWA, established in 1919, was set up by the government ostensibly to act as a sort of clearinghouse of information for prospective emigrants. The RWA official inquired whether he would stay in Germany, if he were to find a job. "Of course," Grossmann replied. The next day, according to his memoir, he was offered a job at a factory. He did not believe this development to be coincidental. Grossmann interpreted his encounters at the RWA office with sarcasm. He believed that instead of *helping* Germans who were desperate to leave the economic and political chaos that was Weimar Germany, the RWA was actually trying to *keep* would-be emigrants from leaving the country.[4]

The only solace he found in postwar Germany was a philosophy course he took through a *Volkshochschule,* or worker educational program. Like nearly everything else he encountered in his postwar life, the veteran interpreted the program through the lens of Germany's defeat. Because of war reparations outlined in the Treaty of Versailles, he opined, German goods would not be competitive in world markets. One avenue to making German products more attractive was to educate workers, so the *Volkshochschulen* were established to facilitate that need. Adult education courses had existed prior to Weimar, but their numbers exploded in the 1920s. Explicitly mentioned in the Weimar constitution, the *Volkshochschulen* idea was designed to foster unity throughout German society and personal happiness in the individual.[5] Since the philosophy course did not require examinations, Grossmann chose to enroll in it. He and his fellow students made excursions together in the Bavarian countryside. The course captivated him and

"held him prisoner"; thoughts of leaving Germany faded. He found an inner peace in the natural world, although his dream of farming never left him. Right before he boarded a ship bound for North America, he told an emigration official that he wanted to farm so that he could grow his own food in order to feed and sustain himself.[6]

Grossmann did not marry the mother of his child, and was therefore obliged to pay child support under German law. Suddenly, the owner of the factory where he worked reduced his hours. His sister began paying his rent for him. The veteran's frustrations with the contradictory directions he received from officials at the social services office, as to how much child support he would have to pay under his reduced income, reawakened his desire to leave the country. It is possible that escaping the child support payments motivated him to leave Germany, too. In any case, he finally made his move in 1927. Once aboard the steamer bound for Canada, he met a fellow German émigré who summed up his own sorry departing circumstances: "Father scolded, mother cried, and the policeman refused to give me a passport" (Germans owing taxes could not obtain a passport[7]). Grossmann disembarked in Nova Scotia, traveled west and eventually purchased land and established his farm in the Peace River region of British Columbia.[8] Johann Grossmann was one of just over 600,000 Germans emigrating abroad during the Weimar Republic from 1919 to 1932. The vast majority of those disembarked on Ellis Island.[9]

The Bavarian's inability to reach his life's dream—planting crops on his own plot of land in Germany—constituted a common motivating factor for leaving the Fatherland, according to RWA chief Walter Jung. The desire for *Selbständigung,* or the ability to stand on one's own two feet, prompted all emigrants who left Germany in the early 1920s, according to Jung. The war, and especially their nation's defeat in it, had translated among Germans into a desire to "*nicht mehr Knecht sein*," or to no longer be a slave. Jung believed that workers wanted to stop being slaves to capital.[10] But the master Grossmann sought to escape from was the German government and perhaps memories of the war itself, but not capitalism. German Great War widows, too, sought independence from men and from government authority, according to Helena Hurwitz-Stranz's *Kriegerwitwen gestalten Ihr Schicksal*.[11] Widows such as Johanna Boldt, who lost her husband in the war, relished the new economic freedom they achieved when they earned their own bread.[12]

Grossmann's memoir says nothing about his war experiences, though one might judge by the opening passage that they had not been positive.

His irritations with German bureaucrats may have begun during his military service. Of the German veterans immigrating to USA, those who wrote their memories of their time in military service expressed a recurring frustration with (among other things) a lack of knowledge. The enlisted complained of not being told by their commanding officers where they were marching to, of not knowing what they would be doing once they arrived, nor even the reasons why their nation was at war. If servicemen assumed their superiors were privy to inside information, officers' memoirs indicate the presence of the same irritating shroud of ignorance darkening their mental horizons.[13] Decisions were made elsewhere and were changed for inexplicable reasons. By autumn 1918, soldiers were indicating their frustrations with not-knowing more frequently by refusing orders.[14] The feeling of powerlessness hit home for surviving soldiers who returned to wives and children, because the authority once presumed to be wielded by the father no longer operated in the old, expected ways in postwar German society.[15] Problems reintegrating back into German society affected veterans—such as Johann Grossmann and another immigrating veteran, Bruno Richard Hauptmann—for whom flight seemed to hold the only answer to their vexations. Although much has been written about the war dead, and while the multitude of war memorials demonstrate that postwar societies' focus remained on those sacrificed, in fact, most soldiers mobilized did not die in the war.[16]

The possibility of revolution hung in the air as German soldiers demobilized, and some were politicized as they shifted from battle front to home front. Others were not. Benjamin Ziemann's study reveals that in rural Germany, most returning veterans' only desire was to return to their former lives, and their families simply wanted them back. The hoped-for shift from wartime to peacetime, however, blurred as the German government increased its centralized authority after the war, and millions of Germans, war veterans, war widows, and citizens not directly connected to the war, suffered from its overbearing presence in their lives. Bavarian veteran farmers resented government controls on the agricultural economy; the German military had scored no points among farmers during the war as it had confiscated their produce and livestock to mobilize and feed its army.[17] Veterans' desire for a life set apart from the German government began in the crucible of their wartime experiences of ignorance, and postwar experiences such as those described by Johann Grossmann redoubled their desire to leave.

This study moves beyond more simplistic—and obvious—reasons why German veterans, or any German citizen, for that matter, may have chosen to immigrate: the poor state of the economy in Germany and the more stable one in the USA. By rejecting this simplistic response, historians can open themselves up to a more nuanced interpretation of motive, one that takes them beyond the "economic/rational man" model.[18] Advocates of this model presume that since the German economy was sour, and the US economy bright, emigrants made a rational decision and left the Fatherland. But historians of emotion have encouraged a look into the emotional reasons for what motivates people to act.

If enlisted men like Grossmann struggled to regain their prewar footing, so, too, did officers. A contemporary study by economist Karl Thalheim reveals the postwar situation for officers. These men, according to Thalheim, returned from war to find their jobs were taken from them and the "economic basis of their lives ruined." A "mass psychosis" set in that Thalheim explained as a belief that middle-class Germans were "going under." Intellectuals reinforced this notion. Newspaper articles about emigration proliferated in 1919. Into this situation stepped the "professional swindler," who bilked would-be emigrants out of their money in exchange for promises to help them leave the country.[19] The "average German," according to the RWA, was "vulnerable" to swindlers as a result of the nation's defeat in war,[20] which in some individuals translated as their own personal downfall. In addition to regular officers, career officers' economic lives had been "gutted" by the Versailles Treaty, according to Thalheim. They, too, were eager to leave Germany, and some even tried to find work in foreign militaries, although the peace treaty did not allow this.[21] One prospective emigrant, frustrated by his own unemployment, accused the RWA of hiring only ex-military officers to staff its offices, and indeed, RWA director Walter Jung, a decorated First World War officer in the German Army, provided an example of that practice.[22]

With the rise of social history in the 1960s and 1970s, histories of Great War veterans written at that time tended to focus on the enlisted rather than officers, reinforcing a false binary opposition between the two (although, admittedly, the diaries and letters written by non-officers indicate that there was no love lost between soldiers and their superiors).[23] Michele Barrett rejects the presumed enlisted/officer opposition, however, offering evidence that both types of military men dealt with lack of control.[24] Daniel Magaziner has noted the limitations of binary constructions controlling the way historians have written about conflict. In

South Africa, he finds that too many historians have sought out native South Africans who fought against apartheid, at the expense of our understanding of how some indigenous people negotiated, rather than overtly resisted, apartheid. Artists and art teachers, according to Magaziner, were able to express themselves artistically above the crippling system of apartheid and help others to do the same.[25] Like Magaziner, my approach to these veteran emigrants is to deconstruct the opposing categories of "enlisted" and "officer" and instead tell the story of individuals who made decisions for themselves about the direction they wanted their postwar lives to take. This approach—focusing on the individual versus collective—makes the most sense, given the fact that most of Germany's post–First World War emigrants came from industrialized, urban centers particularly in Baden and Württemberg provinces, and were typically men leaving by themselves.[26]

As Ziemann has demonstrated, rural Bavarian soldiers tended to respond to postwar German society as individuals, rather than, for example, collectively by joining political organizations. Grossmann, though not from rural Bavaria, voted for Social Democrats all his life, but he did not believe collective action would solve his problems.[27] Deborah Cohen corroborated Ziemann's findings among disabled veterans, and Richard Bessel has explained that soldiers returned as individuals, not as Great War heroes, as society had expected they would.[28] Six million German men were still in active duty in November 1918. By 1921, there were 1.4 million people in seven veterans' organizations, according to Robert Weldon Whalen.[29] These seven organizations also welcomed war widows and other dependents as members. Groups such as the *Reichsbund der Kriegsbeschädigten* (National Association of War Injured), the most popular of the seven, fought for the rights of veterans and survivors to social services, a task which by 1920, with the new National Pension Law, had been at least partially fulfilled. These organizations denied that they served any political purpose or were affiliated with any political party, to appeal to as many people as possible. Bessel demonstrated that those who joined the paramilitary *Freikorps* were actually too young to have served in the war.[30] Because veterans' groups included other survivors and younger men interested in military service, it is difficult to ascertain exactly how many veterans were members, and how many veterans expected collective action to alleviate their troubles in postwar society.

This is a history of German veterans, including four enlisted men (Bruno Richard Hauptmann, Fidelis Waldvogel, Boy Jessen, and an

anonymous military deserter) and two officers (Richard Schmidt[31] and Karl Oscar Hugg), who survived the war, escaped serious physical, mental, or emotional wounds, and were therefore well enough to immigrate to another country. Jason Crouthamel and Deborah Cohen have written about wounded Great War German veterans. They have traced veterans' relationships with the nation-state for which they had fought and, after the war, from which they sought compensation for their disabilities.[32] My study considers men whose response to their war experiences, to the political and economic upheaval that was the Weimar Republic, was flight. These men evaluated their own familial, social, and economic circumstances within the society in which they lived, and they took action—quite drastic action—as a result. As Joan Scott has cautioned, individuals do not possess agency—defined here as an individual's capacity to act independently and make choices freely—but rather they learn how to act through the hearing of social discourses that prompt both introspection and action.[33] The term "social discourses" indicates that individual choice depends to some extent on hearing shared ideas. The language of freedom and independence, for example, had already circulated in German society long before the guns of August. German cultural history embraced the freedom of conscience expressed in the nineteenth-century protest song "*Die Gedanken sind Frei.*"

> If I am thrown into the darkest of dungeons
> Even this is useless because my thoughts
> Will rip all gates and walls apart.
> One's thoughts are free![34]

Soldiers learned the discourses of nationalism, and in the case of Germany, *Deutschtum* or the belief in German cultural superiority, that had been hyped, propagandized, and spread during the war, primarily because unity was lacking in prewar German society.[35] The culture of memorializing the war after 1918 reinforced the ties between veterans and the nation for which they had fought through the enormous effort expended upon rendering the soldiering figure into stone across the myriad World War military cemeteries, commemorative parades, and even the attempted establishment of a special day, *Volkstrauertag*, or national day of mourning, devoted to remembering those who lost their lives in the war.

But that same war also reinvigorated transnational discourses—including freedom of conscience, pacifism, and anti-Semitism—that combatants

heard and carried with them as they demobilized. Those transnational discourses disengaged the veteran from the nation for which he had fought, leaving him open to language and ideas that may in turn have encouraged a veteran to leave the Fatherland. I have tried to hear both national and transnational discourses as they affected emigrating German veterans.

Part of the purpose in undertaking this study was to try to add to the current paucity of biographical material on German veterans that Benjamin Ziemann laments in his work.[36] Emigrants were unlikely to leave memoirs in their home countries, unless they intended to return (not the case for any of the veterans featured in this study). Many wrote letters to relatives remaining in Germany, and some of those have been recovered. But lack of strong family ties may also be another reason for emigration; this was true for Grossmann, who had lost his mother during the war and who chose not to remain with the mother of his son. Bruno Richard Hauptmann's father died during the war, and combat killed his older brothers. Church organizations also operated information centers for people trying to communicate with relatives who had relocated, and they collected letters written by emigrants.[37] But Benjamin Ziemann insists that most rural veterans had lost faith in the church when it supported the war, so they were unlikely to be in touch with church-sponsored organizations. Looking for evidence of these veterans' experiences in the USA has proved more fruitful. But a void still exists.

Historians of Great War veterans have, with important exceptions, studied those veterans within the confines of the nation-states to which they returned.[38] They have not considered emigrating ex-servicemen whose response to their postwar lives was to move away. At the same time, historians of the movement of Germans and other Europeans after the war have ignored the special case of veterans who chose to relocate. This study aims to begin the work of cross-pollination between studies of veterans, on the one hand, and of postwar migration, on the other.

One of the emigrating veterans I explore is Fidelis Waldvogel, a fictional character in Louise Erdrich's novel *The Master Butchers Singing Club*. Erdrich lent her considerable pen to an imagined German Great War veteran who witnessed the death in battle of his closest comrade, a common trope in Great War literature.[39] But unlike those novels Erdrich's most compelling scene is not the death of the fallen comrade, but rather a new life. Upon his return home after the war, the surviving soldier, Waldvogel, visits his dead friend's family. His closet friend's fiancée, Eva Kalb, answers the door, and as Waldvogel tells her of the death of her betrothed, she

falls in to his arms. During that embrace Waldvogel feels the movement of Eva's and his comrade's unborn child. Waldvogel proposes marriage to Eva, who accepts. He leaves for the USA to open his own butcher shop a year or so after their marriage. Eva arrives with their son shortly after, and the two eventually create a new home for their family in the western USA. Thalheim notes this common pattern among German postwar emigrant families: the male left first, followed by wife and children.[40]

How can fictional characters help historians tell a truthful story about the past? The words "fictional" and "truth" may seem contradictory. Historians thrive on evidence and accuracy to build arguments about what happened in the past, but they also strive to help readers understand that experiencing life fully at any one moment in time is a function of what has already been. Erdrich imagined a moment in her character's life when past and present collide. As Fidelis and Eva embrace, new life, symbolized by the fetus reaching out in the womb, compelled the veteran to act; that tiny being overtook, at least momentarily, the memory of the deaths that he had lived with during the war. Those millions of trench deaths shaped the lives of individual surviving soldiers more than any other wartime experience, according to literary historians Trudi Tate and Michele Barrett, and historian Robert Weldon Whalen.[41] Barrett reports that trench soldiers were forced to live with corpses that could not be buried due to raging battles above ground. Sigmund Freud, too, proclaimed the massive scale of death to be the single most significant aspect of the Great War.[42] Historians familiar with Freud's assessment of the Great War and with what trench warfare was like may appreciate Erdrich's constructed scene between the returning soldier and his fallen comrade's fiancée, although perhaps not any more than anyone else who has experienced death on a massive scale. Erdrich's character is made even more enticing to the historian in the author's epilogue, where she tells readers that the image on the book's jacket cover is a photograph of her grandfather, who like Fidelis Waldvogel was a butcher and fought in the German army during the Great War, immigrated to the USA, and raised sons that fought on the US side in the Second World War. Readers can be forgiven for wondering whether Waldvogel is modeled, however loosely, on Erdrich's own grandfather.

Erdrich's *The Master Butchers Singing Club* appeared in 2003. This study includes another piece of literature, *A German Deserter's War Experience,* written and published during the war. That tale involves another compelling wartime figure, although one whose story is similarly complicated for the historian. This anonymously written memoir (I will

refer to the author as "the Deserter") features the Deserter's combat experience from August 1914 to his escape from his unit, his stowing away on a steamer bound for the USA, and his recovery and the publication of his book in 1917. The complication lies precisely in the author's choice to remain anonymous. Without the writer's name, historians cannot know how his life proceeded after his redemptive appearance in the New World. Other than that sense of redemption, the Deserter's book is replete with the alienation that marks the rise of modernist literature after the Great War, a genre with deep connections to the war itself. The lines blurring the categories of fiction, history, autobiography, biography, and memoir accompanied the rise of literary modernism and complicate the historian's choice of source material to use in constructing a truthful past.[43]

Two historians of Germany, Belinda Davis and Elizabeth Domansky, have assessed the Great War's relationship to modernity. Davis interprets modernity as a rupture from the past, rather than continuity, while Domansky regards modernity as the onset of the nation-state's regulation of and militarization of society, politics and economy. Both Davis and Domansky believe the First World War marks a distinct break with the past, though Domansky finds the roots of National Socialism in the Great War.[44] Peter Fritzsche, writing about émigrés displaced by the French Revolution, interprets refugees' recognition that social turmoil coincided with the upheaval in their own lives, as a mark of modernity and of the historicity implicit in feelings of nostalgia for a past that no longer existed.[45] Emigrants' lives are necessarily shaped by a break from the past as they leave their homelands behind to begin new lives on another shore, in essence leaving their national identities behind as they take on new ones (at least for those immigrants who become citizens of their new countries). This transition period may leave emigrants feeling as though they had no homeland. Johann Grossmann recalled his own sense of alienation from the Fatherland after the war ended, but *before* he decided to emigrate. Volker Depkat explored the transnationalization of soldiers in the trenches during the war. Grossmann, for example, explained that he really did not need the advice of the RWA on living overseas, since during the war he had already been abroad.[46] Wartime mobility had correlated strongly with postwar migration among veterans after the US Civil War.[47] The question, then, becomes this: To what extent did these soldiers' transnational experiences and mobility in battle, prepare them, however inadvertently, for emigration once the war ended?

In addition to some historians seeking out transnational, rather than strictly national discourses, Jay Winter and others have explored

a greater focus on what Winter calls the "affective turn" in Great War historiography.[48] The pathos surrounding German Great War veteran Richard Schmidt's death is similar to the affect drawn out by Louise Erdrich in the embrace she created between Fidelis Waldvogel and Eva Kalb. Schmidt immigrated to the USA in 1921, and was therefore one of the first German soldiers to reach the shores of Germany's Great War opponent, the USA. Like Waldvogel's Eva, Schmidt's fiancée Gertrud arrived two years later. The couple married and had a daughter in 1926. But perhaps the 1929 stock market crash frightened Gertrud, because by 1931 she had returned with her daughter, but without her husband, to Germany. When Richard Schmidt received word from Gertrud that his daughter was gravely ill, and that he should come to Germany immediately, the World War veteran robbed a dry cleaning store and was shot dead by police during his getaway attempt. The crime's aftermath illustrates the persistence of wartime experiences more than a decade after the war ended. Gertrud's telegram to her husband, in which she pleaded with him to return to Germany, was found in the dead man's coat pocket.

This study deals not only with the emotional aspects of emigrants' rejection of their homelands and their anticipated relocation to another country, but with the practical steps they took as they contemplated changing where they would live. Once an emigrant decided to leave, he needed to procure a passport. This procedure signaled to the veteran that the state had indeed grown significantly while the soldier had been at war. Two of the emigrants featured in this study did not have passports, of course, because they stowed away on board ship and entered the USA illegally, successfully skirting all the bureaucratic hoops jumped through by other emigrants at both the leaving and the arriving ends of their journeys. This was typical before the war, as Europeans traveled around, out of, and back in to Europe without passports. Austrian writer Stefan Zweig, for example, who had lived in four different cities in three continents, reported never having seen a passport until after the First World War.[49] Germans could get advice on obtaining a passport from Walter Jung's RWA or from one of two private agencies related to German emigration.

Emigration from Germany

The formation of a bureaucracy, the RWA, whose leadership tried to limit German departures, provides a view into the overbearing authority wielded by the German government during the Weimar Republic. The

cultural habit of manipulating individuals to achieve a collective, national goal exacerbated Germans' frustrations with their postwar lives. Two private entities, the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (VDA; Society for Germans Abroad, established in 1881) and the *Deutsches Ausland Institut* (DAI; German Foreign Institute, founded in 1917) worked with the RWA but had more of a cultural bent. These private organizations fared little better in the judgment of those who sought their help. The DAI had an economic focus in that it sought to retain German markets abroad during the war and regain those lost due to the conflict. Its leaders fought against what they saw as damaging anti-German propaganda spread as a consequence of the First World War. All three organizations hoped to prevent Germans living abroad from assimilating into their new societies; in other words, their goal was to keep Germans German by encouraging them to resist learning new languages, different customs, and above all becoming citizens of the nations to which they relocated. Members of these organizations believed that people born in Germany embodied a unique heritage that came under threat when Germans left the Fatherland. Blood, a perceivable physical aspect that passed between mother and child during gestation, constituted an important symbol of the believed-in, inherited nature of the concept of *Deutschtum*.[50]

One school of thought regarding postwar German immigration is that the phenomenon could actually benefit Germany as German nationals living abroad could facilitate trade between the Fatherland and other resource-rich nations. In addition, some German businesses also encouraged emigration. German shipping lines, for example, eagerly promoted Canada as a place where men would find agricultural labor easily and could earn good money during harvest.[51] But the notion that ethnic Germans living abroad might lose their *Deutschtum* persisted as a threat even among those who envisioned potential economic benefits to German *Auswanderung*.

Germans living in the Weimar Republic thus had numerous options for receiving information on leaving their homeland. The USA was the most popular destination, judging both by the number of people inquiring about the USA in VDA and DAI offices, and by numbers of Germans actually arriving in the USA.[52] They made this choice despite efforts to relocate them somewhere else. Officials staffing RWA, DAI, and VDA offices all encouraged prospective immigrants to choose South American nations to move to, as these nations were perceived as being friendlier to Germans and because the USA and Canada represented former enemy

nations whose inhabitants harbored and expressed deep hatred toward Germans.[53] Furthermore, for those working for the DAI, South America, especially Brazil, constituted a nation eager to do business with Germans.

Immigrating to the USA

If potential immigrants were looking for a nation with more freedom and less government restrictions, the USA may not have been the best choice. But as RWA publications indicate, German officials dealing with potential emigrants did not use the image of a highly authoritarian US government to scare travelers away. Instead, they relied upon lingering wartime animosity toward all things Germans to do the trick. In addition, they turned travelers' attention toward the racial tensions lingering in the US South.[54]

The idea of persistent wartime bitterness between the two countries may have discouraged Germans from relocating in the USA, although a counter force would surely have been the numbers of ethnic Germans already living in that nation. Richard Schmidt, Richard Hauptmann, and Karl Oscar Hugg each were welcomed in the USA by relatives already living there. On the other hand, the USA denied immigrants from Germany entrance until a treaty between the two nations was worked out in 1921. But even after the Treaty of Berlin had been signed by both countries, the USA, in an isolationist and xenophobic mood, passed unfriendly immigration laws in the 1920s that instituted a quota system to restrict immigration. This quota system held the numbers of people coming from a particular country and entering the USA to the number of people from that country living in the USA as of 1910. German veterans choosing to move to the nation against which they had fought thus made a challenging decision. Stronger, more centralized nation-states were the order of the day in the 1920s, making government regulation of citizenship status part of everyday life for would-be immigrants. Many immigrating veterans had already had their fill of government regulations during the war, complicating their desire to start their lives afresh on a foreign shore.

The following chapters are arranged to mirror the emigrants' journey. Chapters 2 and 3 explore the travelers' wartime experiences and then send them off overseas. Chapter 4 pays attention to the veterans' conflicted and gendered sense of identity once settled in the USA. Specifically, Chap. 2 of this study will focus on the emotional aspects of soldiers' response to the war and to their reactions to changed circumstances once they emigrated. The chapter will highlight the lives of Fidelis Waldvogel

and Richard Hauptmann. I will also be dealing with a facet of German First World War historiography known as the “brutalization” theory. This theory, first posed by George L. Mosse, held that German men fighting in the Great War experienced violence on a massive scale. In the context of heightened cultural expectations of them as heroes, the war brutalized them to a degree not seen in veterans from the other belligerent nations.[55] Waldvogel and Hauptmann both kept and used guns in their postwar lives, and neither man could escape the violence of the war.

Chapter 3 will pay attention to the transnational discourses heard and expressed in the memoirs of two First World War deserters; the first writer, from the borderland between Germany and France, chose to remain anonymous and will be referred to as “the Deserter” in these pages. This chapter traces veterans’ movements during the war and their transatlantic journey after. Following Chulhee Lee’s work on US Civil War veterans, the purpose of the mapping exercise is to demonstrate how movement during the war may have encouraged veterans to move after the conflict ended. The Deserter (and Bruno Richard Hauptmann) told readers that during their time in the German army, they almost never knew where they were going; they were simply sent to battle and made to obey those orders. After the war, they seemed similarly “in the dark” about where they might end up. The Deserter thought he stowed away on a ship bound for New York, but was surprised to find out that he had landed in Philadelphia instead. The other deserter featured in this chapter, Boy Jessen, was an officer in the German army and reveled in its military culture, but hated the German subjugation of the Danish people in Schleswig. Both men represent the difficulties the German government faced in controlling its fighting men who hailed from borderlands regions.

