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## **Disloyal or Not?: Four *Deutschtexaner* and the Great War<sup>1</sup>**

At the outset of the Great War in August 1914 Germany and its ally Austria-Hungary confronted Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, and Belgium. The magnitude of the coalition facing Germany and Austria-Hungary forced the Reich of Kaiser Wilhelm II to assess its relations with those countries that had declared their neutrality in the conflict. At the very least, Germany hoped that those countries, and especially the United States of America, would be genuinely neutral. In an article focused on the United States, one German newspaper, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, observed just two weeks after hostilities began that, “Without a single friend in Europe, [Germany] is certainly not in the position to make still more enemies overseas.”<sup>2</sup>

In that circumstance, the situations and views of U.S. residents of German ancestry were of more than passing interest to the press in Germany. This paper is embedded in one aspect of Germany’s “rich newspaper culture”<sup>3</sup> as it focuses on letters sent by German-Americans<sup>4</sup> to the Old Fatherland that were published in German newspapers. It will draw on four such letters from Texans that were reproduced in German newspapers during the early months of the war, a period during which, despite President Woodrow Wilson’s declaration of U.S. neutrality, the exact contours of American foreign policy had yet to be defined.

These four letters, edited for their own purposes by the German newspapers that published them, do not form a coherent story, nor do I contend that they represent the circumstances of all Texans who had been born in Germany or were by their heritage German-Americans. They do, however, suggest the issues that German-Texans faced as the Great War began, and the ways in which at least some of the more active among them addressed the circumstances created by the outbreak of war.<sup>5</sup>

Of the four correspondents three were identified with the publication of their letters: Dr. Hermann Gerhard, Carl Luetcke, and Robert Hanschke.<sup>6</sup> Each was born in Germany; each was a naturalized United States citizen; each was a professional (two newspaper editors, one attorney); each had traveled to Germany at least once since his initial arrival in the United States; and each would be the subject of scrutiny by the Bureau of Investigation, an arm of the U.S. Department of Justice established in 1909 and eventually (1935) renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation.<sup>7</sup> All of this would also apply to the author who was not identified with the publication of a part of his letter in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, but who, evidence suggests, was G. R. Spielhagen. He, too, was born in Germany; was a naturalized U.S. citizen; had traveled back to Germany in 1895 and 1913; was a Texas state employee who, during the war, represented the State Warehouse and Marketing Commission and on one occasion was described “as one of the state’s most noted agricultural authorities”;<sup>8</sup> and who would also come to the attention of the Bureau of Investigation.

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The first of the four letters considered in this essay, and the longest, was published in the Berlin *Tägliche Rundschau* on September 18, 1914. That letter, dated August 19, was the work of Dr. Hermann Gerhard and appeared as a “Kriegsbrief aus Deutschburg in Texas.”<sup>9</sup> Born in Germany in 1869, he was a former German reservist whose “last residence” upon his 1893 immigration to the United States was Wiesbaden.<sup>10</sup> Gerhard had served as editor of the *Lincoln* [Nebraska] *Freie Presse* and *Der* [Milwaukee] *Germania Herald*.<sup>11</sup> He was a founder and, in 1914, at least a part-time resident of the Texas colony of Deutschburg.<sup>12</sup> In his *Kriegsbrief* of August 19 Gerhard recounted that he had learned of the outbreak of war when “my little daughter Adele” rode her pony to Francitas, some seven miles from Deutschburg, to pick up the mail. As she arrived home, the excited young girl yelled “Papa, Germany is at war with Russia!” When she handed the newspapers to her father, she said “Papa, are you going to war?” Gerhard glanced through several papers, some in English, some in German—among the former, the *Houston Post*, among the latter Milwaukee’s *Germania*, the *Omaha Tribüne*, and the *Lincoln Freie Presse*, where he, a few years earlier, had served as the editor-in-chief. “Of course, the English [papers are] full of lies that make my blood boil.” In this circumstance Gerhard recorded that “I sat down right away and wrote a letter to the German Consul in Galveston placing myself at his disposal. Even though I am both an American citizen and already beyond age 45, I think that, in this world war, where everyone is pouncing like dogs on the

German Michael, the Kaiser can use all the help he can get (*der Kaiser jeden Arm gebrauchen kann*).<sup>13</sup> In his letter to Germany Gerhard mentioned that “most of our Deutschburgers are, like me, former German soldiers,” that he had served in the 11th Hessian Rifles, and that he would now like “to put my marksmanship to the test against the perfidious English.” Unfortunately, the Consul had not responded to his offer, so Gerhard said that he had written to him once again.<sup>14</sup>