Chapter 4 will focus on nationalist discourses in the records of two veterans, Richard Schmidt and Karl Oscar Hugg. Immigrant Hans Rothmann provides an intriguing opener for this chapter. Rothmann’s father, Berlin neurologist Max Rothmann, tried to persuade the German military to accept his son into the prestigious Prussian Cadet Corps. The elder Rothmann, a German Jew, took such drastic measures despite the death of his eldest son, Otto, earlier in the war. Rothmann’s goal was to boost the reputation of Jews within the German military.[56] This section will necessarily explore the relationship between nationalism and anti-Semitism. Karl Oscar Hugg, investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), was forced to demonstrate his patriotism to the USA amid accusations that he was still loyal to Germany under National

Socialism. His accusers drew their evidence from his participation in the notorious German American Bund organization and from his anti-Semitic remarks. Hugg discovered that nations may grant citizenship but are also entitled to take it away. Richard Schmidt's crime revealed continued animosity toward German-born naturalized citizens. The release of Schmidt's murderer demonstrated the ways in which World War heroism seemed to exonerate wrongdoing in his adopted homeland. The chapter ends with a letter written by a German immigrant who made a conscious choice to shun the violent militarism resurgent in his homeland and declared himself at long last a citizen of the USA instead.

Notes

1. Christiane Reinecke, "Governing Aliens in Times of Upheaval: Immigration Control and Modern State Practice in Early Twentieth-Century Britain, Compared with Prussia," *International Review of Social History* 54 (2009):39–65 argues that the German government controlled immigration the most restrictively, and that the control of population was already occurring prior to the First World War; First World War did initiate restrictive passport requirements.
2. John Grossmann, "Warum Ich Deutschland verliess," *German-Canadian Yearbook*, Vol. 1 (1973): 199. All translations from German to English are mine, unless otherwise noted; I am using the German form of Grossmann's first name.
3. Adam R. Seipp, *The Ordeal of Peace: Demobilization and the Urban Experience in Britain and Germany, 1917–1921* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 15.
4. Grant Grams, *German Emigration to Canada and the Support of its* Deutschtum *during the Weimar Republic* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 15; corroborated by Klaus J. Bade, "'Amt der verlorenen Worte'—das Reichswanderungsamt 1918–1924." *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 39, no. 3 (1989): 312–21. The Deutsches Ausland Institut also tried to keep Germans at home, Grams, 95.
5. Michael Brenner, *Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 76–77.
6. Grossmann, 202.
7. Grams, 18.
8. Grossmann, 200–202.
9. Grams, 79, 81. Despite the passport system, the German government could not assess how many Germans may have emigrated from foreign ports, so some believe the number may be slightly higher.

10. Walter Jung, "Die gegenwärtigen Beweggründe der Auswanderungsneigung," *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts* (1921): 804–07.
11. Helene Hurwitz-Stranz, ed., *Kriegerwitwen gestalten Ihr Schicksal: Lebenskämpfe deutscher Kriegerwitwen nach eigenen Darstellung* (Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1931); see also Helene Stöcker, *Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik* (Berlin: Oesterheld, 1916), 4.
12. Erika Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 42.
13. Anonymous, *A German Deserter's War Experience*, translated by Julius Köttgen (London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1917), 14, 17, 168; Richard Hauptmann, "The Story of my Life," translated by Anna Bading, unpublished manuscript, New Jersey State Police Museum and Learning Center Archives, Ewing Township, NJ, 67, 72, 78; the anonymous author and Hauptmann were enlisted; Walter Freudenthal, an officer, expressed the same sense of not-knowing. Walter Freudenthal, Champagne Tagebuch, October 6– December 6, 1915, 4. Digital Collections, Leo Baeck Institute, New York City.
14. Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914–1923* (New York: Berg, 2007), 272.
15. Elizabeth Domansky "Militarization and Reproduction in World War I Germany," in Geoff Eley, ed. *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 459.
16. Jay Winter, "Demography," in John Horne, ed. *A Companion to World War I* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 249.
17. Ziemann, 214, 217. Kuhlman, 111.
18. As William M. Reddy pointed out in his presentation to the American Historical Association conference, "Approaches to Emotion: Experimentation in Neuroscience and Historical Interpretation," January 2, 2015, New York City, the "economic" or "rational man" construct followed the Western presumption of the binary opposition of emotion on the one hand, and rational thinking, on the other.
19. Karl C. Thalheim, *Das deutsche Auswanderungsproblem der Nachkriegszeit* (Crimmitschau: Rohland und Berthold Verlag, 1926), 28–9.
20. "Warum brauchen Wir dieses Amt?" German Captured Documents Collection, 1766–1945, MSS 22160, reel #437, Reichswanderungsamt, General Correspondence, A-Z, 1921, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
21. Thalheim, 74, 76.
22. Letter to "Hochwohlgeborener," February 1921, German Captured Documents Collection, 1766–1945, MSS 22160, reel #437,

Reichswanderungsamt, General Correspondence, A-Z, 1921, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

23. Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Benjamin Ziemann and Bernd Ulrich's chapter "Grievances" draws on soldiers' disgust with officers, Ziemann and Ulrich, eds., *German Soldiers in the Great War: Letters and Eyewitness Accounts*, transl. Christine Brocks (Barnsley, England: Pen & Sword Books, 2010), 101–130. Erich Maria Remarque's cruel fictional character Corporal Himmelstoss, in *All Quiet on the Western Front*, reinforced this notion.
24. Michele Barrett, *Casualty Figures: How Five Men Survived the First World War* (London: Verso, 2007), 15.
25. Daniel Magaziner, "Two Stories about Art, Education, and Beauty in Twentieth-Century South Africa" *The American Historical Review* 118 (2013): 1403–29.
26. Thalheim, 53–68.
27. Grossmann, 199.
28. Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 153, 157; Richard Bessel, "The Great War in German Memory: soldiers of the First World War, Demobilization, and Weimar Political Culture," *German History* 6 (1988): 28–34.
29. Bessel, 28; Whalen, 128.
30. Bessel, 28.
31. I have changed Schmidt's real name at the request of his family.
32. Jason Crouthamel, *The Great War and German Memory: Society, Politics and Psychological Trauma, 1914–1945* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009); Cohen, *The War Come Home.*
33. Quoted in Magaziner, 1414.
34. Frank Weber, ed. *Deutsche Volkslieder: 260 Deutsche Volksliedertexte* (Norderstedt: Herstellung und Verlag, 2012), 65. For alternative text and history, see Loone Ots, "'Me mötted on priid': Die estländische Fassung des deutschen Liedes 'Die Gedanken sind frei,'" *Jahrbuch fürVolksliedforschung* 43 (1998): 134–46.
35. Robert L. Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 55–57. Nelson finds a lack of German national cohesion alluded to in soldier newspapers.
36. Ziemann, 211.
37. Evangelisch-Lutherische Auswandermission, Hamburg. Letters archived at the Archiv des Kirchenkreises Hamburg-Ost, Hamburg, Germany.

38. Cohen and Adam R. Seipp, *The Ordeal of Peace: Demobilization and the Urban Experience in Britain and Germany, 1917–1921* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), and Julia Eichenberg and John Paul Newman, *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism* (New York: Palgrave, 2013).
39. The fictional Paul Bäumer watches two comrades die, one in his arms. Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (London: Putnam & Company Ltd, 1970 reprint); Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
40. Louise Erdrich, *The Master Butchers Singing Club* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003); Thalheim, 68.
41. Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History, and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 14–15; Barrett, 17; Whalen, 45–47, discusses the prominence of trench deaths in Great War literature.
42. Sigmund Freud, "Our Attitude Towards Death," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, XIV trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1957), 291.
43. Franz Karl Stanzel, "Introduction I: War and Literature," and Ulrich Broich, "World War I in Semi-autobiographical Fiction," in Stanzel and Martin Loeschnigg, eds. *Intimate Enemies: English and German Literary Reactions to the Great War, 1914–1918* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993), 13–14, 314.
44. Domansky, 433–4; Belinda Davis, "Experience, Identity, and Memory: The Legacy of World War I," in *Journal of Modern History* 75, 1 (March 2003): 111–31.
45. Peter Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 2001): 1587–1618.
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47. Chulhee Lee, "Health, Information, and Migration: Geographic Mobility of Union Army Veterans, 1860–1880," NBER Working Paper Series, National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 11207 http://www.nber.org/papers/w11207.
48. Jay Winter, "Featured Review," *American Historical Review* 116 (2011): 755–58.
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50. Ernst Klein, "Das Elsass und das Deutschtum," *Der Auslanddeutsche*, Jg. III, nr. 4 (1920): 100–103.

51. Grams, 96.
52. Grams, 80–81, 88.
53. Ibid, 93; "Vereinigten Staaten," *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts* (1919): 170–71; "Deutschtum," *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts* (1921): 701.
54. "USA," Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts (1921): 844–846.
55. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 181.
56. Hans Rothmann Collection, 1914–1915, AR-2122, Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, New York.

CHAPTER 2

The Weapons They Carried: Brutality and Veterans' Memories of the First World War

Abstract This chapter focuses on the emotional and gendered aspects of soldiers' responses to the war and to emigration. Fidelis Waldvogel and Bruno Richard Hauptmann made decisions based on their emotional reflexes to conditions in their postwar lives. Hauptmann upheld uniquely German expectations of manliness. German First World War historiography includes the "brutalization" theory. This theory held that German soldiers experienced violence on a massive scale. In the context of heightened cultural expectations of them as heroes, the war brutalized them to a degree not seen in other Great War veterans. Waldvogel and Hauptmann both kept and discharged guns in their postwar lives, and neither man could escape the violence of the war.

Both of the German veteran-emigrants featured in this chapter brought their weapons home with them when they returned from the war and both discharged those weapons more than once. Both men's lives were affected by feelings of shame and dishonor that comprise the root cause of their violent acts. This chapter explores the ex-soldiers' literary lives: the first man, Fidelis Waldvogel, is a fictional character, while the other veteran, Bruno Richard Hauptmann, composed his memoir while languishing in his cell in a New Jersey state prison. The crossover between literature and memoir will be considered, as will the importance of emotion in both men's lives. Historians of emotion have explored the connections between

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8_2

honor, shame, and the kinds of violent acts that Waldvogel and Hauptmann repeatedly performed. Finally, as both Waldvogel and Hauptmann reacted to their moments of shame and dishonor with acts that could be described as brutal, I consider the possible link between brutality and the war in which both men had fought.

Fidelis Waldvogel

Louise Erdrich's novel *The Master Butchers Singing Club* tells the story of Fidelis Waldvogel, a German First World War veteran who immigrates to the USA to open a butcher shop in the early 1920s. The war and his experiences in it follow him wherever he goes. He had learned his trade as a *Metzgerei*, or butcher, from his father. Settling in a small North Dakota town, Waldvogel had four sons who—enterprisingly, like their father—raised chinchillas that they intended to sell for their fur. But the butcher shop, managed by Delphine Watzka, a close friend of Waldvogel's recently deceased wife, attracted plenty of stray dogs and they eventually ravaged the critters' cages. In this scene, Waldvogel, who had been in the habit of feeding the strays, now picked up his shotgun and sought revenge for what he saw as his lost honor in the dogs' betrayal. Setting a trap with fresh meat, he sat under a tree, rifle across his lap, and waited patiently.

> Fidelis had waited, had watched the dogs gather, and now he was shooting steadily. Delphine ran out the back door, climbed the stock-pen sides along with the boys, and saw the dogs go down. First the big solid brown caught a bullet that spun him like a top. The gray took one neatly in the head, skidded to a puzzled halt and slowly toppled. Two medium-size with long, matted fur were hit and ran off howling, to die before they reached the woods. A red dog growled and bit the air before a bullet clipped its jugular…. The last, a speedy gray, loped desperately off and Fidelis sighted carefully along its sinuous back and bore it to earth. The last shot echoed across the field…. "Pile 'em up," was all [Fidelis] said, and the boys did as they were told, hunted down and carried back each dog and laid them together like a heap of rugs.[1]

As his infantry unit's *Scharfschütze*, or sniper, during the First World War, Walvogel had honed the precise alacrity and quiet patience that he displayed when he aimed his rifle at the dogs.

Another character in the novel, an Ojibwa Indian named Cyprian Lazarre, fought in the Great War, too, but on the American side, though

as a tribal member he was not a US citizen. Both Lazarre and Waldvogel lend their voices to the men's singing club that formed in the small North Dakota whistle-stop, and neither passes a day without thinking about their time in the war. Both veterans carry visible scars from battle, and Fidelis wears a bullet that was extracted from his shoulder on his watch chain. "Both men had sustained injuries graver than the obvious ones," wrote Erdrich, "hidden by their clothes and hidden, also, by the men they now were."[2]

For all they have in common, however, the men tolerate each other's company in wary silence, neither willing to bring up the war, the experience of which each knows he shares with the other man. A mixture of factors interferes with a potential friendship between the two veterans, including the gnawing realization that they may have faced each other in France; their different—and unequal, as Waldvogel perceives it—racial identities; and their mutual feelings of affection for Delphine. Inevitably, an affront committed by one man leads to a brawl between the two. As in the incident with the dogs, the butcher perceives his honor to again be at stake. Lazarre, after accepting Waldvogel's proffered homemade beer, opens the bottle and instead of drinking it, wordlessly tips the bottle over and lets the foaming brown liquid drizzle slowly over the ground in front of Waldvogel's feet. With this provocation, Fidelis could no longer keep his animosity in check.[3]

Waldvogel's war and postwar experiences align closely with those of many fictional and nonfictional Great War soldiers, but also set him apart from the others, as well. He had endured the war's ubiquitous death, filth, rats, lice, bad food, fear, lack of sleep, and boredom, although we hear about these only very briefly in Erdrich's narrative. Hailing from the border region between France and Germany known in German as Elsaβ-Lothringen, Waldvogel might have returned from the war a Frenchman by June 1919, had the heads-of-state meeting at Versailles drawn the new map of Germany just a few centimeters further to the right. Other Elsässer soldiers, such as Dominik Richert, felt little loyalty to the German nation during the war, and the arbitrariness of a nation's geography and the feelings of nationalism that are supposed to go with it, figures in to the postwar disillusionment experienced by many of Europe's Great War veterans.[4] Erdrich does not reveal Fidelis's national loyalty, or lack thereof, insinuating, perhaps, that as for other Elsässers, there was not much there.

Like Erich Maria Remarque's antihero Paul Bäumer in *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Waldvogel's closest comrade died by his side just as the

war was ending. Also like Bäumer, the butcher aspired to become a writer before the war. But that dream seemed to him like a frivolity upon his return. The war had taught him to carefully control his emotions, rather than express them in verse, and the potential revelation of his feelings, in public, now horrified him. Historian Jason Crouthamel uses *Feldpostbriefe*, or letters written by soldiers during war, to demonstrate how the German ideal of masculine, emotional self-control, rather than expression, had made its way into fighting men's consciences.[5]

But unlike the famously alienated, rudderless Frederic Henry (Ernest Hemingway's main character in *A Farewell to Arms*), the quiet, cautious Waldvogel makes a conscious choice in favor of life and the living after the war.[6] The wounded veteran returns home to his native Ludwigsruhe, Germany, after being discharged from the army. His first night spent back in his childhood bed brought with it a sense that his postwar life would be clean, orderly, and dominated by femininity. When Fidelis appeared in the doorway of his closest comrade's fiancé, Eva, his wartime habit of controlling his emotions suddenly dissolved. As he explained to Eva how her betrothed had died, she melted in Fidelis's arms, and he knew at that moment that she was going to have a child. "…in spite of the dead weight of killed souls and what he'd learned in the last three years about the monstrous ground of existence and his own murderous efficiency, he [knew he] was meant to love." Later, by himself, Fidelis allowed himself to imagine that Eva's child had reached out to him from the womb, to make contact with his helping hand. Readers are left to speculate, however, which being—Fidelis or the unborn child—needed help the most.[7]

While Fidelis Waldvogel shares many traits with other Great War literary figures, this first meeting between the war-weary Fidelis and the expectant Eva is like no other scene in the plethora of fiction written about the First World War during the 1920s. In *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the hero finally dies a quiet death, when nothing much was happening on the battlefield. The Hemingway character Frederic Henry survives but is still surrounded by death, despite his escape from the killing fields. His fiancée and their newborn child are both dead by the final pages of the book. Waldvogel lets Eva's fetus bring him back among the living, but like Bäumer and Henry, he cannot shake the persistence of violence and death in his life, as in the scene with the stray dogs.

Great War fiction, according to historian Jay Winter, marked the beginning of the blurring between what is considered historical writing and fictional writing.[8] This obscured boundary became one of the traits of

literary modernism. Perhaps Great War chroniclers turned to fiction, Winter suggested, because the truth of the war was too real, too horrible, to describe in historical terms.[9] Paul Fussell quotes poet Louis Simpson, who wrote, "To a foot-soldier, war is almost entirely physical. That is why some men, when they think about war, fall silent. Language seems to falsify physical life and to betray those who have experienced it absolutely—the dead."[10] Waldvogel chose not to express himself publicly when he gave up his poetry after the war. If Jason Crouthamel is correct, however, the problem may not be so much the lack of language, but soldiers' and veterans' inability—or unwillingness—to express themselves emotionally.

Eva agreed to marry the closest friend of the father of her unborn child. The couple settled into the Waldvogel family home, where Eva gave birth to her son. Two years after the marriage, Germany's economy was in dire straits. Fidelis soon succumbed to a treacherous black market economy in order to feed his family. Butcher shop owners like Waldvogel, according to historian Detlev J.K. Peukert, profited financially from the inflation that struck Germany in the postwar years, but only if they operated on the black market.[11] An incident occurred in the village square, however, that caused Fidelis to reject his life of treachery and board a steamer bound for New York instead.

What prompted Waldvogel to leave the Fatherland was the sense of lost honor implied in his escape from his ties to the black market. He escapes the shame of his participation in illegal trade, but once he settles in North Dakota, in other instances where his honor is involved, Fidelis responds violently. The German term *Selbständigkeit*, or the ability to stand on one's own two feet, encouraged Fidelis to make his move, along with his interpretation (akin to Grossman's) of the German nation as being haunted, in the immediate postwar years, by its defeat in the war. Here is how Erdrich explains it.

Crossing Ludwigsruhe's public square one morning, Fidelis spotted a group of curious men gathered around one of his neighbors. The man at the center of the attention held before him a slice of perfectly shaped, uniformly baked white bread. Waldvogel gasped in surprise when he spied the slice, unable to comprehend that a human being could have made such a thing. He inquired where it had come from, and was told that it had been shipped to Ludwigsruhe across the ocean from Seattle. Grasping the bread, Fidelis marveled at its perfectly cut edge, and its uniformly brown crust. Fidelis began imaging himself and his family living in a land where such bread was fashioned, where he could create a predictable, settled

calmness and order, rather than the chaos that was interwar Germany. Tired of his reliance on a shady and shifting black market, the butcher began to see himself starting his own market for his carefully crafted, prized meats. He sold a pair of cuff links to finance the purchase of a ticket. With his hoarded bullets and a hidden rifle, both artifacts retained in the aftermath of the war, he slaughtered the wild boar that supplied him with the meat that he needed to make sausages. These he loaded into a suitcase that accompanied him on board the ship.

After landing in New York, Fidelis stood guard against a pillar in the train station where he stashed the sausage-laden suitcase. Opening the hinges, he began selling his wares. He sold them quickly, and this made him feel a proud exhilaration. Waldvogel responded emotionally to both phases of his economic life: the illegal exchange operating in Germany in the Weimar years made him feel empty (both physically, from lack of food, and spiritually), whereas the capitalistic market he heard about through the bread incident and now experienced firsthand, made him feel powerful. In addition, Fidelis was surprised by the goodwill of the Americans he encountered at the train station. But, he reminded himself, "they were neither starving in the main nor recently and thoroughly defeated and detested outside their diminished borders. So they could afford, he decided, the ordinary kindnesses, the gift of bread."[12] It was the internalizing of his homeland's defeat that, in part, drove Fidelis to flee Ludwigsruhe. A craving for control and independence, his weariness with the aftereffects of Germany's loss, and his sense of lost honor in the black market, had pushed the veteran to pursue a life beyond the nation for which he had fought.

Bruno Richard Hauptmann

If Erdrich left out lengthy explorations of Fidelis Waldvogel's wartime experiences, Richard Hauptmann's autobiography fills in plenty of detail about his. The man convicted of kidnapping and murdering the infant son of US flying ace Charles A. Lindbergh died in the electric chair in 1936 and penned his memoirs in 1935 while confined in a New Jersey state prison. (Hauptmann preferred the name Richard, though his full name was Bruno Richard Hauptmann.) In the typewritten pages of his auto biography, readers glimpse the war's impact on a young draftee's sense of identity, self-worth, and dignity, and we feel the loss of Hauptmann's older brothers, both killed in the war before the author left home for the front.

We hear Hauptmann reflect upon the disappearance of his moral bearings, a development he blamed on the war and its challenging aftermath. "The life at the front," explained Hauptmann, "and especially the release from service have [*sic*] made some change in me, without my having realized it."[13] He followed this information with a description of the violent crimes he committed while still in Germany after the war, his escape from prison, and an explanation of how he tried to enter the USA in 1923 illegally by swimming ashore from the boat on which he had been a stowaway. Hauptmann's work enables us to analyze the genre of the memoir and its relation to history and to uncover the author's use of emotion to explain his actions and motivations (although he does not explore deeply the connections between his emotions and their social context). Finally, given the crimes Hauptmann admitted committing—in addition to the shocking brutality of the murder of a two-year-old child for which he denied any responsibility—this infamous German World War veteran's postwar life in Germany and in the USA provides plenty of fodder for analyzing what historians of Weimar Germany and the First World War have aptly called the "brutalization thesis."

Hauptmann's memoir is replete with the sense of shame he feels in the face of his perceived lost honor. He'd been born in Kamenz, Germany, in the province of Saxon, to a stonemason and his wife, and had received a strong moral upbringing in the Evangelical church. His father was cold and distant, and Richard felt the brunt of his drunken bouts of violence. As a child he loved the surrounding countryside and, like Johann Grossmann, always sought and found solace in nature. He'd had a speech impediment as a boy that dogged him in school. He begins the section of the memoir dealing with the war in 1917. In April of that year, his mother received a telegram telling her that her oldest son Hermann had "fallen for his Fatherland."[14] Several weeks after this, the family again received the black-bordered missive, relating the news that Richard's second oldest brother Max had also been killed in the war. Finally, the third brother, Fritz, was reported missing in the Balkans. As if the German military needed him to replace his dead and missing brothers, Richard received his orders to appear for duty shortly after. He reported wryly that the initial excitement he'd felt earlier when drafted had now waned considerably.

In general, however, the duties he performed suited the young Saxon; he found the training easy and he readily learned to shoot expertly and maintain pistols and machine guns. As an institution, on the other hand, the military left much to be desired. Hauptmann's initial experiences dur-

ing training left him and his comrades feeling dismayed. “When we received our uniforms and found that an article of clothing was too small, or too large, we were told that the uniform was quite satisfactory, but that we did not fit it.”[15] When the company leader inspected the uniformed men later in their ill-fitting clothes, wrote Hauptmann, he understandably asked what lunatic asylum they had come from. Later during training, Hauptmann experienced the military’s hyper-discipline in an absurd, though humorous, incident. A commanding officer, who shared Richard’s last name, asked the young recruit for his name during an inspection. Richard answered with the required “Hauptmann, sir, Herr Hauptmann” and a snappy military salute. The captain responded that he did not need to know his own name, but rather wanted to know what Richard’s name was. Undaunted, Richard responded in the same way, twice. This drove the officer nearly over the edge with rage; Hauptmann described his face as bright purple. The situation was undoubtedly complicated by the fact that the word “Hauptmann” in German means captain. Finally, a sergeant intervened and told the officer that the soldier he was asking about happened to also be named Hauptmann. Later, both men laughed about the incident. Despite these frustrations, Richard generally got along quite well with his equals and his superiors.

When his father died later that year, the infantryman reported that he now had no desire to go to battle. His unit departed for the western front in August 1918, though where exactly they were going, no one knew. With their departure, a bizarre incident rife with overtones of humiliation and absurdity occurred, again involving uniforms. At Königsbrück, where the unit had been training, officers doled out new uniforms to the men before leaving for the front. Claiming that the military was short on underwear, the commanding officer announced that the men would receive ladies’ nightgowns instead. The men, dumbfounded, asked whether they were expected to give the nightgowns to their girlfriends. “We received the surprising reply from the sergeant that he felt very tenderly toward us and that we should feel honored to wear such beautiful things,” explained Hauptmann. “ As we were passing through Thuringia to the West, we put on these beautiful garments and sat out on the roof of the train…there was laughter without end as we entered any village.”[16] Apparently, the men were given nightgowns and women’s underwear, and they climbed on the top of the train, resplendent in drag. When some of the women at the train stations asked if they could have the finery, the soldiers happily gave them up.

Hauptmann does not provide any interpretation of this gender-bending incident, but it could be a response to a reality of war well known to all by 1918: with men off fighting, women took charge of family and economic activities and worked at jobs previously closed off to them. The giving of feminine apparel may have functioned as a signal to women that, despite their new responsibility (and the economic freedom that went with it) they were expected to stay feminine as they waited for the return of their men from the front. If women retained their femininity, then in exchange men could be the manly warriors and protectors that they were meant to be at war. The drag episode Hauptmann describes could also have functioned as a warning to villagers of what could happen—sex role reversal—if proper gender roles were not adhered to in the disruptive context of war. If soldiers lost their masculinity, then women would be left unprotected.

Perhaps to assure readers that he did not take the incident too seriously, Hauptmann ends this tale with a conventional war scene. At one of the stops, he met a woman to whom he gave his nightgown, and in exchange received a bouquet of roses and her kiss. "This I got," he wrote, "as a defender of my country."[17] This farewell train station scene (apart from the nightgown exchange) mimicked hundreds of others since August 1914 that featured departing soldiers and flower-bearing, grateful women confirming proper roles for men and women in German society.

But much of Hauptmann's other wartime experiences differed from the norm, reflecting his late arrival at the front in summer 1918. Hunger had been a given for many people in Germany's urban centers, due to the Allied blockade of the nation's Baltic ports. The German army worked to stave off hunger among its troops by confiscating farmers' crops. But due to agricultural labor shortages, farm productivity had dropped. Hauptmann and his comrades were frequently hungry. One evening, his unit chased down a stray cat and roasted it for dinner; in another incident, they butchered the pet dog of an officer in order to celebrate a comrade's birthday. Not realizing what his men had done, the officer sent his orderly to where the troops were feasting, asking for his portion of the meat. "Magnanimously," wrote Hauptmann, "he was given his portion. Woe—if he'd known what he was eating."[18] In Western cultures, eating the meat of animals usually kept as pets is taboo, and therefore to consume dog meat would be considered shameful. Perhaps to stave off their feelings of shame, the men corralled their superior into the scandalous consumption of dog meat as well. Insubordination, however, was also part of the waning days of the war.[19]

Hauptmann also experienced waves of shame as the youngest of the men in his unit. This, he noted, meant that he was forced to do the most unpleasant duties. He did them uncomplainingly, he wrote, until October 1918 when rumors that the war was nearing the end began to circulate. When commanded to clean a toilet, he refused, got into a fight with the officer, and threw both the toilet and the officer into the river. "I was sorry when I saw him foundering in the river," he commented, "but it was the only way I could get my standing…. After the hearty laugh of my comrades, I was recognized as an equal."[20]

At Verdun by autumn 1918, Hauptmann was hit by artillery shell in the hand; he could no longer fire his machine gun as a result. Later, a split second before he put on his helmet, a splinter of wood drilled into his head, knocking him unconscious and leaving his scalp so swollen that he could no longer squeeze the helmet over his head. He does not indicate how long he remained unconscious, but it is possible that he sustained what is known as traumatic brain injury (TBI). TBI can cause a variety of mental and emotional problems, and has been "strongly associated" among male prison inmates with violent behavior. Hauptmann's later criminal behavior, discussed below, may be linked to the head injury he suffered during the war.[21]

A subsequent wound on his arm sent him to a bandaging station; by then, everyone knew the war had come to an end. Upon his release, he could not find his company, so he joined the trainloads of soldiers going home. He returned to Königsbrück, where he was told that his regiment was in Freiburg, Germany; there he reported to a Soldiers' Council. These were established by the Social Democratic Party during the 1918 November Revolution to reestablish civilian control of the military. Hauptmann, who did not belong to a political party nor espouse any political ideology, referred to the chaos of this revolutionary time in his memoir.

In Freiburg, he received back pay and was told to report for guard duty. "Our only duty was to stand guard. When we were not on duty, we had to report at certain times. I don't know why we had to do this—in fact, I believe that those who gave the command [the Soldiers' Council] did not know themselves. There was much confusion during this time. No one knew what it was all about." This final episode in Hauptmann's life as a soldier is apt, as he complained throughout the memoir of "not knowing" and being kept "in the dark." The need to gain control over a situation, according to Stephanie A. Shields, in addition to anger and

pride, are typically understood as male emotions. First World War soldiers and officers alike felt their pride wounded in situations they were unable to control.[22]

Hauptmann's feelings of shame and dishonor followed him after his discharge in January 1919. Each soldier, upon release, was to receive a new pair of shoes and a fresh uniform. While his shoes were in bad shape, he wrote, the "new" ones offered to him at the dispensary were even worse. He declined them, took the money instead, but inexplicably had to leave his old, ruined shoes behind in the exchange. He ends the wartime portion of his memoir with this:

> Since I had only one pair [of shoes], I was forced to make the trip home in my felt slippers. I must have presented a sad picture as I left the barracks and waddled over to the station through the wet snow. When I reached home, mother shook her head and said that I should have written her and she would have sent me a pair of my civilian shoes. I could have done that, *but I was ashamed to do so.* I thought I had at least earned my own shoes. Anyone could easily have guessed my thoughts, as I sat in the train with my wet feet. When I had to change [trains] at Dresden, a man laughed at me. This was the last straw. It gave me great pleasure to box his ears so that he fell down on the platform. If I had been arrested for this, I really would not have cared. But after much fuss, they let me go.[23]

It was several weeks after his return home that Hauptmann, smarting after looking unsuccessfully for work and feeling hungry, stole a goose in the yard of a company that had turned him down. Once he met up with an old friend who was also a veteran, and who was also unemployed, Hauptmann turned to a life of crime in Germany including three robberies—one armed—for which he was imprisoned. Once released, he again fell afoul of the law when he agreed to transport stolen goods. His memoir tells readers that when he was jailed for that infraction, he escaped and ultimately stowed away on a ship bound for the USA.[24]

Memoirs of the First World War allow us to learn what individual soldiers did during the war and how they processed those actions both during and after the conflict ended. When historians make use of these resources, we begin to see individuals take center stage in the narrative, while the collective history of a given society recedes—temporarily—to a choral background.[25] Paul Fussell interprets war memoirs as a kind of fiction, although some authors appeal to historical fact in their works. Memoirs that read like diaries, such as Hauptmann's, convey historical "facts"

regarding where their units traveled and where and when they engaged with which enemies, and therefore read less like fiction. The typical pattern of such diary-memoirs, according to Fussell, is to take the reader from the memoirist's "prewar freedom to wartime bondage, frustration, and absurdity."[26] Hauptmann records this sense of prewar freedom in his descriptions of wandering about the German countryside he loved. He describes absurdity in his frustrations with army life—including his ridiculous exchange with Captain Hauptmann, the mismatched uniform debacle, the train ride in ladies' underwear, and the final embarrassment of riding the train home with no shoes on his feet—which left him feeling ashamed.

Lyndal Roper defines the processing of one's actions in memoirs as "subjectivity, or how individuals make sense of their experiences."[27] Individuals' emotions are socially constructed and therefore subject to historical change. Too often, historians have chosen memoirs that reflect a conventional metanarrative of the tragedy of trench soldiers' lives, according to historian Leonard V. Smith. But this metanarrative is not borne out by the written evidence reflecting other men's war experiences. Soldiers' memoirs come in part from their survival, which is in itself a kind of triumph that negates the tragic.

Smith outlines two models of the tragic warrior figures: the simple victim and the brute. He describes Paul Bäumer as a simple victim who had experienced so many deaths of his comrades that by the end of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, his own death is recorded as an afterthought. Ernst Jünger, on the other hand, represents himself as the brutalized victim. Jünger "came to love violence through internalizing the twisted ethos of the war itself." Smith feels that these two models and the tragic metanarrative in which they appear, have excluded alternatives. In adopting a tragic view in their accounts, historians have bought into this paradigm too deeply and have not sought out other possibilities.[28] This chapter, highlighting the fictional Fidelis Waldvogel and Richard Hauptmann's life based on his memoir, brings to light two veterans who by definition of their choice to emigrate do not fit neatly into either the simple victim model (lacking agency) or brute category (despite both men's instances of brutal acts), and who therefore do not fit the war-as-tragedy metanarrative overall.

Hauptmann's *The Story of My Life* does at times present its narrator as the victim of the war and postwar German society, but Hauptmann is also quite frank about the choices that he made, at least in the crimes he commit-

ted in Germany before emigrating, and certainly does not describe himself as lacking free will. His comment regarding his perceived disappearance of his moral sensitivity ("The life at the front…made some change in me without my having realized it") could be interpreted as a tragic flaw: He turned to a life of crime before considering that his motives stemmed from his wartime experiences involving shame and lost honor. Left unconsidered by biographers was the potential damage to his brain when he was injured during the war. Regarding the 1934 kidnapping and murder charges he faced, Hauptmann's involvement in the so-called crime of the century is still unclear. Some writers are certain of his guilt, while others argue that the immigrant was certainly framed.[29] In addition, Hauptmann's widow, Anna Schoeffler Hauptmann, remained convinced of his innocence and tried repeatedly, until her own death in 1994, to reopen the case. Whether innocent or guilty, the Lindbergh baby kidnapping overshadowed all earlier aspects of Hauptmann's life. His experiences in the war and in literally washing ashore in the USA afterward, which comprise nearly half his memoir, have not been considered, except as backdrop to the crime he allegedly committed later. By using memoirs of veterans who made a conscious choice to emigrate, such as Richard Hauptmann, historians can begin to move beyond the heroic/tragic wartime figure to a more realistic and emotional interpretation of the war's impact on veterans.

While Hauptmann's memoir reads largely like a series of diary entries, he does provide his readers with his inner reflections on his emotional state. "The indifference and smallness of many of the people about me, often disgusted me," wrote Hauptmann about the two weeks he'd been out of work. He may have been thinking about the practice of taking a few pieces of coal from a coal mine where he had worked as a machinist. This custom, previously condoned by the company, suddenly ended, and workers found that their knapsacks were being inspected by colliery officials as they left the mine. "I never thought that people who had an abundance could be so small as to take away a few pieces of coal from a poor devil," wrote Hauptmann—not acknowledging that the coal pieces represented theft, nevertheless. Biographer Ludovic Kennedy's description of this incident highlights the ways that postwar German society as a whole seemed to be shifting its moral code after the war, given the rash of political murders—Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Walter Rathenau, to name only the more famous ones—that occurred in the aftermath of the war.

It was after the incident at the coal mine that he and his friend Fritz Petzold socialized together by target practicing with their guns. The two

began concocting a plan for how they would steal money in 1919. About both himself and Fritz, he explained "We both started on a road which we loathed and regretted, but when we came to the realization it was too late."[30] Hauptmann seems to have had a habit of acting before thinking about his actions. Citing another potential tragic flaw, he acknowledged that he could have asked his mother ("whom I now should be supporting"[31]) for anything he needed, but that his male pride kept him from asking.

Like Hauptmann himself, Kennedy explores the veteran's internal reasons for committing crimes as well as the social context of those reasons. Of the burglaries, Ludovic writes, "It was as though all the normal, conventional restraints which had hitherto held them in check were suddenly in abeyance, as though pent-up feelings of deprivation, resentment and despair had been released like water from a burst pipe, in one brief uncontrollable flood."[32] Of the more serious theft of money from the two women at gunpoint, Kennedy lays blame for the veterans' crimes on the social conditions that existed in Germany due to the war. The men's behavior was "prompted more by a compulsion to assert their identity, to hit back at a society which had for so long rejected them, in protest against the continued emptiness and frustration of their lives."[33] The biographer also takes his subject to task here, noting that while Hauptmann claimed he committed this particular crime because he was hungry, this could not have been so, because the thieves had only five days prior stolen over 500 marks in cash with which they could have purchased food. Hunger in postwar Germany was a daily reality for many people, but Kennedy, not satisfied with Hauptmann's simple, "rational" explanation, prodded more deeply. While Kennedy does not use the word honor, I believe dishonor—and the attendant emotions of shame, pride, and anger[34]—best represents the way that Hauptmann experienced the war and postwar society and ultimately why he chose to emigrate.

In the nineteenth century, scientists conceived of emotions as irrational impulses that arose from the body and that needed to be tamed by the mind, thus reinforcing the Western notion of division between mind and body. Hauptmann's statement—that he stole money and food before he realized that he'd lost his sense of right and wrong—reflects this presumed division; acting impulsively or instinctively, as opposed to *thinking about* actions. But newer research has debunked the mind/body separation myth. Writer Jonathan Kalb explains the link between mind, body, and feelings this way: A smile reflects a person's happiness, but the converse

is also true; smiling can produce pleasurable feelings within the smiling person.[35] Barbara H. Rosenwein and William H. Reddy demonstrate that emotions often take physical form and "are processed feelings, sensed and experienced and expressed distinctly through historically situated language and modes of expression."[36] *Feelings*, then, are sustainable, long-term responses to stimuli, whereas *emotions* are more immediate, intense, and signify the socially conditioned—and socially and therefore historically specific—ways that people express their feelings. Hauptmann's resentment at his inability to find work could be defined as a feeling, whereas his theft of the goose could stem from the emotion of shame.

By the twentieth century, emotional control through social means (e.g., education) meant that violent responses, such as the custom of dueling, to signs of dishonor were shunned, and virtue began to garner respect instead. Historicizing emotion in this way shifts the emphasis from regarding emotions as simply "human nature," or "instinct" to exploring how a changing society shapes individuals' perception of feelings of shame, which in turn dictates how people experience or express shame emotionally. Shame is an emotion that occurs when a person does something that is in conflict with society's standards (guilt by contrast is generally considered a response to conflict regarding one's internal standards). Honorable people generally garner respect, whereas shamed people are often ostracized from society. But social standards change over time. For example, in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century, it was still acceptable for military officers to accept a dueling challenge to preserve their honor.[37] Carolyn Strange and Robert Cribb's research has focused on the link between honor, emotion, and violence. They contend that the practice of resorting to violence to ward off feelings of shame and disrespect rarely appeared after the turn of the twentieth century. But the way these authors describe episodes of violence—as "ritualized brawls"—surely describes the wars of the twentieth century.[38]

In addition to being historical, emotions are also gendered. Strange and Cribb's work indicates that the historiography of honor and violence has "tilted overwhelmingly towards men's history."[39] But uncovering the emotion behind honor has been a tricky task, since men have been less inclined to articulate and record their emotions.[40] The masculine ideal of cold rational thinking is assumed to be the opposite of the warmth of emotional expression. Jason Crouthamel's survey of front newspapers and letter exchanges reveals that while the German military attempted to control all aspects of its soldiers' sexuality, trench combatants sought escape

from the masculine ideal of stalwart, patriotic warrior in response to the stress of trench warfare; some retreated from the norm by seeking emotional support from women or comrades, by performing deviant sexual acts, such as dressing up in women's underwear, or by having homosexual relations, while others enjoyed seeing the masculine ideal lampooned in trench newspaper cartoons.[41]

Apart from the gender-bending train incident on the way to the front, Hauptmann seems to have obeyed the prevailing gender norms when he remarked in his memoir that he felt overcome with emotion as his unit reached Verdun, aware that his brother had died there only two years earlier. But, he explained, he pushed all his feelings aside and did his duty.[42] The duties warriors performed were to be carried out with decisiveness—a masculine trait emphasized by historian George L. Mosse in his seminal work *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*.[43] This decisiveness, a characteristic that blended easily with the cold rationality noted above, seemed to be everywhere lacking in the chaotic first years after Germany's 1918 November Revolution. As we have seen, social and economic chaos prompted Fidelis Waldvogel to seek a more orderly, controllable life in the USA. In the paragraphs below, I ask what happened to honor, violence, and emotion after the Great War, during the foundational years of the Weimar Republic.

Helmut Lethen begins his study of shame and honor in postwar Weimar Germany with Manès Sperber's story about an incident in a Vienna train station that took place after the Armistice in November 1918.[44] As a young boy, Sperber waited on the platform for his father who was returning from the war. Among the crowd, the boy spotted a military officer trailed by his servant. The officer goaded the baggage-laden valet to pick up his pace. The servant, panting, responded with the required "yes sir, right away, sir." But suddenly a soldier, wearing the colors of the newly established nation of Poland, intervened. The Polish soldier admonished the servant to stop his sycophantic chasing after his superior, asking, "Why are you running? There's plenty of time, now, for all of us." The valet paused, and a crowd of hostile infantrymen gathered around the officer, one of whom knocked the officer's cap off his head (Strange and Cribb note the significance of knocking off a hat as a sign of loss of honor).[45] The hatless captain made a move to draw his sword, but then thought the better of it. The servant threw off the baggage and boxed his boss's ears. The officer turned his tail and ran.[46]

For Lethen, the incident signaled the upending of social order after the war, the beginnings of modernity, and a trenchant reminder about

the *time* it took to act out people's social status that a rapidly changing, democratizing, modern society could no longer afford. Strange and Cribb claim that historically the social purposes behind ritualized violence, such as dueling, functioned a means of maintaining social statuses and keeping them stable. But in the twentieth century, the notion of respect and comradeship *democratized* honor, since any man deemed "trustworthy, comradely, honest and generous could now be considered worthy of honour."[47] Hauptmann's and Waldvogel's experiences of dishonor need to be analyzed in the context of a modernizing Weimar Republic, where expectations of the equalizing forces of democracy led to disillusionment when old forms of deference still held sway.

Lethen contrasts a *guilt culture*, in which people have only internal mechanisms to reconcile their complicity in a barbaric war, and a *shame culture*, in which sociopolitical bodies, such as tribunals or truth and reconciliation commissions, put accused wrongdoers on trial publicly. Hauptmann, for example, described his guilty feelings about the deaths of his brothers. "Now I asked myself why my brothers had to die while I remain."[48] But in Weimar Germany there were no public venues for veterans to deal with their guilty feelings or their sense of shame. In the absence of official or public reconciliation attempts, people took the matter of shaming into their own hands. In Sperber's story, we see a spontaneous group of soldiers gather and humiliate an officer when the old rules governing insubordination had ended with the war (Hauptmann's story of his comrades roasting the officer's pet dog for dinner could be interpreted as insubordination as well). "Status inconsistencies," wrote Sighard Neckel, agreeing with Strange and Cribb's interpretation of the place of social status in shaming, "are hothouses of social shame."[49] According to Lethen, "the constant threat to distinct boundary markings in the Weimar Republic generated considerable warmth."[50] Hauptmann experienced several incidents of humiliation for which there was no way for him to reconcile his feelings publicly, so he acted out himself (e.g., in the train station by boxing his adversary's ears). Johann Grossmann, the veteran who felt mocked by the German military commander von Hindenburg's *faux* promise of free land for returning soldiers, had adopted a "cool veneer" by laughing with the war crippled banker in the face of his shame.[51] And then he escaped Weimar Germany altogether. So did Richard Hauptmann.

As Leonard V. Smith noted in his study of war memoirs, cited above, one model used by veteran-memoirists to make sense of their wartime experiences was the "brutal" model, a model that dramatized soldiers' love of the violence inherent in war. This turns out to have been most

popular, claims Smith, among historians looking for memoirs to use as source material. Richard Hauptmann did not adopt this model, however. George L. Mosse defines brutalization in two ways: one, as a character trait appearing in individuals, and second, as the phenomenon appeared in society as a whole. Mosse described soldiers who displayed "a heightened indifference to human life" as having been brutalized by their war experience. This indifference was evident in heinous crimes committed by individuals, and it appeared in society as a whole in the number of incidents where criminals were excused for their brutal offenses by juries handing down light sentences. Mosse cites Weimar Germany's willingness to pardon some criminals for odious offenses as a sign of society's brutalization, but Hauptmann received no such leniency for his armed robbery. He was jailed twice for his discretions, serving five years for the robberies described here and sentenced to additional confinement after transporting stolen goods. In the second case, he escaped before he had served out his sentence.

Finally, since Mosse assumed that the root cause of this indifference was the war itself, societies exhibiting a continued acceptance of the presence of the military and in granting it high status in society after the war also signaled a society's brutalization.[52] Mosse's purpose in *Fallen Soldiers* was to demonstrate how this brutality infiltrated German politics specifically. Since the emigrating veterans featured in the present study all left Weimar Germany behind, how brutalization impacted German politics will not be considered. Instead, the concern here is how the war's brutality affected these emigrating veterans.

"War itself had been the great brutalizer," wrote Mosse, "not merely through the experience of combat at the front, but also through the wartime relationship between officers and men, and among the men themselves. The strident tone of the officers, and the passivity of the men…must have affected some soldiers."[53] Infantry soldiers were required by military codes of conduct to passively obey the orders they received. That those returned soldiers may have, as Ludovic Kennedy wrote of Hauptmann, physically "hit back" at their inability to find work or food, seems reasonable, given their release from the enforced passivity of military life with demobilization. Passivity and indifference to life are two character traits cut from the same cloth.

Indifference, or apathy, signals a lack of feeling or emotion. As noted earlier, Hauptmann's memoir does communicate the soldier-veteran's emotional state, though without much analysis of the social context in which he experienced it. However, Hauptmann also noted the *lack* of

emotion he saw in himself and in others now and again in his memoir. "No one had any suspicion of where we were going. In the course of time one became so indifferent, that one did not even ask." Later, he noted that while climbing up a hill with some other men in the midst of shelling, they simply crawled right over the dead bodies of fallen comrades.[54] In another instance, he and his buddies watched a soldier returning from furlough. The man was on a bridge crossing a swamp when artillery fire began. The soldier jumped into the muck, and when he did not reappear as the shelling stopped, the onlookers assumed he was dead. But in fact, ten minutes later, he crawled up out of the mud and went on his way, stopping by to wink at the company watching him. "It is hard to believe," wrote Hauptmann of the incident, "how indifferent a person becomes at the front."[55] Jason Crouthamel cites Paul Göhre, a writer fighting on the Russian front, who claimed that one result of the mass trauma of the front experience was the lack of emotions.[56] About the postwar period, Ernst Jünger wrote that all that was left for men who could not forget the war was "impotence, despair, indifference, and schnapps."[57]

Although he does not admit a lack of feeling in his criminal behavior, it appears that Hauptmann did not recognize any emotions he may have been experiencing until after the deed was done. For example, in retrospect he claimed that the robbery at gunpoint of two women on their way home from the market constituted "the greatest shame of my life."[58] But if one takes his memoir to be an honest recounting of his actions and thought processes, it appears that the shame struck him (and his accomplice Fritz Petzold) only *after* they stole the money and food—true to form, given his previous comments regarding his other crimes. "After we had eaten the rolls [we had stolen] and wanted to practice further [with our guns], we first realized the awfulness of our deed. We stopped our practice as we were too upset…we decided to leave home…for…our guilty conscience oppressed us."[59] In these pages, Hauptmann relates the same Western sense of mind/body separation as discussed earlier in this chapter. His body acts, and only later does his mind consider the emotion of shame that the incident provoked. Readers of Hauptmann's 1935 memoir must, of course, take into consideration the fact that he was pleading for his life from his prison cell, and may have been overplaying his feelings of remorse. He knew his words would be read, as he had arranged for the New York *Daily Mirror* to publish the memoir serially.[60] He may have calculated that the public might look upon him more sympathetically if they believed him to be remorseful. But whereas former FBI agent and author Jim Fisher found Hautpmann's prose "sugary, self-serving, and

corny," I believe that his memoir is an honest retelling of the crimes he committed in Germany.[61]

If readers take at face value Hauptmann's report that his worst crime occurred when he robbed the two women at gunpoint, and that he was not involved in the Lindbergh baby kidnapping and murder, then the veteran could not really be described as brutalized by his war experience. Taking food from others by showing that you are armed is a shocking thing to do, certainly, but it is not a heinous crime. It suggests an indifferent attitude on the part of the thieves toward their victims. Mosse's equation of war trauma leading to indifference on the part of veterans can only be borne out if one considers emotions—or lack thereof—rather than a type of criminal behavior. What the Saxon's memoir demonstrates is that in his prewar life, he felt things deeply; in the deaths of his brothers, his father, in his concern for his mother, and the consolation he felt when surrounded by nature. Those same feelings did not appear to translate into his postwar life, with the exception of his sympathy toward his mother and in his yearning for the German countryside that he left behind. In addition, his postwar habit of acting, and only secondarily considering his feelings regarding his action, seems to have developed after his release from the military. Finally, in his memoir Hauptmann provided a link between his apathy and wartime experience that Mosse claimed was part of brutalization. "My moral point of view was no longer the same," he wrote, "as previously [before the war]."[62]

Is there a link between lack of feeling and acting immorally? Neuroscientists confirm that activity in the emotional side of the brain occurs when subjects contemplate moral questions. What remains unclear is whether emotions *influence* moral judgments or behavior, rather than merely accompanying them.[63] Hauptmann behaved immorally in taking something that was not his, but only later felt shame. Would he have not committed the thefts had he anticipated the shame before committing the act? This seems unlikely, since he claimed to have felt ashamed after the first robbery, but nevertheless committed the same crime repeatedly within a few days. A behavioral psychologist might point out that for Hautpmann, the monetary reward he received from thieving simply outweighed the negative feelings that he experienced after the deed was done.

Taken together, Mosse's brutality theory and Crouthamel's uncovering of male deviance from the masculine ideal, these findings reveal a German society riddled with contradiction. If Mosse is correct, and postwar German society held men to the wartime masculine benchmark of

decisiveness, than the chaotic uncertainty of Weimar's early years must have seemed all the more incongruous to an ex-soldier. If Crouthamel is correct, and German soldiers did not internalize those masculine ideals to the extent that society's hegemonic leaders expected or desired, than veterans trying to reintegrate into a society that continued to insist on those masculine ideals, may have left them eager to escape. Benjamin Ziemann demonstrates that for rural Bavarian veterans, the brutalization thesis does not hold because stabilizing social relationships underscored by church and family helped veterans reintegrate, and may have prevented the gender deviance seen in Crouthamel's work.[64] But Hauptmann lost most of his family during the war, and his masculine pride prevented him from seeking help from his mother. Fidelis Waldvogel, on the other hand, constructed his postwar life around a family already begun by his wartime comrade.

As we have seen, Waldvogel craved the orderliness for his family that he saw in a perfectly symmetrical slice of factory baked bread. Richard Hauptmann's first words upon standing on US soil were "God, I thank you."[65] He had finally escaped the shame for which he could not publicly atone in Germany, and hoped for a better life ahead on different shores.

The nation to which Waldvogel and Hauptmann immigrated grappled with its own set of violent responses to postwar society. Jennifer D. Keene contends that for the USA, the brutalization thesis does not fit, because demobilization occurred in a fairly orderly manner, and because veterans were politicized and sought reform for wrongs—such as racial injustices in the US military—through the democratic system.[66] But for both Hauptmann and the immigrant featured in the next chapter, who also arrived in the USA illegally, seeking redress for wrongs through the political system was not an option.

Notes

1. Louise Erdrich, *The Master Butchers Singing Club* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 172–3.
2. Ibid, 177.
3. Ibid, 220.
4. Dominik Richert, *Beste Gelegenheit zum Sterben: Meine Erlebnisse im Kriege 1914–1918*, eds. Angelika Tramitz and Bernd Ulrich (München: Kneseback & Schuler, 1989), 228; Erika Kuhlman, "Anonymity, Transnational Identity, and *A German Deserter's War Experience*," in Nannette Norris, ed. *Great War Modernism: Artistic Response in the Context of War, 1914–1918* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2016).

5. Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–2.
6. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Scribner, 1929).
7. Erdrich, 1–7.
8. Winter's remarks were made at International Symposium: North America, Europe, and the Cultural Memory of the First World War conference at the University of Graz, Austria, June 19–21, 2013.
9. Ibid.
10. Quoted in Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 170.
11. Detlev J.K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, trans. Richard Deveson (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 65.
12. Erdrich, 11.
13. Bruno Richard Hauptmann, *The Story of My Life*, unpublished manuscript, translated by Anna Bading (New Jersey State Police Museum and Learning Center Archives, May 4, 1935), 86.
14. Hauptmann, 59.
15. Ibid, 61.
16. Ibid, 67.
17. Ibid, 68.
18. Ibid, 73–4.
19. Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany*, 272.
20. Hauptmann, 78.
21. Center for Disease Control (U.S.), "Traumatic Brain Injury: A Guide for Criminal Justice Professionals," Department of Health and Human Services, Atlanta, Georgia, 2006, 1–2. http://www.cdc.gov/traumaticbraininjury/pdf/Prisoner_Crim_Justice_Prof-a.pdf.
22. Stephanie A. Shields, "Thinking about Gender, Thinking about Theory: Gender and Emotional Experience" in Agneta H. Fischer, ed. *Gender and Emotion: Social Psychological Perspectives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15; Bernd Hüppauf comments on soldiers' lack of control in "Schlachtenmythen und die Konstrucktion das Neuen Menschen," in Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, Irina Renz, eds. "*Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch*"*: Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1993), 63. See also Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany*, 270.
23. Hauptmann, 83–4; emphasis mine.
24. Ibid, 87–102.
25. Eugenia C. Kiesling, review of Leonard V. Smith's *The Embattled Self: French Soldiers' Testimony of the Great War*, *Journal of Military History* 72, no. 3 (July 2008): 967–68.

26. Fussell, 312.
27. Lyndal Roper, "Forum: History of Emotions," *German History* 28, no. 1 (2010): 70.
28. Leonard V. Smith, *The Embattled Self: French Soldiers' Testimony of the Great War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 17, 8, 9.
29. Jim Fisher is convinced Hauptmann was guilty; Anthony Scaduto insists he was innocent. Fisher, *The Lindbergh Case: A Story of Two Lives* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Scaduto, *Scapegoat: The Lonesome Death of Bruno Richard Hauptmann* (New York: Putnam, 1976).
30. Hauptmann, 86–7.
31. Ibid, 87.
32. Ludovic Kennedy, *The Airman and the Carpenter: The Lindbergh Kidnapping and the Framing of Richard Hauptmann* (New York: Viking, 1985), 61.
33. Ibid, 62.
34. Carolyn Strange, "Honor, Violence and Emotion: An Afterword," in Strange, Robert Cribb and Christopher E. Forth, eds. *Honour, Violence, and Emotions in History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 204.
35. Jonathan Kalb, "Give Me a Smile," *New Yorker* (January 12, 2015).
36. *Honour, Violence, and Emotion in History*, introduction.
37. Carolyn Strange and Robert Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," in Strange, Cribb and Forth, eds. *Honour, Violence, and Emotions in History*, 8. Early studies of honor involved the history of dueling, according to the authors.
38. Ibid, 2.
39. Ibid, 11.
40. Crouthamel, 3–4; Sheilds, 11.
41. Jason Crouthamel, "Cross-dressing for the Fatherland: Sexual Humour, Masculinity, and German Soldiers in the First World War," *First World War Studies* 2, no. 2 (October 2011): 195–211.
42. Hauptmann, 74.
43. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 167.
44. Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
45. Strange and Cribb, 3.
46. Lethen, 1–2.
47. Strange and Cribb, paraphrasing Pieter Spierenburg, 3.
48. Hauptmann, 89.
49. Quoted in Lethen, 10.
50. Ibid.

51. Lethen interprets people's response to shame as "cool conduct," hence his book's title.
52. Mosse, 159–61.
53. Ibid, 162.
54. Hauptmann, 78–9.
55. Ibid, 77.
56. Crouthamel, "Cross-dressing for the Fatherland," 201.
57. Quoted in Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 60.
58. Ibid, 88.
59. Ibid, 88–9.
60. Fisher, 390.
61. Ibid, 390.
62. Hauptmann, 84.
63. Jesse Prinz, "The Emotional Basis of Moral Judgments," *Philosophical Explorations*, 9 no. 1 (March 2006): 29–43.
64. Ziemann, "German after the First World War: A Violent Society? Results and Implications of Recent Research on Weimar Germany," *Journal of Modern European History* (2003): 84.
65. Hauptmann, 124.
66. Jennifer D. Keene, "A 'Brutalizing' War? The USA after the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History 50, no. 1 (January 2015): 78–99.* Keene's analysis is primarily social and collective, rather than drawn upon individual's experiences.

CHAPTER 3

Desertion: Emigrants' Wartime Mobility, Their Transnational War Experience, and the Myths of War

Abstract This chapter outlines the transnational discourses heard and expressed in the memoirs of two First World War deserters. The chapter will map a veteran's movements during the war and his transatlantic journey after. The purpose of the mapping exercise is to demonstrate how movement during the war may have encouraged veterans to move after the conflict ended. German Great War memoirists reveal that they almost never knew where they were going during the war; they were simply sent to battle and made to obey orders. After the war, they seemed similarly "in the dark" about how to leave and where they might end up.

At some point during their decision-making process, people planning to change their residence from one nation to another must consider where they belong, and why they believe they belong where they do. They may consider the community in which they were born, any connections they may have to family still in the region, and their perceived ties or allegiances to the nation in which they were raised. They may ponder an expected or hoped-for life in the place to which they are considering moving. Once an emigrant makes a decision to live in another country, he or she must prepare to leave behind the society and culture to which they have been accustomed, and he or she must perceive the cost of relocating to be worth the effort.[1]

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8_3

For the two subjects treated in this chapter, an anonymous German war Deserter[2] and another renouncer named Boy Jessen, the expected ties binding a human being to his national birthplace were never very intense to begin with. The Deserter's war experiences caused him to recoil at the very thought of loyalty to a nation; however, while Jessen's military service deepened his dislike of the German nation for which he fought, it intensified his love for what he called the "Danish-minded" people. Both men deserted their units and escaped to a neutral country while the war still raged.

Both ex-servicemen had lived liminal lives before the war, literally straddling the borderlands between two countries: the Deserter hailed from the shifting border region between Germany and France called Elsaß-Lothringen (in German; Alsace-Lorraine in French), while Jessen was born in what is now called Schleswig-Holstein, an area bordering Germany and Denmark. But given the reality of war and for men subject to the draft, servicemen hailing from these transitional areas must wear the uniform of one nation's military, and not that donned by their counterparts across the border. In other words, one result of a war declaration is an intense reacknowledgment and refortification of national boundaries in transitional areas, both physically and in the collective imagination.

War declarations also result in the lining up of soldiers on one side, who are then driven by their superiors to annihilate the soldiers lined up on the opposite side. George L. Mosse theorized that the brutality inherent in that drive to conquer infiltrated Germany's postwar national politics and culture during the Weimar Republic and into the Third Reich. For the Deserter, the process of brutalization had occurred already *before* the war, indeed when the nation itself was created (viscerally true for the German nation, which had emerged out of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War). All nations are militarized, according to this line of thinking, in that by definition nations include territory that their armed forces are obliged to defend. All nations, but especially those requiring military service of their young men, have at least the potential to brutalize their subjects given the perceived need to secure borders against enemies, and the Great War simply brutalized men on a massive scale. For the Deserter, militarization equaled brutalization. Boy Jessen, on the other hand, did not oppose militarism, did not equate it with brutalization, but *did* stand against what he saw as the German oppression of the Danish people living in Schleswig. Jessen acknowledged that the ill effects of armed conflict affected veterans and civilians living in the German–Danish borderlands, but in a more

benign fashion. "The war and its consequences, starvation and misery," he wrote, "had made the people rude."[3]

Both men subscribed to transnational—but different—ideologies that their war experiences intensified. The deserting Elsässer—but not Jessen the Schleswiger—believed that capitalism lay at the root of militarism, agreeing with other Marxist thinkers that war represented the domination of the capitalist governing class over the proletariat. Taking advantage of a furlough he had been granted, the Deserter left his unit and escaped into neutral Holland where he remained until that nation, too, threatened to join the fray.[4] The peace he sought was transnational, and he thought it could be obtained through a transnational theory, Marxism, and the expectation of worker opposition to capitalistic warmongering. Jessen, a smallholding farmer, adhered to a theory of national identity that transcended a nation's spatial borders. "Danish-mindedness," for him, referred to an ethnic identity that spread through emigration (a process he took part in) around the world that formed a Danish Diaspora. The brand of identity that Jessen upheld was also a masculine identity—conceived and promoted, ironically, by the very German nation that he abhorred—that had flowered during his participation in the war.[5]

A different analysis of gender figured into the Deserter's understanding of nation, violence, and honor. The German government drafted him into the war when he was nearly at the end of his required two-year military service; his experience in actual combat, as opposed to training, deepened his resolve to reject militarism and the code of manly honor that went with it. The Elsässer understood the German ideal of warrior masculinity that included physical overpowering, cold rational thinking, and rigid resolve.[6] This was a brand of manliness that his pacifistic nature had rejected before the war began. Instead, the Deserter conceived of a different masculine ideal, where honor denoted a modern, egalitarian virtue rather than a man's dignity or social standing that required defending.[7] Women who lost their honor during the war were also victims of militarization equal to the victimized male soldiers who fought it. The Deserter's definition of honor suggested a modern society rather than a traditional one, since traditional cultures were still anchored in a crumbling social hierarchy and steeped in military tradition.[8]

While the two men profiled in this chapter professed different transnational ideologies, they shared a willingness to risk their lives when they left their units without permission, since deserters—defined as soldiers who abandon their posts with the intent of not returning—could face the fir-

ing squad. The history of desertion during the First World War is murky and has been manipulated by nationalists wishing to hide indiscipline in their nation's military and by pacifists desiring to show the potency of their ideology. In Germany's postwar historiography, desertion, or *Fahnenflucht* (literally "escaping the flag") was a taboo subject, because deserters were seen as collaborators in the backstabbing that was supposedly responsible for Germany's defeat.[9] In 1989, Dominik Richert, another deserter from Elsaß-Lothringen, had his memoir published, motivating historians to uncover more evidence.[10] Benjamin Ziemann's scholarship on the subject of desertion was facilitated after reunification by Germany's new openness policies in the 1990s.[11]

What remains clear is that the second half of 1918 was a difficult time for the German military to keep troop morale strong. Gerhard Ritter points to mutiny, desertion, and general disobedience as infantry perceived little reason by that time to fight for a lost cause. Christoph Jahr, on the other hand, emphasizes the resilience, rather than the decay, of troops under trying circumstances. Heavy casualties and the crumbling of authority, according to Wilhelm Deist, caused up to a million men to engage in covert indiscipline. Alexander Watson sees low morale beginning already in late 1917, and he offers evidence of officers "ordering surrenders" where their men were purposely given over to the enemy and taken prisoner. Scott Stephenson demonstrates a difference in soldiers' behavior, depending on if they were front or rear guard. The former held up relatively well and marched back to the Fatherland after November 11, 1918, while the latter disintegrated well before the Armistice. In general, he argues, the waning days of the war caused the German army to divide along several fault lines.[12]

These diverse fault lines included soldiers hailing from border areas, such as Elsaß-Lothringen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Poland, who were heavily represented among deserters.[13] Ziemann counts at least 30,000 German soldiers who fled to neutral countries during the war (the USA is not included in those statistics).[14] The Deserter claimed that between 15,000 and 20,000 German deserters had fled to Holland by the time he arrived in late 1915; these figures are corroborated by Benjamin Gröbe's research.[15] Including soldiers who defected to the enemy and deserters who remained hidden in Germany brings the total to between 90 and 100,000. Ziemann deems this a "mass phenomenon" in the late phase of the war. On the other hand, given the thirteen million German men who

served in the army in 1914–1918, Ziemann acknowledges that 100,000 is a relatively small number. Wilhelm Deist used the term "shirker" to describe insubordination that fell short of desertion. Using this term, Deist estimates that 750,000 to one million men shirked military duty in the last months of the war.[16]

In contrast to histories demonstrating that rebellion was only a factor toward the war's end, the Deserter claims that insubordination against officers occurred early on in the war, and often. In this chapter, I argue that, as Richard Fogarty has demonstrated, rather than the static, trench-fought war assumed by historians, soldiers' memoirs show that the Great War was actually one of great mobility, a mobility that turned habitual after the war.[17] In other words, given the frequency with which soldiers were transported about during the war, they had grown accustomed to and perhaps even embraced mobility; movement became second nature for veterans into the postwar period. Chulhee Lee's work on US Civil War veterans confirms the ways in which mobility during the war fostered postwar migration (Fig. 3.1).[18]

Of the veterans treated in this volume, Richard Hauptmann, Johann Grossmann, the Deserter, and Boy Jessen all led remarkably transient lives after 1918. Hauptmann and Grossmann tramped first throughout Germany as vagabonds for months before leaving the country altogether. Hauptmann moved with his unit into eastern France, returned home when the war ended, then was obliged to travel across the country to Freiburg where he performed guard duty until he was finally released. For the next four years, he relocated several times throughout Germany before making three separate trips to the USA before finally settling in New York City.

For those whose homelands lay in hyphenated, contested territory, such as Elsaß-Lothringen and Schleswig-Holstein, nationalism must have seemed quite arbitrary when the 1919 treaty ending the war meant that one was suddenly French rather than German, or German rather than Danish (the Treaty of Versailles-mandated plebiscite in the Schleswig area provided inhabitants with a vote in the matter, making the decision seem less arbitrary). This made the notion of emigrating from Germany less of a hurdle than it may have been for their departing compatriots. The habitual wartime mobility was extended for deserters as they left their units and traveled yet again, for the most part to neutral territory.[19] For the two men profiled in this chapter, transnationalist ideologies, born out of their borderlands experiences, also pushed them from their homelands.

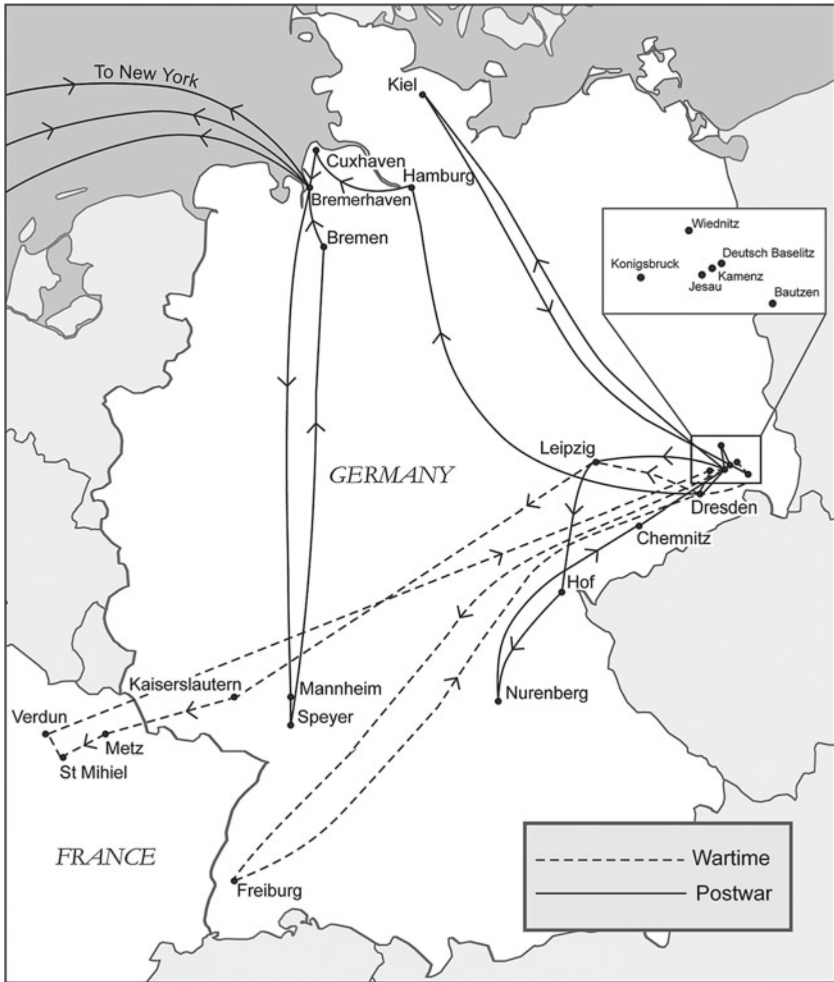

Fig. 3.1 Bruno Richard Hauptmann's wartime and postwar travels, 1918–1923, based on his memoir *The Story of my Life* (1935). Map by Kristine Hunt.

The Anonymous War Deserter

Throughout *A German Deserter's War Experience*, the memoir written by the Deserter, the author emphasizes his and his comrades' inability to know where they were going, why military authorities were sending them there, and what they would do once they reached their destination; he described this state of mind and emotion as "oppressive uncertainty."[20] The phrase "not know" or "unknown" appears thirty-four times in the 234 pages in which the writer describes his wartime experiences. The book opens in late July 2014, when the Deserter's required two-year military service stint was coming to an end. He recorded the excited expectation among some of those in his unit in response to the German declaration of war, but also noted that many men, including him, felt only a dull trepidation. Like Richard Hauptmann's memoir, the Deserter traces his and his unit's movements to various battles, first in Belgium, then in French villages, and finally in the trenches he helped build. The Deserter, a trained miner, worked as a military sapper or combat engineer; these soldiers built bridges, dug trenches, and laid explosives. Cleverly, since the author laments that he rarely knew or understood why or where he and his unit were going, his memoir captures this feeling of uncertainty by keeping his readers in the dark regarding his identity.

In some ways, the Deserter's choice to remain anonymous creates problems for the historian similar to those presented by fictional characters such as Fidelis Waldvogel. Like Waldvogel, the Deserter's history cannot be traced, neither in his prewar life (since he begins his memoir with July 1914) nor in his postwar existence, beyond his redemptive appearance on American shores. By choosing anonymity, he positions himself as a man without a history and without a country, because without his name, and by entering two nations illegally, readers cannot know whether he remained in the USA or opted to flee once again when his adopted nation entered the Great War in April 1917. Readers cannot obtain any facts about the author, other than what he tells us in his narrative and a brief preface offered by Julius Koettgen, his translator. While frustrating for the historian, the device of anonymity enabled the author to represent all Great War soldiers' experiences rather than those of any single individual.

The history that *can* be traced is the history of the Deserter's book. According to his memoir, he walked off the ship's gangplank and onto US shores in April 1916. He commenced writing his memoir after he recuperated from his two-week confinement in the ship's coal bin. His

remembrances appeared in serial form first in the German language in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a German American socialist newspaper. The book had come out by October 1917, published by two companies: one in England, Grant Richards, Ltd., and one in the USA, B.W. Huebsch. Presumably, the memoir's translator, Julius Koettgen, read the editions appearing in the *Volkszeitung*, became acquainted with the author, and offered to translate the work and sell it to Richards and Huebsch. Koettgen, born in Germany in 1877, had immigrated first to England and then to the USA. While some have imagined that Koettgen actually penned *A German Deserter's War Experience* himself and not merely translated it, there is no evidence to support that conjecture.[21] Judging by his preface, Koettgen appears to have been in passionate agreement with the Deserter regarding the war and his opposition to it, but by January 1918 the translator had changed his tune. George Creel, secretary of the US war propaganda machine known as the Committee on Public Information (CPI), had hired Koettgen to head the CPI's division of Work with the Foreign Born to encourage German Americans to support the US war effort.[22]

Some have opined that the book is merely anti-German propaganda, and that no such deserting, stowaway German soldier ever existed. There is good reason to be skeptical. The serial publication in 1917 could have been timed to coincide with the US military preparedness campaign and the subsequent Congressional vote on President Wilson's war declaration.[23] Many of the military details provided in the memoir were well known and have been verified in unit histories as having taken place as the author describes them. Those who argue that the book is anti-German propaganda, however, miss the point that the Deserter is trying to make. While he certainly asserts the evils of German militarism, the Elsässer's purpose is to argue that it is militarism in all its aspects and wherever it appears that is the real enemy, not any one nation or one nation's military versus another.[24] Readers may wish to compare *A German Deserter's War Experience* with the scholarship on *Fahnenflucht* provided by historian Benjamin Ziemann. The testimony of deserters that Ziemann uncovered in German archives corroborates the anonymous author's antiwar sentiments. For example, Ziemann cites a woman reporting on the numerous deserters coming across the Swiss border; one remarked that he would rather take a bullet through the head than return to the war.[25]

The purpose of Koettgen's preface was twofold. First, he filled in some bare-bones information about the author, such as his schooling and occupation, and explained his choice of anonymity. But more emphatically,

Koettgen wanted to assure readers of the author's character. Despite his "limited literary powers" due to his technical training as a miner, Koettgen tells readers that the author is "truthful," and "upright" and "intelligent."[26] Finally, given that the German nation was still at war in 1917, and that the Deserter still had family living in Germany, Koettgen explains that the author retained anonymity out of fear that, given his unpatriotic expressions in the book, his family may face recrimination if his identity were revealed.

For Koettgen, the Deserter's primary contribution to Great War literature lay in his myth-busting prose. For while the author's memoir reads much like the day-to-day diaries of other veteran memoirs, the Deserter offers his thoughts and, more importantly, his emotional responses—largely absent in other memoirs, such as that penned by Hauptmann—to his war experiences.

> Who could describe the feelings that overcome a man in the first real hail of bullets he is in? When we were leaping forward to reach the firing line I no longer felt any fear and seemed only to try to reach the line as quickly as possible. But when looking at the first dead man I was seized by a terrible horror. For minutes I was perfectly stupefied, had completely lost command over myself; I was absolutely incapable of thinking or acting. I pressed my face and hands firmly against the ground, and then suddenly I was seized by an irrepressible excitement, took hold of my gun and began to fire away blindly.[27]

The exhilaration felt in this first encounter with the enemy was short-lived, however; other soldiers confirm the same initial excitement followed by disillusionment.[28] In this passage, the Elsässer reflected on his negative response to the German masculine warrior ideal. In this scene, he witnessed his unit's destructive capabilities.

> What five minutes ago had been a picture of strength, proud horsemen, joyful youth, was now a bloody, shapeless, miserable lump of bleeding flesh. And what about ourselves? We laughed about our heroic deed and cracked jokes. When danger was over we lost that anxious feeling which had taken possession of us. Was it fear? It is, of course, supposed that a German soldiers knows no fear…and yet it was fear, low vulgar fear that we feel just as much as the French, the English, or the Turks, and he who dares to contradict this and talk of bravery and the fearless courage of the warrior has either never been in war or is a vulgar liar and hypocrite.[29]

Unlike Richard Hauptmann, the Deserter did not delay consideration of his emotions until after his actions, but, at least in his recollection, acknowledged and at times expressed them right in the midst of what he was doing.

The Great War is generally considered to have ushered in the modernist period of literature. The Elsässer's emotional expressions, together with his rootless existence, place his memoir in the modernist category of literature; however, his redemptive appearance in the New World, his moral clarity, as well as Koettgen's confirmation of the author's virtuous character (despite his lack of formal education), backpedals the book to the realm of bildungsroman. As David A. Davis reminds us, in some places literary modernism's arrival was "uneven, fragmentary, and recursive."[30]

An eighteenth-century development, the bildungsroman traces the coming of age of a person who leaves his home in search of life's meaning. Through experience, the character develops and finally attains a mature perspective. Typically, the bildungsroman features a conflict between the young person and the society in which he lives. At the novel's end, the protagonist comes to see value in community, and his peers welcome him back into the fold. For the Deserter, however, the conflict was between infantry and officers, and between pacifism and militarism. There could be no reconciliation between the protagonist and German militarism; instead, the Deserter escaped turmoil and sought a society to which he hoped he could be reconciled in the New World.

The strongest element in *A German War Deserter's Experience* is indeed—as Koettgen's preface predicted—the writer's determination to dispel the traditional, uplifting stories about war. The need to develop such myths, as George Mosse has noted, was especially compelling in defeated nations where the heroic ideal appeared to have been for naught. The witnessing of death on a massive scale, the agonized cries of the wounded, the destruction, the endless bouts of terror and hunger, all had to be masked by reconnecting the valiant soldier with the sacredness of the nation for which he had fought.[31]

Historian Bernd Hüppauf outlines two potent myths upheld in the Weimar Republic and ultimately by National Socialism. The first, the Langemarck myth, reflects the story Germans told about the October–November 1914 battle near the Belgian village of Bixschoote (a fight in which the Deserter did not participate, since his unit was already in France by this time). The battle was an overall defeat for Germany, but the story circulated about it included an uprising of inexperienced student-soldiers

who bravely sacrificed their lives for the Fatherland. The myth also has the student-soldiers singing the national anthem as they made their ill-fated advance toward the enemy. By telling the myth, the Germans attempted to reverse the defeat, and more importantly the shame it caused, and reshape it into a victory. The truth of Langemarck can only be partially determined. There were certainly thousands of student-soldiers involved in the battle, and they were indeed inexperienced (as Boy Jessen, a military training officer, confirmed; see below), but only about 15 % of the German servicemen killed at Langemarck were likely to have been students. Regarding the song-singing aspect of the myth, Hüppauf remarked, "it appeared unlikely that charging soldiers would, after days of a back-breaking slog over soaked, muddy turnip fields, be singing a patriotic song."[32]

If the purpose of creating the Langemarck myth was to persuade Germans that their military had not been defeated and that particularly its youthful men were willing to sacrifice themselves for the glory of the nation, then the Deserter witnessed the German military defeated again and again, particularly palpable in the retreat from the Marne, and he perceived the concept of sacrifice for a "Fatherland" as meaningless. On the other hand, he confirmed the traditional concept of moral certitude evident in the Langemarck myth, as he tried to convince readers of the inherent righteousness of the ideology of socialism.[33]

The second myth Hüppauf outlines is the Verdun myth. In this myth, fighting men become like machines, neither needing nor affirming any ideology or heroic image as an impetus to fight. Rather than men creating the war to (in turn) create more manly men (Mosse called the Great War an "invitation to manliness"[34]), the war made men into machines. Emotions were completely superfluous. The Deserter negates this image of war by suffusing his text with the emotions that the Verdun myth claimed the war had rendered obsolete.

The Deserter's primary purpose in writing his memoir is to foil those Germans who propagated the war myths described above and to demonstrate the inhumane brutality of war. He accomplishes this purpose through his vivid descriptions of ripping flesh from bone during hand-to-hand combat (as opposed to the trench warfare for which the Great War became best known, although the Deserter could not have predicted that in 1917) and other atrocities, such as corpses hanging from trees like so much Christmas tree tinsel.[35] But perhaps more remarkably he refers repeatedly to civilian victims of war, often refugees. This passage is typical: "there they were, lying in the greatest conceivable misery, all in a jumble,

women and men, children and greybeards."[36] In all cases, noncombatants are perceived by the Deserter, equally along with soldiers, as victims of the militarization that enables war. In the pages of the memoir, readers were introduced to farmers driven from their homes by the invading German army, French women who billet the author and his comrades and who studied in and who have relatives still living in Berlin, and French and Belgium villagers rendered homeless by the burning of their homes.[37] The effect of the book's civilian images is to educate readers in the myriad ways that war reaches far beyond battlefields and into the presumed isolated, and feminine, "home front."

Although in keeping with traditional interpretations of women who remain part of the victimized home front, *A German Deserter's War Experience* refuses to sexualize the myriad women encountered by its author. In this regard, the Deserter's memoir is truly unique in Great War literature. Robert L. Nelson's analysis of German soldier newspapers, for example, demonstrates that manly warrior ideals included the caricature of French women as prostitutes and girlfriends, depicted as the conquerors' deserved wartime booty.[38] This view was hardly limited to German publications. The expected wartime use and abuse of women is perhaps best represented in writer and Great War veteran John Dos Passos's American wartime trilogy *Three Soldiers*. After viewing a government-produced propaganda movie, the US military recruit John Andrews hears a comrade exclaim, "I never raped a woman in my life, but by God, I'm going to. I'd give a lot to rape some of those goddam German women."[39] Kathy J. Phillips suggested that if Victorian-era men were required to contain their sexual needs, by 1914 heterosexual exploits were not only expected but also encouraged by militaries.[40]

In contrast to other Great War works, presumed "enemy" French women appear in *A German Deserter's War Experience* exclusively as wives or mothers who are wronged by institutionalized militarism. The Deserter and his comrades never create sexual objects of the women they encounter, and neither do his presumed opponents. Perhaps the best example of this egalitarian view occurs when the Elsässer and his comrades take a Frenchman prisoner and accompany him to his home, where the German soldiers allow the captured man and his wife a private moment together before he is taken to the prisoner-of-war camp. They even take up a collection of money and give it to the wife and her children.[41] Recruits in the German military were socialized to accept sexual rights over the defeated enemy's female population; this was an expected part of warfare. The

Deserter, however, felt as alienated by this notion as he was by nationalism and militarism. Dominik Richert, another deserter from the German army, shared at least some of the Deserter's attitudes toward women. Richert encountered women while on leave. While convalescing in hospitals, he found his female caregivers to be attractive diversions from the loneliness of his soldiering life as they fed and nursed him back to health. He reviled his comrades' visits to brothels. He pitied the prostitutes and viewed them as the Deserter imagined all the women and men he encountered in the war: as victims of militarism.[42] In their views of women, both Richert and the Deserter shunned the European military culture—which made manhood dependent on military duty—into which they were born.[43]

While his views of sex and gender were quite different from what readers saw in other war literature, with respect to class antagonism and hatred between military ranks, the Deserter's interpretations were more typical. As an Elsässer, he had at least heard of the 1913 Zabern Affair (Saverne in French). In this incident, a nineteen-year-old German lieutenant and aristocrat garrisoned in Zabern, a village in the Elsaß-Lothringen region, offended the local population. Citizens protested and the German military responded by heaping further insult upon the people. It was in this context that the Deserter was serving his two-year military requirement. Benjamin Ziemann notes poor treatment of all non-German-speaking minorities within its borders,[44] while Gröbe reflects upon the "blustering arrogance" with which German military treated Elsässers and Schleswigers.[45] During the war, the German military realized the penalty it paid for its mistreatment of minorities. By March 1915, in the wake of a wave of desertions among Elsässers, authorities issued a command that soldiers from Elsaß-Lothringen were to be assigned to units traveling as far from their homeland as possible, to the Eastern front.[46] Although the Deserter was still fighting after March 1915, he remained in the Western front until he deserted in the fall of 1915, possibly because of his technical expertise as a sapper.

As a socialist, the Deserter understood the war as an act of injustice waged by the elite class at the expense of the working class. As he watched a sorry group of dispossessed civilians marching past him, he compared his forced marching as a soldier and figured he had more in common with the Belgian peasants than he had with his German commanders. Frequently chiding his superiors, the Deserter described officers as being clean-shaven and "faultlessly dressed," in contrast to the muck, mire, and several days' beard growth on his own chin. By the time he had made up his mind

to desert, the Elsässer counted only fourteen men left in his unit out of "several times" that amount originally; on the other hand, his commanding officers, he noted, had suffered no casualties at all.[47]

The Deserter's transnational interpretation of the war and the militarism behind it led him to desert his unit and leave the nation of his birth. He longed for a society that would not force him into military service and in which he found workers who were also convinced of socialism's possibilities. Although he certainly found the latter, in the former he must have been gravely disappointed when Woodrow Wilson declared that the USA would enter the fray on April 6, 1917.

Boy Jessen

When the city of Paris hosted the World's Fair in 1900, nations from around the world exhibited their cultural attractions, their presumed "national characteristics," and their national achievements at the event. At the Danish exhibit, Hans Olrick and C.N. Starcke offered a summary of Danish national culture in a book they had prepared for the fair, including a chapter titled "National Characteristics." Danes, according to the authors, were a homogeneous people living in harmony with their natural world. They embodied self-restraint, were lighthearted but melancholic at times, were often shy, and typically turned their backs on confrontation. Risk-taking, claimed Olrick and Starcke, was not part of the Danish nature. The authors detected these qualities in Danish music, art, and literature.[48] Boy Jessen confirmed these traits, and added that Danes were habitually "clean in words and deeds…highly educated, hard working [*sic*], efficient in all their doings, and [they] live a clean home life."[49]

After their victory over the Danes in 1864, Germans ran roughshod over that stereotypically quiescent Danish character. The Danish defeat in the Prussian–Danish War of 1864 left a "terrible scar on the Danish psyche," since the latter was now entirely dependent on the goodwill of Germany for its existence. The Danish government in Copenhagen took excessive care not to offend its powerful neighbor. German nobility and clergy regarded Danish-speaking peasants as lacking morality because they did not speak the German language. One could presume that they thought the opposite to be true; that German was the language of morality.[50] As if to put a finer point on it, clerics doubted that non-German speakers were "true Christians." Christopf Heinrich Fischer, minister to a congregation in the Schleswig village of Hyrup, indicated as much in a sermon when

he proclaimed that the devil ruled the souls of people in homes where no German was spoken. This animosity regarding language could be detected in social class, since upper-class elites spoke German and in some areas only the poorest farmers and urban working class spoke Danish. Danish philosopher N.F.S. Grundtvig feminized the nation when he proclaimed Denmark to be a womanly, pacifistic, and antiheroic nation. A pro-Danish poster circulated in the 1920 plebiscite depicted Schleswig returning to Mother Denmark as a reunion between a mother and daughter. So distinctive were Danish character traits and the Danish language that Boy Jessen, as well as historian Norman Berdichevsky, adopted the phrase "Danish-mindedness" to convey that uniqueness.[51]

Boy Jessen embodied the harmonious living in the natural world that Olrick and Starcke admired, but not the pacifism or self-effacing character. Jessen's military experience led to an expanded sense of "Danish-mindedness" as he left Schleswig to serve his duty in Berlin. There, he found and clung to a group of Danish men who were also German nationals because of the Danish loss in the 1864 war. This experience led to Jessen's realization of the transnational Danish Diaspora, or the ways in which Danes were understood to be distinctive, no matter where they lived. Jessen's identity as a Danish-minded German was a masculine identity that matured during his military service and war experience.

Born in 1891 on a farm in Tønder County, in southern Schleswig, Jessen developed his affection for the land and farming in his early years. At school he learned of the harsh German treatment of the Danish population; children were not allowed to speak their native tongue anywhere on school grounds, and many times, he wrote, he could not eat his supper because his jaw smarted painfully from the number of times the teacher had slapped it when he spoke Danish rather than German words. Nevertheless, throughout his life, Jessen loved learning and admired the learned, except his history classes, where teachers taught only German history and German "world supremacy."[52]

As a teenager, torn between farming and education, Jessen planned a career in agriculture and expected to attend a university to earn a degree. He knew his studies would be interrupted, however, by his required two-year service in the German military. Startlingly, given his displeasure with German rule, he wanted to serve in the elite Prussian Guard, the same unit in which his father had served. He stated, proudly, that "when nineteen years old [1910], I was, at my own request, admitted to the Kaiser Franz Garde Grenadier Regiment in Berlin."[53] Jessen admired the decorated

uniforms and the pomp and circumstance of serving in the military, and he commented that the two-year requirement improved the lives of all of the young men who fulfilled their obligations. After his first year, he was promoted to noncommissioned officer status. Being an officer, he boasted, was a great honor. Later during the war, he wrote admiringly of the bravery of the enemy.[54]

One aspect of the military he could not accept was the young inductees' required visit to a brothel. When taken inside a house in Berlin, he wrote, he indignantly put his cap back on his head, reset his bayonet on his belt, and stalked out, amid the taunting laughter of his mates. He does not explain why he chose to defy this accepted military ritual, when all the others he enjoyed and respected. Given his strong religious upbringing, readers may suspect that this accounts for his attitude toward prostitution (Jessen venerated all religious authority figures, especially chaplains who served during the war).[55] In any case, unlike the Deserter, his memoir offers no interpretation or analysis of women's roles in war. Also in contrast to the Deserter, Jessen held no animosity to his superiors, admiring and befriending them even though they were echt German, asserting that battle had an equalizing effect, bringing "titled" officers "down to earth with us in battle." He firmly believed that to sacrifice one's life for another—an example of "brotherly love"—was the greatest gift a man could give.[56] In his confirmation of the presumed equalizing effect of war and his honoring of comradeship, Jessen upheld the German ideal of the manly soldier. His memoir contains none of the "not knowing" that so vexed the Deserter.

Generally, his memoir offered excuses for the military as an institution, and for himself as a member of it (the only exception to this is his cynical attitude during the war when a disreputable officer won an Iron Cross medal).[57] "It is the duty of the leaders to train their men to be good soldiers, so they can help themselves in the eventuality of war. But the participation in such a war, and the blame for it," he explained, "rests solely upon the shoulders of the politicians, and they should bear the responsibility for it."[58] His two-year stint in Berlin intensified his affection for all things Danish. In Berlin, he socialized with Danish-speaking organizations, attended church services delivered in the Danish language, and asserted his pride in his fellow Danes when they achieved status in the German military.

But it also challenged his "split" identity as a Dane born on German soil. German soldiers, he explained, were not allowed to participate in any activity where another flag was flown. He was invited to a masquerade ball

thrown by a Danish-language organization in Berlin; to attend, he needed the permission of his superior. "[My captain] was sure there would be some Danish flags, and I should know that a soldier could not attend such meetings. It could cause a big scandal…but at last he made me promise him that I would leave the place if I saw one single Danish flag."[59] Despite his adamant loyalty to all things Danish, and his suspicion of all things German, throughout his duty Jessen befriended German officers (significantly, they were officers and not recruits) attached to his unit, and even considered going to work for one which would have meant remaining in Prussia. Yet when he finished his duty in Berlin he returned to Schleswig, where he was hired to work on a farm as a foreman. He agreed to stay on the farm, even after he found out that the owner was German. His service in the German military had not reduced his anti-German sentiment, which appeared to reignite when the Germans irritating him were on what he thought should be Danish soil, rather than on their home turf. In August 1914, the German military called him back into service.

Back with his guard unit in Berlin, Jessen began training new recruits, including, at least potentially, the University of Berlin students involved in what became the Langemarck myth. Officers in Jessen's unit instructed the training officers to go easy on the students, much to Jessen's chagrin. "Those young men had come with eagerness and love to serve their country and they should not have this spirit dimmed" by excessive harshness, explained the unit's commanding officer. Jessen's love of discipline made it difficult for him to obey this particular order. "Most of those highly educated, fine young men did not last very long," he lamented, "[because] the easy methods of teaching cost the lives of a lot of fine young men." Then the Dane excused himself. "This is not weighing down my conscience," he insisted, "because I wanted to teach them the right way."[60] Jessen would certainly have applauded the fighting spirit mythologized in young soldiers after the battle near Langemarck.

After his participation in battle at Ypres, Jessen received an Iron Cross which earned him a period of rest and relaxation in France. Billeted with a French family, he was asked by his host—a Frenchman who explained to him the "liberty, equality, and fraternity" values of the French Revolution—why he fought. Jessen showed the man a map of Schleswig, and explained that he fought to free his fellow Danes. Before returning to Berlin in August 1914, he had made out his will, leaving all his possessions to a Danish organization that worked for the Danish cause against the German oppressor.[61]

By May 1915, Jessen's unit had been sent to the Eastern front. In contrast again to the Deserter, Jessen showed little sympathy for civilians caught up in battles. Near the city of Jaroslaw, he observed an old woman who had removed the boots from dead soldiers' bodies and packed them into a sack, which she then dragged into her cellar. For such an act, huffed Jessen, his unit could have shot her, but "we let her go. With one leg already in her grave, she was hardly worth it."[62] In the battles at the Eastern front, Jessen took a bullet in the arm but heroically kept fighting anyway. The wound eventually sent him to a hospital in northern Germany. A previous injury that had cropped up again provided him with even more leave time, ultimately in Berlin. When he recovered, he was granted an additional three-week furlough and visited his family farm. Back in Berlin with his old guard regiment, he began again instructing new recruits, this time using the harsh manner he thought appropriate to properly harden up the greenhorns for battle.

By spring 1916, still on guard training duty in Berlin, Jessen noted that no one was anxious to be sent to the front, and the general sense was that Germany could no longer win the war. By May, he asked for a furlough and went home. There, he hatched a plan to act as a cattle tradesman to sell cattle at the border and then bring a herd back to his family's farm. After selling the livestock he had brought to the Danish–German border, he hid and waited until nightfall and then crossed the border back into Denmark, running and escaping unharmed as a volley of shots were fired in his direction. He claimed that 3500 previous Danish soldiers fighting under the German flag had deserted before him, and that thousands more would follow.[63]

Jessen's memoir relates two reasons behind his desertion. First, he felt Germany could not win the war and that fighting in the remaining battles would mean "only meaningless slaughtering because the Germans knew very well they could not break through [enemy lines]." Around 6000 north Schleswig soldiers in German uniforms died in the Great War, the overwhelming number of these, according to historian Norman Berdichevsky, had little interest in a German victory.[64]

Jessen also saw opportunity in the possibility of a German loss. "We Danish-minded people from Slesvig knew that we surely would be released some way from the German oppressors. What we had to do for the Germans was only by force and by command," he effused, repeating a point he had made earlier in his memoir, "there was by far no love in it!"[65] After marrying a fellow Dane, continuing his education in agriculture,

and purchasing a farm near Frøslev, Jessen spent his remaining years in Denmark aiding the cause of reunification of Schleswig with Denmark. The Treaty of Versailles-mandated plebiscite yielded mixed results, with the northern part of the region (where Jessen lived) voting in favor of reunification with Denmark and the central portion voting to remain under German rule. A vote in southern Schleswig was canceled because of the certainty of a German victory in that portion of the contested area. Jessen bridled at the unfairness of the German government's ill-treatment of the Danish minority living in southern Schleswig. "The government and congress of Denmark would never think of applying unjust brutalities and pressure to the German minority still living in North Slesvig" in contrast to the way that the German authorities mistreated the minority Danes living in South Schleswig, he wrote bitterly.[66]

Jessen's farm struggled in the 1920s during an agricultural crisis that gripped Denmark after the war. The post-plebiscite border created a labor shortage for farmers, combined with a lack of capital that had resulted from postwar inflation; most Schleswig farmers had their savings in German marks which plummeted in value in the early 1920s. In 1926, Jessen could not pay back loans and was forced to sell his farm. A member of the Danish Conservative party, he blamed the loss of his farm on the socialist government in Copenhagen, which held Danish kroner to the gold standard.[67] He decided to immigrate with his wife and five children to the USA, where he eventually purchased a farm in Dawson County, Nebraska.

This decision seemed anathema in a man who worked tirelessly in educational, fraternal, and civic organizations dedicated to reinforcing Danish-mindedness in the Danish minority living in post-plebiscite South Schleswig. In this effort, Jessen operated precisely in the same way as the German organizations dedicated to instilling and extending *Deutschtum* among Germans living overseas. Thirty years later, during a trip back to Denmark, Jessen still held fast to his beloved ideal of the Danish Diaspora. "At some future day the Danes from South Slesvig may also raise their voices for reunion with the motherland Denmark through a plebiscite. Such as reunion, similar to what we saw and helped to bring about in North Slesvig will come, we hope," he asserted confidently. "And this will also be a great day for all Danes around the globe."[68]

Boy Jessen's postwar life followed a similar pattern seen in other emigrating German veterans. Having escaped military service and resettled in Denmark, he married and worked to support his growing family. Beyond

his love of the land and of agriculture, he worked to support his lifelong political cause of reunifying Schleswig with what he saw as its rightful place among nations. Ironically, when the return of North Schleswig to Denmark occurred, a development he had not only worked for politically but had also fought nearly two years in the German army to free the Danes from German rule, it facilitated the loss of his beloved Frøslev farm. Although he had opportunities to potentially rent or even own other farms in Denmark, he chose instead to immigrate to the USA, finally living under his third flag, the stars and stripes. Despite his choice to emigrate and live elsewhere, he never relinquished his love of Danish-mindedness and his hope that his native Schleswig would one day be reunited with the Danish nation.

Soldiers who deliberately defy authority and depart from their units during war with the intention of not returning upend the closely held article of faith inherent in the concept of nationalism; the notion that nations require defending, and that valiant warriors are needed to secure that defense. At the same time, the idea of national defense included a feminine counterclaim. When soldiering men declare that they fight to not only defend the nation but all that lays inside it, they allude to the women commonly understood to remain "at home" and who symbolize the home front during war. The Deserter confirmed this notion when he explained that he fought—however unwillingly—in defense of his kinfolk. "I had to defend a home," he wrote, "and protect it from devastation."[69] He extended that same sense of protection when he chose to write anonymously to shield his family still living in Germany from potential recrimination. Jessen fought to prepare himself to one day free the Danish people from their German oppressors. By deserting, both the Elsässer and Boy Jessen the Schleswiger weighed the male prerogative of protection against the harm that may befall them personally if they continued to fight. While both men deserted, the difference in attitude between the Deserter and Jessen is obvious in their respective memoirs. The sapper detested the destruction and immorality he saw in the war and in military life, while the Dane viewed military service as a positive force and a necessary part of a young man's life. By their acts of desertion, they called into question the nation's ability to force its male population to defend the ideal of the nation, and its ability to keep a military intact during a lengthy and brutal conflict. Given the fact that the German military had outlined specific punishments for desertion, already codified before the war, desertion was a planned-for and expected—if not publicly

acknowledged—part of military life, amounting to confession that the idea of national defense and even defense of one's home was not enough to keep men in uniform.

Nevertheless, the military life so relished by Boy Jessen—despite his animosity toward the nation he served—survived through the Weimar Republic and thrived under the Third Reich. The Nazis not only encouraged men to serve the Fatherland; they cultivated soldiers who viewed death in battle as the highest form of a militarized manhood. That "fanatical reverence for sacrificial death and contempt for surrender," according to Brian K. Feltman, had grave consequences for Germans during the Second World War.[70]

Army deserters, however, having rejected the presumed link between military service and defense of the nation—or at least their personal part in that defense—and having physically moved themselves from battlefields to neutral nations, possessed a mind open to the possibility of living in a land other than the land of their birth. The map of Richard Hauptmann's travels provided in this volume demonstrates the vast mobility experienced by common soldiers and it is not hard to imagine that for some that mobility became habitual even after their years in the service had ended. As we will see in the following chapter, even for those servicemen who completed their time on military duty, the ties linking a veteran to the nation for which he had fought were not always easily transferred to the land to which he immigrated.

Notes

1. Frederik Kortlandt, "The Spread of the Indo-Europeans," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 18 (1990): 133.
2. I will refer to the anonymous writer as the Deserter.
3. Boy Jessen, *Living Under Three Flags* (New York: Vantage Press, 1959), 103.
4. Benjamin Ziemann, "Fahnenflucht im Deutschen Heer, 1914–1918," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 55, no. 1 (1996):93–130, notes that deserters typically fled to neutral countries and that they often fled not from battlefields but from home while on furlough, 98, 99.
5. Jessen, 18.
6. Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave, 2014), 2–6.

7. Carolyn Strange, "Honor, Violence and Emotion: An Afterword," in Strange, Robert Cribb and Christopher E. Forth, eds. *Honour, Violence and Emotions in History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 203–204.
8. R. Claire Snyder, *Citizen-soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 55–6.
9. Benjamin Gröbe, *Desertion im deutschen Weltkriegsheer, 1914–1918* (Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, 2005), 3.
10. Dominik Richert, *Beste Gelegenheit zum Sterben:Meine Erlebnisse im Kriege, 1914–1918* trans. Angelika Tramitz, ed. Bernd Ulrich (München: Knesebeck, 1989).
11. Ziemann, 93–4; corroborated by Gröbe, 3.
12. Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and Specter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1969), 232; Christoph Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914–1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), 149–61; Wilhelm Deist, "The Military Collapse of the German Empire," *War in Society* 3, no. 2 (2001): 201–07; Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale, and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 168–172; Scott Stephenson, *The Final Battle: Soldiers of the Western Front and the German Revolution of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 48–9 .
13. Ziemann, 96.
14. Ibid, 115.
15. Anonymous, 248, Gröbe claims 15,000 crossed the Netherlands border and 7000 had fled to Denmark by May 15, 1917.
16. Ziemann, 117; Wilhelm Deist, "The Military Collapse of the German Empire: The Reality behind the Stab-in-the-Back Myth." Translated by E. J. Feuchtwanger. *War in History* 3, no. 2 (1996): 202.
17. Richard Fogarty, paper "War of Movement: Military and Labor Migration in France, 1914–1918," presented at the American Historical Association, Atlanta, Georgia, January 10, 2016.
18. Chulhee Lee, "Health, Information, and Migration: Geographic Mobility of Union Army Veterans, 1860–1880," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 11207, 2005, http://www.nber.org/papers/w11207.
19. Ziemann, 98.
20. Anonymous, *A German Deserter's War Experience* (London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1917), 15.
21. Julius Koettgen, *A German Deserter's War Experience*, ed. Bob Carruthers (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books, 2013). Carruthers

assumes Koettgen was actually the author of the book, but provides no evidence to support this assumption.

22. Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 181, 183.
23. The history of preparedness and the war declaration is traced in Erika Kuhlman, *Petticoats and White Feathers: Gender Conformity, Race, the Progressive Peace Movement, and the Debate over War, 1895–1919* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 47–71.
24. The veracity of *A German Deserter's War Experience* is discussed on this Internet forum: http://1914-1918.invisionzone.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=224385.
25. Ziemann, 99.
26. Julius Koettgen, "Preface," in Anonymous, *A German Deserter's War Experience*, 5–7.
27. Anonymous, 22.
28. Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 138–9.
29. Ibid, 83.
30. David A. Davis, "The Modernist Death of Donald Mahon," Modern Language Association paper, 2006, faulknersociety.com/mla06davis.doc.
31. Mosse, 7.
32. Bernd Hüppauf, "Schlachtenmythen und die Konstrucktion des 'Neuen Menschen,'" in Gerhard Hirschfeld, ed. *Keiner fuehlt sich hier mehr als Mensch: Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1993), 43–84, quote on 47.
33. Anonymous, 253–4.
34. Mosse, 166.
35. Anonymous, 27–8, 76–7.
36. Anonymous, 161–2.
37. See p. 33 for a typical passage describing the destruction surrounding a battle, rather than in the battlefield.
38. Robert L. Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 9–10.
39. John Dos Passos, *Three Soldiers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), 24.
40. Kathy J. Phillips, *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 43.
41. Anonymous, 219–21.
42. Richert, 178–180.
43. R. Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 55.
44. Ziemann, 122, 126, 127.

45. Gröbe, 10; see also Alan Kramer, "*Wackes* at War: Alsace-Lorraine and the Failure of German National Mobilization, 1914–1918," in John Horne, ed. *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 105–22 .
46. Ibid, 11; corroborated by Boy Jessen, sixty-one, although he thought the order had been given as early as December 1914.
47. Anonymous, 27, 140, 247.
48. Norman Berdichevsky, *The Danish-German Border Dispute, 1815–2001: Aspects of Cultural and Demographic Politics* (Bethesda: Academica Press, LLC, 2002), 67–8.
49. Jessen, 204.
50. Berdichevsky, 54, 67, 47.
51. Ibid, 47–56, 60; Jessen, 26.
52. Jessen, 23.
53. Ibid, 29.
54. Ibid, 47.
55. Ibid, 46.
56. Ibid, 47.
57. Ibid, 52–3.
58. Ibid, 35.
59. Ibid, 37.
60. Ibid, 43–4.
61. Ibid, 57, 43.
62. Ibid, 73.
63. Ibid, 83.
64. Berdichevsky, 70.
65. Jessen, 83.
66. Ibid, 132.
67. Ibid, 141.
68. Ibid, 133.
69. Anonymous, *A German Deserter's War Experience*, 17.
70. Brian K. Feltman, *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 194, 198.

CHAPTER 4

Emigration, National Loyalty and Identity, and Anti-Semitism During the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany

Abstract This chapter focuses on nationalist discourses in the records of two veterans, Karl Oscar Hugg and Richard Schmidt. Specifically, the chapter explores the relationship between nationalism and anti-Semitism. Karl Oscar Hugg, investigated and detained by the FBI, was forced to demonstrate patriotism to the USA amid accusations that he was still loyal to Germany under National Socialism. His accusers' evidence included his anti-Semitic remarks. Hugg discovered that nations may grant citizenship but are also entitled to take it away. Schmidt committed a crime in the context of continued animosity toward German-born naturalized citizens. The release of Schmidt's murderer demonstrated the ways in which World War heroism seemed to exonerate wrongdoing.

When veterans decided to emigrate after the First World War, they severed the hallowed tie that their military service was supposed to have cemented: the link between the soldier and the nation in whose defense he had fought. This chapter is about that idealized duo, the soldier and his homeland, and all that intersects and may interfere with it, such as divergent religious identities and communities and perceived ethnic and racial differences among a nation's inhabitants. Conversely, it is also about the German nation's failure after the war to solidify the tie between citizens and their country generally, given the high number of emigrants exiting, or wanting to exit, between 1919 and 1932; though it was not

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8_4

for lack of trying. Both the German and the US governments increased their power and authority over citizens in the postwar years particularly in terms of inhabitants' comings and goings.[1] Citizenship is usually defined as membership in a broad geographic and political community; during the Enlightenment, the term acquired additional expectations of legal status, rights, and equality. Citizenship also implies identity; that is, how and whether a person feels subjectively connected to the nation-state.[2]

Migration across national borders challenges the concept of a state-centered citizenship and brings the process of naturalized citizenship to the fore because immigrants often desired full participation in the societies to which they moved.[3] The chapter will feature two former Great War soldiers, Karl Oscar Hugg and Richard Schmidt, who both emigrated from Germany's Baden province and arrived in New York during the early 1920s. Both men were trained mechanics, and both had flown airplanes in the fabled *Fliegertruppe*, or air force branch of the German army. Hugg and Schmidt achieved officer status in the course of their service. Both married German immigrant women who came to the USA, and each fathered a daughter. Hugg became a US citizen in 1936, but his allegiance to his adopted country came under scrutiny by the FBI based on a shortwave radio he kept in his attic, coupled with pro-German and anti-Semitic comments he had made at work. Schmidt, settling first in Iowa and then in Chicago, received citizenship in 1929. Three years later, the Badener was shot dead by an Oak Park, Illinois policeman. A hearing held after the incident revealed the persistence of ethnicity and of the idealized bind between soldiers and the nation for which they had fought. The chapter begins with another emigrating veteran, a German-Jewish man named Hans Rothmann.

Religious beliefs and perceived ethnic differences complicated the simple formula that nations tried desperately to uphold after 1918: that men's sacrificial duty is to defend the nation, which in turn glorifies him, offering him eternal "life" in the form of a cement statue designed to remind citizens of that sacrifice so that other, equally glorious sacrifices from younger men will follow in the next war. German-Jewish soldiers—somewhat like the ethnic minorities living in Schleswig and Elsaβ-Lothringen—disrupted this formula by their perceived inability to represent Germany as a united, disciplined, war-ready nation. Judaism represented not only a minority religion within Germany but also a transnational religion with roots in a different continent.

When organized religions transform into worldwide institutions spread over diverse continents and housed in different countries and cultures,

they become transnational. Jews began migrating from their Biblical homelands into Europe during the early fourth century CE. Some hypothesize that nation-states, which began forming in Europe in the fifteenth century, arose as a by-product of migration and mapmaking.[4] As sovereign states formed, the Jewish religion became a transnational religion, in that it transcended national boundaries. But that transnational quality did not necessarily mean that faithful Jews were any less nationalistic than any other group of people who also adhered to a worldwide religion; there is plenty of evidence to suggest that in Germany they were more so. The records of Hans Rothmann, a German Jew who fought in the First World War and then immigrated to the USA in 1933, illustrate the extent to which German Jews wanted to assimilate into whatever culture they lived in, and that they expected to do so in part through military service to their country. Rothmann's father, Berlin neurologist Max Rothmann, tried to persuade the German military to accept his son into the prestigious Prussian Cadet Corps. The physician and university professor took such drastic measures despite the death of his eldest son, Otto Rothmann, earlier in the war. Max Rothmann hoped to see his youngest son fight for the Fatherland and help boost the reputation of Jews within the German military and in Germany itself.[5]

About 100,000 German-Jewish men served in the First World War and over 12,000 of these lost their lives. There were over half a million Jews of German nationality at the time.[6] Historians have traditionally viewed German Jews as forming an isolated community distinct from the mainstream population, but also as a people who nevertheless attempted to blend into the dominant culture. Historian Tim Grady's exploration of German-Jewish soldiers' experiences in the Great War demonstrates the ways in which the brutalization of First World War servicemen transcended religious lines and linked men of diverse backgrounds together; the notion of comradeship was corroborated by David J. Fine's analysis of Jewish officers who integrated comfortably in the German army and identified as both Jews and Germans.[7] In other words, there is little evidence that anti-Semitism disrupted the fellowship between German-Jewish soldiers and their gentile comrades (anti-Semitism was a factor in German society generally, however, as the Rothmann correspondence indicates, and it intensified as the war dragged on).[8] The 1916 census of Jewish servicemen conducted by the German military in response to allegations of Jewish men reportedly shirking their military duty created considerable animosity toward military authorities (not an unknown phenomenon among

German infantry generally, as Richard Hauptmann's story illustrates), but that hostility did not necessarily spill over into relations among the rank and file (the census showed that Jews were overrepresented in the army and at the front, but the military suppressed those results).[9]

By looking at the ways in which German-Jewish soldiers were remembered as patriotic heroes after the war, Grady argues further that war memorialization occurred at the local, rather than state level, and that German Jews and non-Jews alike shared a culture of war remembrance through the Weimar Republic and into Nazi Germany.[10] A 1920 poster distributed by the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (National Association of Jewish Front Soldiers, or RjF) both supports and refutes Grady's claim. The flyer calls for unity using the familiar trope of a weeping war widow, but the plea implies that unity was in fact absent. The poster, below the words "To German Mothers," shows a woman dressed in black sobbing beside a headstone that reads "12,000 Jews fell on the field of honor for the Fatherland." The poster reminded viewers that Jewish and Christian men fought side by side and were buried together beneath the same soil. Divisive hatred, the poster extolled, should stop before the sacred graves of the dead. The flyer implored all German women to "refuse to allow a Jewish mother to be scorned in her grief" by anti-Semites.[11]

German-Jewish First World War commemorations—as in the rest of German society—were created and recreated in monuments and memorials dedicated to soldiers who had lost their lives in battle; the "German Mothers" poster served as a reminder of the numbers of Jewish servicemen killed in battle.[12] RjF posters co-opted the nationalistic myths of war, such as the infamous Langemarck myth that dramatized youthful soldiers running toward the enemy in joyful anticipation of battle. Max Rothmann's correspondence with the German Ministry of War seems to want to extend this invitation for his son and to German-Jewish men generally, as he repeatedly tried to persuade officials to accept Hans into the Prussian Cadet Corps. One article of faith among anti-Semites was the notion that Jews were disloyal to whatever nation they lived in, and—a critique from the left—that they stood at the helm of international capitalism.[13] Taken together, the Rothmann correspondence and the "German Mothers" poster implored German society to accept Jews as German citizens equally able to dedicate themselves to the nation through military service.

Upon receiving word on September 12, 1914, that his progeny, who was only fifteen years old at the time, would not be allowed to join the

Prussian Cadet Corps, Max Rothmann sent a fiery message back. “I told my son that the fact that we are Jewish…would not make a difference. That prejudice [against Jews in Germany] has now stopped.” The irate father followed this statement with a summary of his family’s contributions to German society, highlighting in particular the military accomplishments of his father, Oskar Rothmann. All German Jews, like their compatriots generally, argued Rothmann, were united behind the German flag and the German military in a splendid spirit of courage and self-sacrifice. The Berliner ended his tirade on a self-effacing note. “Your merciful Emperor, King, and Gentleman,” he effused, “I hope you will excuse the boldness of my inquiry; it is due to the excited spirit which runs through all the German people in these glorious days.”[14]

When a Ministry of War official named Wandel responded to Rothmann’s inquiry regarding his son’s rejection notice, Wandel stated that according to statute, the Prussian Cadet Corps could only accept Christian men into its ranks. Rothmann shot back by quoting the German Kaiser’s proclamation that all political and other divisions among Germans had ceased with the declaration of war.[15] In taking the Kaiser at his word, Rothmann seemed as naïve as Johann Grossmann was when he believed General Paul von Hindenburg’s promise of land to every honorably discharged German serviceman (see Chap. 1). In a missive dated November 13, 1914, Rothmann invited Wandel to review the proceedings of an April 13, 1913 Reichstag budget hearing, in which it was stated that the Ministry of War’s view—that cadets had to be Christian—was incorrect; they need only be German, and in being German, Rothmann stated emphatically, he (Rothmann) most certainly was “to my very last drop of blood.”

Rothmann’s parting comment in this letter was pointed. “Further words [to prove his loyalty to Germany] in these difficult and serious times,” he wrote, “should be unnecessary as I recently lost my first-born son—who had volunteered during the first call—when he was cut down in battle by the enemy.”[16] In a following letter, Rothmann declared to the Ministry of War that because his eldest son had been sacrificed to the Fatherland in October, it was his wish that his youngest and now only remaining son be allowed to serve his country as a military officer[17] (part of the impetus behind the 1916 census of Jewish soldiers was the perceived threat posed by too many Jewish officers leading non-Jewish infantry).[18] The matter was finally resolved when the Ministry of War offered to admit Hans Rothmann as an ensign when he reached the appropriate age (the youngest Rothmann was born in August 1899).

Max Rothmann took his own life in August 1915.[19] Hans Rothmann was drafted into the military in 1917 when he turned eighteen. He served as a paramedic in military infirmaries. After demobilization, he studied medicine and became a physician and professor at the University Clinic in Halle, Germany. In 1933, he was placed on sabbatical and in September of that year his teaching license was revoked according to the so-called Aryan paragraph which stated that Jews were not allowed to work in civil service. He immigrated to the USA in 1933 where he practiced medicine in California. Hans Rothmann died in San Francisco in 1970.[20]

The Rothmann correspondence amplified the notion that full and equal citizenship requires military service of its male population; it indicated the great lengths to which Jews had to go to be accepted as Germans. The letters also demonstrate the contradictory messages Jews received from German government officials. On the one hand, the Kaiser proclaimed that a united population sent fighting men to battlefields. Yet a Ministry of War bureaucrat repeated long-standing anti-Semitic restrictions on what kind of men could wear the uniform of an elite military institution. German Jews were restricted in their ability to represent the nation militarily, and they were perceived as disrupting the nation's need to show a cohesive, loyal population in the face of a potentially ruinous war.

After the Armistice, German Jews continued to desire full citizenship in Germany, as the activism of the RjF organization and its journal *Der Schild* indicated. Other veterans' groups that flowered during the first years of the Weimar Republic were intent on gaining restitution from the German government for the injuries that ex-servicemen had sustained during the war, and that kept them from reclaiming their economic place in German society: The government responded with an overhaul of the pension system in 1920.[21] But uncertainty persisted in the nation as to how veterans should be honored.[22] What additional steps did the German government take to reconnect people to the nation after the 1918 defeat to make sure that citizens, at least those deemed desirable, identified themselves as loyal Germans?

One strategy used all over the industrialized world to bind citizens to the nation was the pocket-sized booklet with a national symbol stamped on the front, known as the passport. The end of the Great War coincided with governments asserting their right and need to control and centralize their authority in industrialized nations, especially regarding emigration control (although industrialization had led governments to control foreign workers and their access to social welfare programs already in the

nineteenth century; the German state was particularly good at intervening in the foreign labor population).[23] Marlou Schrover has shown that prior to the war nations felt a need to manage migration, but only after the Great War was that control possible, due to the rise of more efficient transportation, bureaucracies, and technologies.[24] Nations had to know who their citizens were if they were to determine their movement: this was accomplished in part through passports. This documentation provided proof of the tie between an individual and the nation in which he or she lived. At the same time, carrying a passport became a requirement for people who wanted to leave the nation, and visas were often necessary to gain entrance to another country. Who would be allowed/encouraged/required to leave, and who welcomed into the country depended in part on political and racial profiles, a sure sign of the racial/ethnic and ideological unity desired by the nation controlling the passports, and citizens began to expect the nation to provide that unity. Anti-Semitic Germans, for example, wondered why the RWA (German Immigration Bureau) did not facilitate the deportation of *Ost Jüden* (Eastern European Jews) from the nation's borders, seemingly unaware that the RWA was established to inform prospective emigrants and protect them from fraud and had little to do with people immigrating *to* Germany.[25] As Christiane Reinecke has pointed out, the Prussian government had already been in the practice of deporting migrant workers well before the war; in 1914, Germany had about 1.2 million foreign workers, many of them Polish Jews. Polish workers were deported routinely solely "as a consequence of their ethnicity."[26]

While governments established bureaucracies to create and process citizens' identification papers with efficiency, the control was not always welcomed by emigrants, as we have seen in Johann Grossmann's case. In order to obtain a passport, a prospective German emigrant had to have proof that he or she had consulted the RWA (an entity that actively discouraged emigration and charged a fee for the service). RWA officials used additional tactics to obstruct emigration, including advice delivered in an "incoherent and confusing" manner. All this, despite the Weimar Constitution's guarantee of citizens' right to emigrate. Consequently, the RWA became the most hated and ridiculed bureaucracy in Germany until its demise in 1924.[27] Emigrants experienced the same conflicting message within the same government as Max Rothmann had: government bureaucrats attempting to hinder a right guaranteed by that same government.

Germany had had little success during the war in creating the unity among its diverse citizens that the Kaiser had touted so nobly. Benjamin

Ziemann concluded that the German nation had failed to mobilize its citizens to support the nation's cause; in turn, veterans "identified the war as marking the end of what national identity they had previously subscribed to."[28] Of the men profiled in this study, the Deserter, Johann Grossmann, Boy Jessen, and Rudolph Blank (see below) all felt alienated by their German citizenship. Given the ebb of nationalistic feeling during the war, coupled with a humiliating defeat in the war, it is no wonder that the emigration "fever" that gripped Weimar Germany was perceived as an additional, unwelcomed phenomenon and indeed in some circles it was viewed as a threat to the nation's existence.[29]

Travelers obtaining passports to leave the country caused resentment as a fragile German society observed the departure of so many of its countrymen; antipathy was sometimes expressed as blame as the nation looked around for a scapegoat to explain its loss after the heightened expectations of August 1914. A story that appeared in *Kladderadatsch* magazine questioned the loyalty of Germans living abroad. A vignette titled "Der Onkel in Amerika" appeared in the February 25, 1923 issue of the satirical, Berlin-based magazine. The writer blamed all the Germans who had immigrated to the USA prior to August 1914 for the Fatherland's recent defeat in the war. "Uncle Jonathan" (an Americanized version of the German name Johann), a disloyal German living in the USA, explained the author, smiled contentedly as his niece "Marianne"—representing France—trammeled upon and emptied the pockets of "Michel," a mythical stand-in for Germany, who lay motionless on the floor. (German readers would have recognized Michel, who had represented the shortcomings of the *Deutsch* national character in fairy tales since the seventeenth century; a bit like the Irish Paddy.[30]) If America had merely watched as Michel struggled manfully against half of the rest of the world, instead of intervening in the war against him, Michel might have been victorious, but instead, the USA—Uncle Jonathan's new homeland—did intervene on the side of the Allies, and now Germany lay decimated and helpless.[31]

A conservative Munich-based magazine blamed the USA for Germany's woes but also poked fun at those who emigrated to the USA. Humor represented a sure sign that the massive emigration discomforted Germans, and that at least some struggled emotionally to understand why so many of their countrymen were leaving. In addition, the barbs thrown in the *Fliegende Blätter* exposé included an anti-Semitic undercurrent, as the artist used a drawing to identify a scapegoat for Germany's defeat (while also criticizing some aspects of Weimar society, such as a bloated civil service).

Generally, *Fliegende Blätter* editors blamed cultural modernity, imported to Europe from the USA, for Germany's woes.[32] The August 31, 1923 issue featured eight drawings with captions under the heading "Why they Immigrated to America." The eight figures included a bum, who left so that he could return a rich uncle; a civil servant who wanted to improve the way he spent his many vacations; a henpecked husband who left because he had such a mean wife; a dandy who left "for various reasons"; a misanthrope "who would rather live with apes in the jungle than with humans" (a racist reference to the USA's African-American population); a Don Juan lover who was eager to marry multiple Mormon women; and a schoolboy, stealthily escaping his poor report card. Next, the artist included a fat war profiteer, wearing a top hat and carrying a cane, stogie firmly planted between his lips. His face had unmistakable stereotypical Jewish features. He immigrated to the USA in order to spend the US dollars that he had "somehow" acquired in Germany.[33]

Taken in their entirety, the eight caricatures suggest that Germany was losing some pretty unsavory types and that readers could put their minds at ease and not worry too much about the emigration phenomenon. Perhaps the character whom some might interpret as the most offensive was the Jewish war profiteer. He could not represent the kind of united, trustworthy population that Germany so desperately needed to remain at home in the chaos of the postwar years, for two reasons: first, because he was Jewish, and second, because he had disloyally made a profit through a war that had proved so devastating for the nation. The war profiteer served as a contrast to the servicemen who had made the required sacrifice for their country, as opposed to the *Schwindler* who had gained by it.

Into this atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and blame stepped prospective German emigrants, hoping to start a new life in the USA. The RWA and the *Deutsch Ausland Institut* (see Chap. 1) added an additional threat by waving the concept of *Deutschtum* under emigrants' noses. The RWA reminded travelers to pack their German-ness with them before they left for foreign shores.

At his FBI hearing, Karl Oscar Hugg's detractors claimed that the German veteran's *Deutschtum* had remained intact—perhaps a little too intact—even after he had formally renounced his loyalty to Germany and announced his new loyalty to the USA by becoming a citizen in 1936. When the USA entered the Second World War in 1941, the FBI began a series of investigations of German-born naturalized citizens, some involving a hearing to determine whether their US citizenship should be taken

from them. In July 1942, Hugg was among 200 residents of eastern Pennsylvania to face charges that when they had sworn allegiance to the USA during their naturalization process, they had secretly retained loyalty to Germany.[34] Six months before Hugg's detention, an Austrian Great War veteran, psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich, was arrested in New York City as an enemy alien. Unbeknownst to the FBI, however, Reich had already been stripped of his German citizenship by the Nazis; he could not be an "enemy" since he was no longer a citizen of a nation with which the USA was at war (Reich was indeed stateless at the time of his arrest).

Hugg's situation demonstrates the tenacity of the tie between the veteran and the nation, while the Reich case provides rich (if disturbing) examples of the ways in which religion, political ideology, and ethnicity disrupted the simple, idealized bond between soldier and nation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and of the remarkable fluidity of the concepts of citizenship and nation. Though the First World War did not play a direct role in either man's scuffle with the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was concerned enough about German immigrants' former military service in their native lands to make a note of it in its files.[35]

According to Hugg's friend and fellow-immigrant Gottfried Einwächter, the FBI suspect's affinity for Hitler's Germany was based on his military service and on Germany's defeat in the war. "Since he [Hugg] has for some time been a German soldier—and lost the war, [this] was the cause" of his pro-German sentiments. "When a nation is humiliated as it was done in the shortsighted diktat of Versailles it is understandable that the rebirth is [heralded] by people who know not what really is going on [in Nazi Germany], but want to be a little proud of their [German] background."[36]

Hugg and Reich's legal problems also provide evidence of the ways that two formidable nation-states, the USA and Nazi Germany, passed and enforced laws insisting that they could require loyalty and punish disloyalty, flying in the face of legal scholar Leonard B. Boudin's assertion that "loyalty and allegiance are complex psychological concepts which are not enforceable by law."[37]

Karl Oscar Hugg

Karl Oscar Hugg was born in 1894 on a farm near Niefern, Germany, a village in the vicinity of Karlsruhe. His father found him a four-year apprenticeship as a precision mechanic in a jewelry shop, although his heart was

in music. At age eighteen, he studied and performed vocally at a music conservatory in Karlsruhe; two years later, the war broke out. He served as a pilot in the air corps, rising to the rank of noncommissioned officer and was awarded an Iron Cross, first class. An avid photographer, he took 187 photographs of his activities during the war. When his only brother was killed in the Eastern front in 1917, he was allowed to return home (unlike Richard Hauptmann, who had the misfortune of being drafted late in the war when the military could no longer afford to defer service if a family member had been killed).[38]

From 1917 to 1923, Hugg split his time between working as a mechanic for Mercedes-Benz and continuing his musical studies in Karlsruhe. By late 1923, he decided to emigrate for economic reasons. In an oral history recorded in 1985, he remarked that he left because of the frightening inflation rate and because of starvation resulting from the continued blockade of Germany in 1923, although the blockade had ended in 1919. This is the first of several misstatements of fact Hugg made in his history; in general, the transcript of the oral history is somewhat defensive in tone, particularly—not surprisingly—regarding his FBI interrogation. During testimony in federal court, he claimed that he had always intended on becoming an American citizen when he left Germany, yet his oral history indicated that he had told his family that he would be back in Germany in ten years.[39] There is also an undercurrent of blame in both his and his friend Gottfried Einwächter's comments about the war and in regard to Hugg's emigration (Einwächter wrote a letter praising Hugg to Mary C. Miley, the donor who had the oral history transcribed as part of the Karl Oscar Hugg Papers). For example, thinking that the economic blockade was still in effect in 1923 and forgetting that it had in fact ended in 1919 could be a matter of the sixty-plus years that had elapsed between the 1920s and the recording of Hugg's recollections of those years in 1985. But Einwächter's explanation of Hugg's war experiences and his pro-German statements excuse the older man's attitudes and blame them on the "Versailles diktat," making it seem more likely that Hugg, too, was eager to blame the enemy's blockade for his economic troubles in the 1920s.[40]

When he finished his apprenticeship at the jewelers, he earned a certificate which he believed helped him obtain the visa he needed to immigrate to the USA. From New York, he traveled to an aunt's home in Philadelphia; like nearly all the German immigrants profiled in this book, a relative had already established herself in the USA previously. Hugg quickly found work at an optical shop. He reveled in the musical oppor-

tunities in Philadelphia and in a tight-knit German community that had been part of Philadelphia's culture since the nineteenth century. He married his accompanist Freda Johanna who arrived from Germany in 1925. He worked at Brown Instrument Company and then Atwater Kent, a radio manufacturer; his benefactor, Mary C. Miley, believed that he had invented a mold for a plastic harmonica that was used by the US military during the Second World War, although no evidence exists to suggest that this is true.[41] His daughter Hadwig was born in Philadelphia in 1927. In 1933, Hugg and his family visited Germany, coinciding with the Nazis' rise to power. In 1936, he became a naturalized American citizen.

The Nationality Act of 1940 provided the impetus behind the 1942 FBI raid of Hugg's home. The Act was the first law to render a person's actions (apart from assuming a new nationality) grounds for denationalization, or "involuntary expatriation." Specifically, the Act made the following criminal acts punishable by revoking citizenship: living abroad for a certain period of time, employment in some types of foreign government positions, voting in foreign elections, foreign military service, treasonous acts or bearing arms against the US government, and wartime desertion from the military.[42] These last provisions, regarding military service, served to reunite the soldier–citizen partnership discussed at the beginning of this chapter, if only in a negative sense that wearing a foreign military uniform disqualified one from being a US citizen.

The only category under the Nationality Act that fit Hugg's situation was the crime of treason. FBI agents sniffed about for evidence that Hugg intended to overthrow the US government when they raided his home. They found Nazi propaganda, a shortwave radio set, and $2000 worth of *Rückwanderer* (repatriation) marks. Between 1937 and 1940, about 3500 German-born Americans, including Freda Hugg, purchased German money from Chase Bank. To make the transaction, applicants had to have the German Consulate in the USA certify that the purchaser intended to return to Germany.[43] The program, adopted by the Nazi government, was designed to fill German coffers with valuable US dollars. Indeed, the Nazis faced an extreme shortage of foreign currency with which they could purchase the raw materials needed to fuel an aggressive war economy.[44] Freda Hugg, having never become a US citizen, had already been detained in May 1942 by immigration officials as an enemy alien and had nothing to lose when she admitted to having purchased the marks. District Judge William Kirkpatrick, the man hearing Hugg's case in district court, was not impressed by the purchase of *Rückwanderer* marks,

however, as evidence of Karl Hugg's treasonous acts. Furthermore, he did not believe Hugg had communicated with the Nazi government via his shortwave radio. He deemed the Nazi propaganda found in his home to be harmless as well.[45]

The FBI based its case against the Philadelphian on his having falsely assumed US citizenship during his naturalization process; under a 1906 law, the US government had claimed the right to revoke citizenship if fraudulently obtained.[46] A 1912 court case, *Johannessen v. United States*, upheld that law.[47] In outlining its case of fraud against Hugg, FBI agents utilized a series of bulletins issued by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover directed agents to "be alert to the possibility of *developing facts* reflecting that the citizenship was obtained illegally or fraudulently because of statements, writings, or other activities…of a disloyal or fraudulent character." The bureau's strategy here was to actively "develop facts" as opposed to—more passively—"finding" them. The task of "developing facts" included scanning membership rosters of the German-American Bund, a group whose goal was to promote Nazi ideology in the USA; Hugg was not a member but, according to testimony, did invite members of the organization into his home.[48] Other evidence points to his membership in the Kyffhäuser Bund, a German veterans' organization that stood for conservative politics and was devoted to social hierarchies, discipline, and authority. Kyffhäuser, along with another veterans' organization called *Stahlhelm* (steel helmet) and the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, all had branch organizations in the USA.[49]

FBI agents were directed to ask other questions, attempting to determine:

- which side the suspect wanted to see win the war
- whether he or she felt any obligation or duty to a foreign government
- the suspect's attitude toward "constitutional government"
- the intention to live permanently in the USA (*Rückwanderer* marks would offer counterevidence)
- his or her adherence to foreign cultural practices
- whether the suspect had subscriptions to foreign publications
- the suspect's views on racial equality
- the suspect's willingness to bear arms for the USA.

Regarding the point on racial equality, agents were to develop questions leading "toward the end of determining whether or not he [the suspect] is in

accord with the…guarantees of the United States Constitution or whether he would deny equal rights and privileges to Jews and Negroes, thus evidencing a lack of attachment to the principles of the U.S. Constitution."[50] Judge Kirkpatrick's decision on Hugg's case casually dismissed the Philadelphian's anti-Semitic remarks as expected among men of German extraction. At least the judicial branch of the US government, then, was unconcerned with naturalized citizens' perspectives on "racial equality," even if the executive branch (of which the FBI was a part) was concerned. This is reminiscent of the Rothmann correspondence, which showed that anti-Semitism in one part of government was inconsistent with sentiments voiced by another.

On the final point of bearing arms, the agency believed that naturalization hinged on an applicant's willingness to defend his new nation militarily. The standardized oath sworn by naturalized citizens, however, only called on applicants to "support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic." The FBI interpreted "support and defend" to mean bearing arms to do so.[51] A 1946 Supreme Court case denied the FBI's claim, stating that "support and defend" did not imply military participation.[52] The FBI's insistence that a foreign-born citizen be willing to bear arms against an enemy solidified the soldier–nation duality (and denied foreign-born women a path toward US citizenship, unless they, too, joined the military or married an American citizen).

But if foreign-born men's willingness to fight for their adopted country qualified them as loyal US citizens, then the US government took a rather shortsighted view of military service. Hugg, like many other suspects, was a veteran of another country's military when he took the oath of citizenship in the USA. In other words, the FBI glossed over the fact that military service to the nation and the loyalty it implies had already been proven to be too weak to keep veteran emigrants from leaving the nation for which they had performed military service (in this case, Germany). If taking up arms against an enemy implied loyalty to a nation in a (male) citizen, then that meant either that the military experience was not expected to be long lasting (since Hugg emigrated in 1923 after serving from 1914 to 1917) or that the FBI conceived of veterans as rather fickle people whose loyalty fluctuated easily from one country to another.

Armed with J. Edgar Hoover's bulletins, FBI agents plundered Hugg's Philadelphia home and accused him of making comments at work that proved that his loyalty was still with Germany and against the USA,

once the Second World War began. When baited by coworkers, Hugg made silly remarks praising Hitler, claiming that Germany was coming to "get" Americans, and he uttered disparaging remarks about "President Rosenfeld." Judge Kirkpatrick interpreted Hugg's comments as unwise, but harmless. In determining that naturalized citizens had the same right to free speech as any other citizen, and that Hugg's comments regarding Germany did not indicate that he had fraudulently obtained his US citizenship in 1936, Kirkpatrick denied the FBI's petition to revoke Hugg's citizenship.[53] Karl Oscar Hugg remained in the USA the rest of his life. When he died in 1994, the German Society of Pennsylvania archived his papers.

The case of Wilhelm Reich provides evidence of the ways in which both the USA and its enemy in both World Wars responded very similarly to the problem of ensuring a loyal citizenry. Both used disloyalty as a means of revoking citizenship, or, in Germany's case, taking away a Jewish man's ability to call himself a German "national subject." Beginning in 1933, the Nazi government identified about 40,000 German citizens who were living abroad and subjected them to a process designed to strip them of their German citizenship. If the expatriates lost their citizenship, their property could legally be confiscated by the German government.

Wilhelm Reich, born in a farming village that lay in the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, arrived in Vienna on furlough from the army; before the Great War ended, he began studying law and then shifted to medicine. He lived in Vienna until 1930, when he departed for Berlin. He practiced psychoanalysis, but was also politically involved in communist parties, both in Austria and Germany. The 1938 *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria made him a German citizen, although under the Nazi regime as a Jew he was a "subject" rather than a citizen, since the 1935 Nuremberg laws denied Jews the right to vote or receive social services. Thus, they were subject to German law but had no rights under the law. The Nazi government's program of "denaturalizing" subjects of Germany meant that the government wanted to remove emigrants' national identity as Germans.[54] Reich, it should be noted, grew up in a nonreligious household, and had dropped his association with Vienna's Jewish community in 1921. He left Berlin in 1933, spending a few years here and there in Austria, Sweden, and Norway until finally immigrating to the USA in August 1939.

To reach his last destination, he needed a passport. To his dismay, the passport he received from the Nazi government named him "Wilhelm

Israel Reich," and identified him as a Jew. The Nazi regime felt no qualms about renaming its subjects, using the middle name "Israel" for Jewish men and "Sara" for Jewish women. Reich protested the name change, arguing that it did not match his name on any other identification documents.

The Gestapo carried out the investigations that led to the denaturalization of some 40,000 German emigrants. Specifically, the 1933 decree that enabled the inquiries stated that the government could take citizenship away from anyone for "behavior that transgressed the duty of loyalty towards the Reich and the people."[55] The purpose of the process was political and ideological, but also economic, and indeed the Gestapo collaborated with the German foreign office as well as government finance ministers on the project. The primary goal of the Nazis was to rid the nation of those presumed to be disloyal, and in the case of Jews, perceived to be something other than German. Another hope was to create an ideologically pure regime. It seems that the problematic aspect of Reich was not so much his (presumed) Jewish religion, but his (also presumed) political one: the psychoanalyst's affiliation with the communist party, which had lasted until 1933. In that year, Reich's publications on sexuality had, in fact, led the communist party to expel him.[56] The US government released the Austrian-born man, but Reich remained under FBI surveillance. He was sent to prison in 1956 after being found in contempt of court on another charge. He died in prison in 1957.

Much had changed since 1914, when Max Rothmann had insisted that the Prussian military elite make good on the Kaiser's remark about a unified population and admit a Jew to its ranks. As Philip W. Bennett and Andreas Peglau point out, in the case of Wilhelm Reich the Nazis conflated "Jewish" with "Bolshevik," merging their anti-Semitism with anticommunism; the *Fliegende Blätter* drawing of the war profiteer blended anti-Semitism and international capitalism in the same way. The US government, too, had had a history of blending "Bolshevik" and "feminist," and Bolshevik and "German immigrant" (see below).[57] Both the USA and Germany wanted and needed fighting men during both World Wars, but neither could abide with what they perceived as disloyalty in men of a different ideology, religion, race, or ethnicity; Nazi Germany denied its Jewish population rights, encouraging them to leave, as Hans Rothmann had, later "concentrating" and killing millions of them. The USA, for its part, interned its Japanese citizens during the Second World War. To determine loyalty to nation, the FBI and the Gestapo used similar tactics of "developing facts" (the FBI) and a "process of reification"—turning

false or murky facts into "truth"—as the Gestapo did, to determine that loyalty was lacking.[58]

The question of belonging to one's adopted country played a role in the sad biography of another German veteran emigrant, Richard Schmidt. The crime he committed in his suburban Chicago neighborhood resulted from the separation of his family; the man who took his life was acquitted, in part, by virtue of his military service to his country, the USA.

Richard Schmidt

Most students of US history are familiar with anti-German sentiment during the First World War. German books were burned, the German language was removed from educational curricula, and symphonies stopped playing music written by German composers. Names were changed to hide German ancestry.[59] But the history of Germans immigrating to the USA in the interwar period reveals the persistence of that animosity well into the 1920s and 1930s. The *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (the Society for Germans Abroad), then, was at least partially correct (see Chap. 1): Potential German immigrants to the USA should be wary of lingering animosity there, even after the First World War ended in 1918. In addition, as noted above, those warning of violence from Bolsheviks during the first Red Scare tended to fuse "Bolshevik" together with "German." Furthermore, the terms "immigrant" and "crime" had been linked in the American mind since the founding of the nation, despite complete lack of evidence that immigrants commit crimes at a rate higher than the native-born population.[60] During and after the First World War, few German Americans escaped the smear of collective guilt for having been born in Germany instead of the USA.

As late as 1924, the German language and German people still provoked fury among some Americans, according to the *New York Times* and two German-language newspapers, the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *Volkszeitung*.[61] Organizations such as the American Defense Society and the revived Ku Klux Klan fanned the flames of hatred against German Americans.[62] In this general atmosphere of animosity, individuals struggled to maintain an existence in the nation to which they had immigrated. A piano teacher named Mathilde Steindel committed suicide three years after she and her husband Bruno, a cellist in the Chicago Symphony, were accused of disloyalty toward the USA in 1918. Mr. Steindel was forced to resign his position with the symphony. His name was later cleared, but

Mathilde feared for her daughter's safety so intensely that she committed suicide in March 1921.[63] Gerard Alston Richling took his own life after he was unable to find work as a German-language teacher; he had taught German at Columbia University before losing the position during the war.[64] Discrimination against Germans affected other professions besides teaching. In 1919, according to the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, the American Surgical Association revised its membership lists and eliminated all German members. The Cincinnati Academy of Medicine passed a resolution forbidding the use of German in its proceedings; ironically, the resolution was written in German with an accompanying English translation in a city that thousands of German and German-American citizens called home.[65]

Richard Schmidt was born in 1897 in a small city in Baden province (later Baden-Württemberg). He was one of three sons of Abraham Schmidt, who owned and operated an automobile repair shop as well as a showroom. Schmidt entered the military in 1915 as infantry, but, recognizing his mechanical abilities, the military shifted him to the air force where he became an airplane mechanic and an officer.

The ex-serviceman left Germany in 1921. The reasons are unclear, but he may have felt that his talents as a mechanic would be better used abroad. Technology appeared to be fascinating to him, and he may have experienced the kind of moment fictionalized by Louise Erdrich, when Fidelis Waldvogel beheld a piece of factory-made bread. Perhaps he felt forced to go into business with his father.

Schmidt was among the first German immigrants to arrive in the USA after the war. The RWA warned those looking to move to the USA that only those with family members already stateside, or those trained in certain occupations would be welcomed. Furthermore, the agency warned that returning US soldiers were likely to take any positions that were available. Finally, the RWA's mouthpiece, called the *Nachtrichtenblatt*, argued that hatred for Germans among US - Americans was still palpable. Veterans from nations with which the USA had lately been at war, according to the RWA, could not gain entrance. This restriction was lifted in 1921, the year the USA made its separate peace with Germany and the year that Schmidt immigrated.[66]

After arriving at Ellis Island, Schmidt quickly settled in Iowa, where a relative had already established himself. He filed a petition for naturalization in 1923 and became a citizen in 1929, after the requisite five-year waiting period ended. His sponsor and relative signed his declaration form. In the meantime, he had become engaged to a German woman,

Gertrud, who had arrived in New York in 1923. Richard and Gertrud welcomed their only child, a daughter, in 1926.

According to the 1930 US census, the family had by that year relocated to Chicago, where Richard reported that he worked as an auto mechanic in a garage. The Schmidts rented their apartment on Sunnyside Avenue in North Chicago. Living with them was a boarder, American-born Harley Scovil, who worked as an electrician. German Americans living in Chicago had by the 1930s dispersed into all parts of the city; areas of highest concentration included south of West Irving Park Road and north of West Fullerton Avenue. Sunnyside Avenue was located just north of the areas of highest German-born population in 1930.[67]

A year later, however, Gertrud and her daughter had left Chicago and returned to Germany. The reasons are unclear. That year marked the peak of unemployment during the Great Depression, and perhaps Gertrud and Richard had determined that given the family's small income, it would be better for Gertrud and her daughter to return to her family in Germany. Sometime in December 1931, Schmidt rented an apartment at 1354 N. Dearborn Street in Chicago, where about 7000 Germans lived, making up around 9% of the population of that neighborhood.[68] On Dearborn Street, he lived with a roommate named Ludwig Kurz, a German-born alien who had reported to the 1930 US census - taker that he worked as a restaurant manager.

A series of tragic events unfolded next. On January 5, 1932, Richard received a telegram from Gertrud, in which she wrote that the couple's daughter was struggling with bronchitis. Judging by her message, she had asked her husband to return to Germany on previous occasions. "Wait in vain," the cable said. "Bronchitis bad; longs for you. Come immediately. With love. Gertrud, wife."[69] Schmidt undoubtedly responded emotionally to the telegram. Those emotions must have urged him to act, perhaps without thinking about the likely consequences of a robbery. Perhaps he could not express his emotions, since Ludwig Kurz may have been the only other German person he knew in Chicago but was not close to, and his English may not have been good enough to describe his ruminations to anyone else. Whether his emotions influenced his sense of the immorality of taking something that was not his, is not clear. Unlike Richard Hauptmann, who reported thinking about his emotional state only after he acted in his memoir, Schmidt died before he could explain his actions.

The veteran must have been desperate to comply with his wife's request. It is unclear how long he had been unemployed, but he apparently lacked

the money he needed to purchase a train ticket and passage on a steamer to Germany. He must have been familiar with businesses in Oak Park, or perhaps he simply wandered around, scouting out potential shops he thought he could rob. He entered the Abarbanell Brothers Cleaning and Dyeing Company at 1000 North Boulevard around 7:30 pm on January 11, 1932. The only employee at the establishment was a clerk named Helen Cooper. Unknown to Schmidt, she had two weeks previously also faced a robber in the store. One newspaper report claimed that she had been "terrorized and beaten" in that earlier robbery attempt.[70] Reports of the earlier holdup undoubtedly also appeared in newspapers, but Richard may not have read English-language newspapers, despite having told the census taker that he did speak English. Not realizing that the shop he chose to rob had been victimized two weeks previously made his choice all the more tragic.

Richard entered the store on January 11, approached the counter and asked Helen Cooper to empty the contents of her cash register. Cooper slowly opened the till and withdrew two-dollar bills and some coins and gave it to the man facing her, whom she later claimed displayed a gun from his pocket. Behind the counter, as she fiddled with the cash register, Cooper had pressed an alarm button with her foot that had been installed in response to the earlier robbery. The Oak Park police dispatched two officers, Frank W. Schwartz and Roy Coppers. As the siren drew nearer, Schmidt fled the business and ran to the vehicle he had parked nearby. Schwartz and Coppers opened fire. From opposite sides of the street, Schwartz reportedly fired four shots, and his partner shot at the bandit six times. One of the bullets hit his head.[71] The car Richard was driving rolled and hit the curb; the door opened as Richard's body fell onto the pavement. He was pronounced dead at the Oak Park hospital.

The immigrant's fingerprints were sent to the FBI to determine if he had a past criminal record. None was found. The death certificate listed his occupation as auto mechanic and place of employment a garage, and that he had been employed until December 1931. His roommate, Ludwig Kurz, testified during the inquest that Schmidt operated a small repair shop, but that he knew little of Richard's affairs, and had not seen the man over the previous five days.

The Cook County Coroner's Office filed a "statement of effects and estate" on January 18. The report included a listing of cash that had been found in his room on Dearborn Street. He had nothing but foreign coins, a bankbook, and several items of clothing. In addition, investigators found

a packed suitcase, undoubtedly prepared for a hasty departure. Inside were some pieces of silverware, a flashlight, wire cutters, pliers, knives, a curling iron, and a woman's purse. Also packed away was a leather gun holster.

The issue of whether or not Schmidt carried and/or used a weapon during the robbery was contested. In their report, Schwartz and Coppers described the scene in which Richard exited the store, running away. Coppers shouted twice at the retreating figure, identifying himself as a policeman and asking the robber to stop. Schmidt kept running and Coppers fired shots at his legs. Coppers determined that Richard must have left his car's motor running, for it moved swiftly away. The mechanic had stolen a car parked on New Year's Eve, according to the Oak Park newspaper, in front of a racquet club on North Dearborn Street, not far from Richard's apartment. Frank Bermuth, the owner of the vehicle, had notified the Chicago police when he discovered the theft. Bermuth worked for the *Chicago Tribune*, one of the newspapers reporting on this incident.[72] The police report did not state that the robber was armed.

Neither Schwartz nor Coppers admitted firing the fatal shot. Their signed affidavit simply reported that the car ran into the curb and the body fell out. Coppers described the wounds Schmidt had sustained, including in his arms and a shot to his right temple. Coppers then went back to the store to call for an ambulance.[73] In Richard's pocket was a copy of a message that he had sent to Gertrud. "Please wire me everything about daughter. Coming on next boat. Hoping everything turns out all right. Richard."[74]

The English-language newspaper reports of the robbery are largely in agreement with one another. The *Chicago Tribune* began its January 12 report with a description of the young store clerk, coolheaded Helen Cooper, whose steely nerves had enabled her to sound the alarm that summoned the police without Richard noticing. The article featured a large picture of a smiling Cooper next to the text. The *Tribune* claimed that Schmidt had "leveled a revolver" at Cooper, demanding money.[75] The *Oak Park Leaves* reported the detail this way: Richard "entered the store and whispered to Miss Cooper: 'This is a stick-up. Give me the money and I won't hurt you.' She said he reached his hand in his pocket and displayed a weapon." The Oak Park newspaper, which also noted that Coppers had stated that the thief had shot at him, reported further that "no weapon was found in the car which traveled several hundred feet after the shooting began. The gun may have fallen into the street during the chase and was probably picked up by someone who failed to turn it over to the

police."[76] Yet the two police officers did not mention any bullets coming from Schmidt, nor did they say that they saw a weapon of any kind.

The US German-language press, however, made it clear: the robber was "*Waffenlos*," or without a weapon. The *Abendpost* reported on January 12 in its first line: "*Ohne eine Waffe bei sich zu tragen*" (without carrying a weapon). In its issue the following day, the *Abendpost* reiterated that "*Er hatte keine Waffe bei sich*" (he had no weapon on him). In addition to this discrepancy, the German-language paper described Schmidt as "apparently unemployed and out of money," whereas neither the *Tribune* nor the Oak Park paper included that detail.[77]

The *Oak Park Leaves* offered final details of the incident. At the coroner's inquest, a jury found that the shooting was a "justifiable homicide," and the "patrolmen were praised for their performance of duty." Testimony was taken from Helen Cooper, Frank L. Wilcox and Jess Hobby, both of Oak Park, who had reportedly witnessed the incident.

In addition, the Oak Park newspaper added a seemingly superfluous detail about Frank W. Schwartz. Schwartz, the son of German immigrants, had fought in the World War in the US navy. He had been a fireman on the battleship *Kansas* and had saved the life of a man who had fallen overboard in the Atlantic. Schwartz had emerged from the boiler room of the ship when he saw a man struggling in the water. The navy man dove into the waters and rescued the flailing figure. The paper went on to say that the shock of plunging into the cold water after having been overheated from the high temperature of the boiler room "almost proved disastrous to Schwartz, who suffered many months as a result of the experience."[78] With this reportage, the *Oak Park Leaves* thrust the recent World War into this incident. The paper probably was not aware that both Schmidt and Schwartz had fought in the World War. Frank W. Schwartz told 1930 census takers that he had been born in Illinois, and that both his parents were German-born. Ten years earlier, Schwartz left information about his parents' birthplace blank. German-born people frequently lied to census takers to obscure their ethnicity, according to Chicago historians Melvin Holli and Peter d'Alroy Jones.[79] In any case, Schwartz's German background went unreported by the newspapers. The *Abendpost* merely reported the same "justifiable homicide" verdict, noting that this ended the case.

The *Oak Park Leaves* reporter chose to conclude with the heroism of the suburb's police officer rather than the tragedy of a criminal's sad choice under his sorrowful family circumstances. The paper did not identify the robber as having been born in Germany, noting only that his wife

and child were in Germany at the time, and that according to Ludwig Kurz, Schmidt had resided in the USA for several years. In 1930, there were 111,366 Germans out of about half a million immigrants in all, living among a total population of over three million Chicagoans.[80] Being foreign-born was therefore not a very remarkable fact about Richard Schmidt.

One can note with regret the casual dismissal of the taking of a German immigrant's life; the life of a man who was not a criminal but committed a crime to be with a gravely ill child across a vast ocean. Richard Schmidt was one of millions of desperate people living in the USA in 1932, the year representing the peak of unemployment during the Great Depression.

German-born Americans living in the USA during the Depression undoubtedly frequently received letters from relatives making requests of them as Richard Schmidt's wife Gertrud had made of him. Another such immigrant was Rudolph Blank. According to the 1930 census, Blank immigrated to the USA in 1914 when he was about twenty-six years old, possibly to escape the coming war. He settled first in Emerson, New Jersey, where he worked as an accountant. Later, with his German-born wife Anna and their son Herbert, he moved to New York City. From there, he penned a remarkable letter to his family back in Germany. Blank's 1937 missive reflected the ways in which some immigrants tried to explain their desire to shed their native identities to their families still living in Germany.

First, Blank responded to a letter that he had recently received from his *Stammesgenossen* (kinfolk), in which he had apparently been asked to send money home. Unfortunately, he wrote, he had no money to send them, although he did promise that he would try to save some in the future. Then he responded to what seemed to be a question regarding his *Deutschtum*, or German-ness, and his socializing with other Germans in New York.

Blank responded that over the years he had become a true American citizen (he had been naturalized by the time of the 1930 census) and that he had "endangered" many of his friendships with other German neighbors in his part of New York. He acknowledged that he would always hold "true" *Deutschtum* in his heart, and that the best he could do was to try to understand the changes to his birthplace.

But, he sighed, Germans were making it difficult for him to accomplish this task. What good did it do, he asked rhetorically, to have German friends in America, when in the same day he received the letter from his German family, he also read in newspapers of the supposedly "superior"

German culture? The article he read quoted from the German military policy journal *Deutsche Wehr* (German defense), which promised to prepare Germany's enemies for a coming war that would bring nothing but sorrow and pestilence. This, Blank explained, was what Americans were reading about the presumed superiority of German culture.

Blank then posed another question: Of what use was *Deutschtum*, when German people read about the muscular manliness of a "new Germany?" How could he believe that Germans love peace and hate war, when they must confront every day the cowardice of their military? Have the Germans no courage to stop such a nuisance, the immigrant asked? With one blow, he admitted, all of the good—all of the laughter and enjoyment—that had come with the letter he received from his family was knocked out. Who would believe that the German people are good, when such maliciousness is attributed to them? They seem to fill the world with hatred, rather than trying to minimize the fears that they have wrought.

In regard to the World War, Blank opined—naively—that it was very likely that the Germans had lost the war while the Americans had won because the USA had fought for an ideal, namely, a world free from militarism. It had been a fight, wrote Blank, of God against Satan.

Finally, he ended his missive with a plea. For heaven's sake, he begged his family, squeeze this newest enemy of "true" *Deutschtum* by the throat and throttle it forever. The German people could then remain human and German at the same time. But make no mistake, he warned his family: it could already be too late to save it.[81]

The experiences of emigrating German Great War veterans in the USA highlight the ways in which the war did not end neatly in November 1918. Blank's letter denouncing the violence and hyper-militarism of the fascist regime in Germany, along with the casual dismissal of Richard Schmidt's murder and the excesses of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the hunting down of presumed disloyal German-American citizens by the FBI, all offer evidence that in the interwar period there was plenty of hatred and bigotry to go around in both the USA and Germany. Each in turn suggests that George L. Mosse's brutalization thesis may be the most accurate way to describe the effects of the First World War and the continuation of militarism in the aftermath.

The biography of Berlin's Rothmann family demonstrates the fact that individuals could not convince governments to accept people presumed to be too different from the concept of the ideal German citizen and the notion of national unity thought to be necessary to prosecute

a war. Karl Oscar Hugg's story illustrates the fact that governments, in turn, could not legislate nor intimidate immigrants into feeling loyalty to their adopted nation nor let go of their connections to their homelands. Wilhelm Reich offers an example of someone who had little to no loyalty to or identification with any nation, having been forced to surrender his citizenship in one nation, and having been suspected for disloyalty to another.

Even the Rothmann men's military service and the sacrifices it implied could not convince the German Reich that they were loyal German citizens, or perhaps more accurately, that they could be German and Jewish at the same time. Jews' sacrifices during the Great War, as promoted by families like the Rothmanns and the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*—to put it another way—could not save them from the bigotry of Nazi Germany. Which is not to argue that military service meant nothing; Frank W. Schwartz's heroism during his service may have contributed to the "justifiable homicide" verdict that absolved him from any wrongdoing. The heightened militarism of the interwar period demonstrates the expectation, in both the USA and Germany, that the violence wrought by the Great War could not be shed in either country.

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62. Tammy M. Proctor, "'Patriotic Enemies': Germans in the Americas, 1914–1920," in ed. Panikos Panayi, *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparison* (London: Ashgate, 2014), 229.
63. "Suicide as a Result of Disloyalty Charge," *The Evening Day*, New London, Connecticut, March 7, 1921.
64. "Ex-German Instructor, Out of a Job, Ends Life," *New York Tribune*, June 19, 1919.
65. Weidemann, 238.
66. Karl C. Thalheim, *Das deutsche Auswanderungsproblem der Nachkriegszeit* (Crimmitschau: Rohland und Berthold Verlag, 1926), 153; *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts* (1921): 538.
67. Maps available on the University of Chicago Library website. http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/ssrc/.
68. Rudolph A. Hofmeister, *The Germans of Chicago* (Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing Company, 1976), 50.
69. "Police Kill Bandit," *Oak Park Leaves*, January 15, 1932.
70. "Bandit Tricked by Girl; is Slain by Policemen," *Chicago Daily News*, January 12, 1932.
71. Coroner's Certificate of Death, State of Illinois, Department of Public Health, Division of Vital Statistics, Cook County, Illinois.
72. "Police Kill Bandit," *Oak Park Leaves*, January 15, 1932.
73. Chief of Police, Benjamin Barstrom, January 11, 1932. Document signed by Frank W. Schwartz and Roy J. Coppers; Thomas J. Kearin, Captain in charge.
74. "Police Kill Bandit," *Oak Park Leaves*, January 15, 1932.
75. "Robber Killed as Girl Delays Him in Holdup," *Chicago Tribune*, January 12, 1932.
76. "Police Kill Bandit," *Oak Park Leaves*, January 15, 1932.
77. "Bandit erschossen" (bandit shot) *Abendpost*, January 12, 1932; "Das Leben Schreibt seine kleine Dramen" (life writes its small dramas), *Abendpost*, January 13, 1932.

78. "Police Kill Bandit," *Oak Park Leaves*, January 15, 1932. This author received a letter from the Cook County Medical Examiner's Office, dated June 23, 2015, stating that after extensive search, the office was unable to locate a record of the coroner's inquest of the 1932 incident involving Richard Schmidt.
79. Melvin Holli and Peter d'Alroy Jones, *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait* (Grand Rapids, MI: William Eerdmans, 1977), 106.
80. Hofmeister, 49–50.
81. Rudolph Blank to *Stammesgenossen* (kinfolk), September 22, 1937, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, 12460 Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA), Landesverband Sachsen, Nr. 082, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden. Note that the VDA is the same organization as the earlier *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*; the Nazi government changed the word *Verein* to *Volksbund* in 1933.

Epilogue

Abstract The epilogue returns readers to a question posed in Chap. 1. To what extent did German Great War veterans' experiences during the war prepare them, however indirectly, for emigration after? I draw upon the work of James Hammerton to demonstrate that while some veterans retained a traditional identity after they immigrated to the USA, in other ways they showed that the war and its aftermath had shaped their modern, mobile, and transnational identities.

The Mobility of Modernity and the Transnational Family

To what extent did migrating Great War veterans' transnational experiences and mobility during the war prepare them, however indirectly, for emigration after demobilization? Johann Grossmann, the navy man who moved to Canada featured in Chap. 1, suggested that at the very least the war taught him about the possibility of living elsewhere, to the extent that he felt he did not need advice from the much-maligned RWA office on what it might be like to live outside Germany. Certainly, millions of First World War soldiers' warrior experiences taught them what it was like to live a relatively mobile and unsettling—and unsettled—existence. What is more difficult to ascertain is whether the war prepared men psychically

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8

and emotionally for their journeys, and, with their move, to adopt a modern, transnational identity, or a "transilient" character.

The development of the passport suggested the mobility aspect of the modern character. "The paradigmatic scene, perhaps of the modern era," noted Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "is that of the immigration officer examining a passport," because it signaled that individuals' identities could be "known" and were "knowable" under the gaze of government bureaucrats.[1] Hoffmann-Axthelm's comment encapsulates the two different definitions of modernity discussed in Chap. 1: the growth of government regulation of and interference in people's lives, and the sense that in a rapidly changing and highly mobile world, identities had become so multilayered and transient that they were virtually unknowable, perhaps alien even to the individual @@ him or herself. Alienation, a common feature of modern literature, lies at the root of the "mobility of modernity" and the transnational identity.

Historian James Hammerton has researched the lives of post–Second World War British international migrants and found that travelers structured the narrative of their lives as epic tales containing a mix of what he called "modern" and "traditional" migrant identities.[2] For Hammerton, a modern identity signaled a person's "untroubled" movement from homeland to adopted country and an ability and desire to migrate serially from one country to the next. Often, modern identities were less connected to family and more linked to an ambitious person's occupation or career and a desire to "get ahead." A.H. Richmond coined the term "transilience" to mean the ability to adapt easily to new surroundings.[3]

More traditional identities, on the other hand, were typical of those who struggled to create a new life for themselves and their families in the new country and they often felt homesick and sought ways to reconnect to the pasts that they had left behind. The stories told by traditional migrants tended to focus on ways that they could create a "transnational family" by linking their original kinfolk in their nations of origins to the families they had created after they relocated. These migrants tended to minimize the economic or job opportunities that were anticipated in their adoptive homes.

Hammerton only investigates post–Second World War travelers from Britain and does not include any veterans of that conflict. As he concedes, gender played a role in how people understood their decision to migrate; he found that women more often referred to the unsettling ways in which migrating disrupted family, and sought to create a transnational family,

while men more frequently left to build careers and take advantage of perceived career enhancements elsewhere.[4]

The Great War veterans featured in this account exhibited aspects of both the modern and transnational identity. They were part of the last phase of the 1880–1924 second wave of immigration to the USA, although none of them came from Southern or Eastern European nations (with the exception of Wilhelm Reich), and nearly all were skilled workers, rather than unskilled. With the exception of the Danish farmer Boy Jessen, they had all worked in an industrial, urbanized economy before war broke out and expected to return to their line of work upon immigration. All emigrated as single men; all married German women who followed them to the USA to wed (again, with the exception of Jessen, who married a fellow-Dane in his homeland). All except Jessen and Waldvogel had relatives already in the USA to help them ease the transition. Hugg, Schmidt, Jessen, and probably Waldvogel became US citizens; Richard Hauptmann and likely the Deserter did not, since they had entered the country illegally and were both criminals (the first a thief, the second an army deserter). None wrote about deliberately trying to create transnational families that would easily move between Germany and the USA; one obvious difference between the two World Wars is that after Second World War, air travel made such frequent journeying easier and postwar affluence suggested the possibility of "serial migration."

However, Jessen, Waldvogel, and Hugg each visited Germany after having raised children in the USA. Hauptmann and the Deserter must have left the Fatherland knowing that they would never return, given their illegal entry into the USA. While little is known about Hugg's return trip, the first two men appeared to want to unite their Old World and New World families (although neither put it that way). Jessen, in particular, took the occasion (in the 1950s, when he was in his sixties) to ruminate deeply on his bicultural, American/Danish identity. Each of the three came back to the USA after an extended visit. Schmidt tried desperately to reunite with his wife and child back in Germany, and forfeited his life in the attempt. Waldvogel married his war comrade's pregnant fiancée deliberately to help him forget the death that he equated with his existence during the war. The Deserter seems to have found a family of sorts in his community of German-American socialists in New York City—a very modern way of redefining the traditional notion of "family."

"Transnationalism," wrote Hammerton, "is as much a psychic as a concrete physical connection" to multiple countries.[5] The Great War—as

with all twentieth-century wars—was fought by governments forcing their soldiers to defend a single nation in battle. But it also required soldiers to become transnational, perhaps even "transilient" warriors. Soldiers left their homes and traveled to either (or both) the Western and Eastern fronts. As we've seen, Hauptmann and the Deserter reported moving around routinely by order, and typically not knowing where they were going, nor the reasons why. Other soldiers—over eight million throughout the Great War—were taken prisoner and moved to prisoner-of-war (POW) camps, usually in Britain, the Netherlands, or Switzerland.[6] Their relocation, of course, remained out of their own hands.

Once engaged in battle in France, Belgium, or Eastern Europe, soldiers encountered the enemy in multiple ways, as the Deserter, Jessen, and Hauptmann's memoirs all demonstrated. Significantly, however, all the men who married chose a woman of their own ethnicity, easing the emotionally charged process of immigration.

While the RWA claimed to offer potential German emigrants information on nations and the people therein to which they might move, critics of the bureaucracy argued that that information was manipulated to achieve a certain outcome, namely, the emigrants' decision to remain in Germany. As a hedge against the development of a transnational identity, the RWA made use of the concept of *Deutschtum*. None of Hammerton's British migrants had to struggle with an English equivalent of *Deutschtum* or (in the context of emigration) the notion that Germans should retain a perceived "German-ness" that was felt to be superior to other ethnicities in their characters and keep German cultural practices alive in themselves and their children after they left. Karl Hugg is the only veteran who expressed *Deutschtum* in emotional terms to his American-born comrades at work. Rudolph Blank's letter, on the other hand, offered good reasons why German immigrants should turn their backs on, in his mind, what the concept had come to represent. He used transnational terms, such as the triumph of good over evil, of God over Satan, and the German word *Mensch*, or human-ness, to resist the militaristic nationalism of what he called—using very derisive terms—the "new Germany."

The manipulated information disseminated by the RWA could have been countered by relatives of potential emigrants already in the USA. In either case, however, any information was limited by relatively slow and limited means of communication generally in the early twentieth century. Some veterans, such as Johann Grossmann, may have felt that the war had prepared them to take on a journey to a place they knew relatively little about. Others, like Fidelis Waldvogel, changed their plans once arrived in the USA. Waldvogel

had expected to move to Seattle, but found his money only got him as far as North Dakota. The unsettling feeling of "not-knowing" experienced during the war turned to uncertainty for migrating veterans in the aftermath.

The upheaval of leaving one's family and emotional support system behind when moving to a new country may also have felt redundant to some veterans. Upon mobilization, Great War soldiers informed their families of their impending departure, put on their uniforms, and marched off to train stations to board troop trains headed to training camps and eventually to the front, at least for army infantry. The fabled response of those who remained at home included tears, cheers, kisses, and flowers. Hauptmann reported his emotional exchange with his mother when he departed for Hamburg, with the intention of entering the USA illegally. The Deserter did not tell his family about his desertion or his stowaway plans, in order to protect them. Hauptmann, the Deserter, and Johann Grossmann had all felt the loss of family members during the war; Hauptmann mourned the most (two brothers and his father died during the war). Waldvogel experienced the death of his closest friend in battle. Given the overall exposure to loss that all wars entail, veterans' wartime experiences may have helped them prepare emotionally to leave family members behind again, this time to start a new life overseas.

Interpreting the lives of migrating veterans opens up new avenues in the history of both migration and ex-servicemen. How migrating veterans tried to reintegrate into civilian life and into a society changed by war reveals a different response to both; namely, to flee one country and refashion a life in a new one. Part of their preparation for such a move included the sense, expressed by RWA chief Walter Jung, that Germans wanted to free themselves of those they felt bound to serve by tradition. In the case of veterans, this included officers and government bureaucrats who seemed to manipulate them in order to serve their own ends. This awareness of the human ability to take one's life into one's own hands—to develop *Selbstständigkeit* regardless of where one lived—became one of the cornerstones of a modern, mobile identity.

Notes

1. Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Identity and Reality: The End of the Philosophical Immigration Officer," in *Modernity and Identity*, eds. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 196–218.
2. James Hammerton, "The Quest for Family and the Mobility of Modernity in Narratives of Postwar British Emigration," *Global Networks* 4, no. 3 (2004): 274.

3. Ibid, 276.
4. Ibid, 276.
5. Ibid, 278.
6. Brian K. Feltman, *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3.

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Index

A
All Quiet on the Western Front, 23–24, 32
Alsace-Lorraine. *See* Elsaβ-Lothringen
Anti-German, 14, 85–86
Anti-Semitism, 8, 70–76, 82, 84
Austria, 12, 83–84

B
Berdichevsky, Norman, 59, 62
Blank, Rudolph, 91–92, 102
Bolshevik, 84–85
Borderlands. *See* Schleswig-Holstein; Elsaβ-Lothringen
Brutalization theory, 15, 21, 27, 38, 40–41, 46–47, 71, 92

C
Chicago, 85, 87–90
Citizenship, 70, 74, 77–78, 80–84
Civilian victims of war, 46–47, 55–57, 62
Cook County, Illinois. *See* Chicago
Crime/criminality, 30, 38–40, 80, 88–90
Crouthamel, Jason 8, 24, 25, 35, 40–41

D
Danish Diaspora, 47, 59, 63
"Deserter". *See A German Deserter's War Experience*
Desertion from military service, 45–58, 62–63
Deutsches Ausland Institut, 13–14, 77
Deutschtum (German-ness), 8, 13, 63, 77, 91–92

E
Elsaβ-Lothringen (Alsace-Lorraine region of France), 23, 46, 48, 49, 57, 70

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E. Kuhlman, *The International Migration of German Great War Veterans,* DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-50160-8

Emigration/immigration
and economic/rational reasons for emigrating, 6, 8, 13, 79, 100
psychological/emotional reasons, 6, 12, 14, 25–26, 76, 99–100, 102
Emotion/affect, 24, 27, 30–31, 34–36, 55, 87
Erdrich, Louise, 9, 10, 22
Ethnicity, 70, 75, 78, 84, 90, 102
Danish-mindedness, 46, 47, 59, 63
see also Deutschtum

F
Federal Bureau of Investigations (US), 39, 70, 77–84, 88, 92
Feelings (as distinct from emotion), 34–35
mind/body separation, 34–35, 39
Selbständigkeit (self-reliance), 4, 25, 103
Fliegertruppe (German air force), 70, 76
Fussell, Paul, 25, 31–32

G
Gender, 28–29, 35–36, 47, 57, 100–101
A German Deserter's War Experience, 52–58
German immigration bureau. *See Reichswanderungsamt* (RWA)
German Jews, 71–74
Germany, government, 4, 5, 12–13, 15, 63, 74, 83
see also Nazi Germany
Gestapo. *See* Nazi Germany
Grossmann, Johann, 2–5, 7, 9, 11, 27, 37, 99

H
Hammerton, James, 100–101
Hauptmann, Bruno Richard, 9, 15, 21–22, 26–41, 49–50, 54, 65, 103
Hindenburg, Paul von, 2, 37
Hitler, Adolf, 78, 83
Holland/Netherlands, 47, 48, 102
Honor/dishonor, 21–23, 25, 31, 33–37, 47
see also Feelings (as distinct from emotion)
Hoover, J. Edgar, 81, 82
Hugg, Karl Oscar, 14, 78–93

I
Indifference among soldiers, 33, 38–40
see also Feelings (as distinct from emotion)
Iron Cross, 60, 61, 79

J
Jessen, Boy, 46–47, 58–65
Jung, Walter, 4, 6, 103

K
Kennedy, Ludovic, 33, 34, 38
Kirkpatrick, William, 80, 82, 83
Koettgen, Julius, 51–54, 66n21

L
Langemarck myth, 54–55, 61, 72
Lee, Chulhee, 15, 49
Lethen, Helmut, 36–37

M
Master Butchers Singing Club, 9, 10, 22
Memoirs. *See* War memoirs

Migration. *See* Emigration/ immigration
Modernity, 11, 36–37, 47
  modern identity, 99–103
  modernist literature, 11, 24–25, 54
Mosse, George L., 15, 36, 38, 40–41, 46, 54, 55, 92

N

National characteristics. *See* Ethnicity
Nationalism, 8, 15, 23, 49, 57, 64
Nationality Act of 1940 (U.S.), 80–81
National Socialism. *See* Nazi Germany
Naturalization/denaturalization, 78, 81–82, 84, 86
Nazi Germany, 65, 72, 78, 80–81, 83–85, 93
Neuroscience, 40, 71
New Yorker Staatszeitung, 85, 86

O

Oak Park, Illinois, 88–91
Officers (German military), 5–8, 30–31, 35, 38, 71–73
  and desertion, 48–49
  and the Deserter, 54, 57–58
  and Boy Jessen, 60–61

P

Passports, 2, 4, 12, 74–76, 83–84, 100
Petzold, Fritz, 33–34, 39

R

Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 72, 74
Reichswanderungsamt (RWA), 3, 4, 6, 12–14, 75, 77, 86, 102
Reich, Wilhelm, 78, 83–85
Richert, Dominik, 23, 48, 57
Rothmann, Hans, 15, 70–74
Rothmann, Max, 71–74
Rückwanderer marks. *see* Nazi Germany

S

Schleswig-Holstein, 46–49, 57–59, 61–64, 70
Schmidt, Richard, 12, 16, 70, 85–91, 101
Schwartz, Frank W., 88–91, 93
Second World War, 65, 77, 80, 83, 84, 103
Shame, 3, 21–22, 25, 27, 29, 31–36, 39–41, 55
  guilt culture/shame culture, 37–38
Smith, Leonard V., 32, 37–38
Socialism, 55, 58
Strange, Carolyn, 35–37

T

Thalheim, Karl C., 6, 10
Third Reich. *See* Nazi Germany
Transnationalism, 101–102
Treaty of Versailles, 3, 49, 63

U

United States, 13–14, 27, 76–78, 81–84, 86, 91–92, 101

V

Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, 18, 85
Veterans, U.S. army, 41, 90

W
War memoirs, 5, 9, 15, 31–33, 37, 49, 53
Weimar Republic, 2–4, 12–13, 27, 36–38, 46, 76
  Weimar Constitution, 75
Whalen, Robert Weldon, 7, 10
Wilson, Woodrow, 52, 58
Winter, Jay, 11–12, 24–25

Z
Ziemann, Benjamin, 5, 7, 9, 41, 48–49, 52, 57, 75–76