Gerhard’s letter also described how German-Americans had formed organizations to collect funds for the German Red Cross. In this regard he singled out efforts by the Travis County Association for the Aid of the Red Cross in Germany and the German Alliance in Nebraska. Gerhard applauded “our great National German-American Alliance” in its efforts to counteract the “English troublemakers in our major Anglo-American newspapers (*in unseren englischamerikanischen großen Zeitungen*).” Such troublemakers included the *Houston Post*. Aware that efforts to tell Germany’s side of the origins and course of the war were not entirely successful, Gerhard would take matters into his own hands. “A few days ago, when I had to travel to the city, I was able to use that occasion to teach my English fellow-citizens in Francitas an enlightening lesson (*Aufklärungslektion*).” There, at the post office, Gerhard got into a heated exchange about misinformation in the English-language press and, specifically, about a distorted account in the *Houston Post* regarding the significance of a series of naval engagements involving the German cruiser *Karlsruhe* and three British ships, the *Berwick*, *Bristol*, and *Suffolk*, and whether or not those engagements constituted the British victory claimed by the article. To Gerhard, as a long-time supporter of a strong German navy—“als alter deutscher Flottenvereinler”—, the headline of the article completely misrepresented what had happened. “You—all of you—should be ashamed that you are taken in by such nonsense, but everyone has the press that he deserves.”<sup>15</sup> Such efforts as he made at the post office, said Gerhard, actually helped. Even the *Houston Post*, schooled by the local German-American Alliance and by “our Sängerbund,” had begun to present the German point of view to its English readers, even going so far as to print articles in the German language. “A glimmer of hope.” (*Es beginnt zu tagen*.)

In general Gerhard found “the mood among our German-Texans” (*die Stimmung unter unsern Deutschtexanern*) to be “tremendously high” (*mächtig hoch*).<sup>16</sup> He related that in the nearby city of Viktoria, “which counts many Germans among its ‘prominent’ citizens,” “old soldiers” there had formed a military unit and hoped to go to Germany. However, a U.S. Marshall arrived and explained that doing so would violate “Uncle Sam’s neutrality.” If they did not stop, he would have to lock them up. As a result, the company was dissolved, although, since then, quite a few had on their own moved out,

presumably to find their way to Germany. “The U.S. Marshal explained, good naturedly, that every brave German might help his Motherland, [that such Germans] might travel together, but not as a company with weapons for that would be privateering (*Flibustierei*).” Gerhard went on to say that, as he understood the mood in the area, “in south Texas alone we could in no time organize two to three regiments for ‘Old Mother Germany,’ as the U.S. Marshall so nicely put it. However, it seems as though Mother Germany already has over there so many valiant sons who are trained to fight and enthusiastic about doing so that she won’t even want us.”

Gerhard closed his letter with this observation: “Yes, things certainly do not look good for us, with the whole world in arms against us, but the German is not afraid—the more enemies, the more honor! Every evening, while I sit at the piano, my boys and girls, in clear and enthusiastic voices, sing ‘Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein, Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein.’”<sup>17</sup>

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Shortly after the outbreak of war, an American living in Wiesbaden who was also the former American Vice Consul at Mannheim (1905–06), N. C. Schlemmer, wrote to his friend in Austin, asking that he work in behalf of Germany’s cause. That friend was Attorney Karl Luetcke, a German-American born in Hattingen, in Westphalia, in 1874. Luetcke responded by writing a letter to Schlemmer, dated September 4, that was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 2. In his letter Luetcke wrote that, “Here in America, since the beginning of the battles *in Belgium*, a strong *anti-German* feeling has dominated; *every* American, with few exceptions, wished the worst for the Germans (*jeder Amerikaner—mit wenigen Ausnahmen—wünschten die Deutschen in des Teufels Küche*). . . .” More recently, however, with the Japanese seizing the German colony of Tsingtau (today Qingdao), things had changed quite a bit, “although it is still difficult for us to be able to convince Americans that our cause is just.” It was Luetcke’s view that England over the years had poisoned American newspapers and readers against Germany, this despite the efforts of the German-American “Element.” Luetcke mentioned that “so-called literary bureaus” were being set up to confront this maliciousness, and he noted that they were making progress in that regard. Luetcke directed the letter’s reader to material that he had included with his letter, material that demonstrated how the people in Travis County had organized themselves in Germany’s behalf. “I personally have written to Germans in more than one-hundred counties in an effort to get them to do the same, and now efforts are being made across the entire state in behalf of this noble cause. For three weeks

this has been my singular preoccupation.” The *Kölnische Zeitung* reported that Luetcke’s enclosed material included literature about the formation of the Travis County Society for the Support of the Red Cross in Germany, and that the organization had already enjoyed some success. In closing its coverage of Luetcke’s letter, the Cologne daily advanced the possibility that twenty million marks could be raised for the Red Cross in Germany. Luetcke voiced the area’s pride in the success of “our German lads,” and he expressed the hope that their success would be such as to allow them to dictate a treaty that would mark a splendid achievement “for our beloved Germany” and that would “provide the foundation for world peace.”<sup>18</sup>

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A very different view of events on the part of a German-Texan was offered in a letter from Robert Hanschke, a San Antonio resident who was visiting Germany when World War I began. The correspondent, who was born in Dueben, Saxony, in 1847, identified himself at the end of his letter as the editor (*Redakteur*) of the *Freie Presse für Texas*,<sup>19</sup> and his letter, like the letter from the unnamed *Landsmann* discussed below, appeared in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* of September 29 under the heading of “Ein Abschiedswort.” Hanschke, who wrote his letter as he prepared to return to the United States, began his missive with this lengthy remark: “I cannot depart from Germany without expressing my unbounded admiration for the land of my birth, which I left 48 years ago, and whose hospitality I have once again enjoyed, this time for an entire year, without remarking upon what any fair-minded observer would say are the many wonderful things that I have seen and experienced.”<sup>20</sup> During his stay in Germany Hanschke communicated regularly with his newspaper in San Antonio, which in turn published his accounts of his experiences in Germany. The *Freie Presse für Texas* carried his fiftieth “*Reise-Brief*” on August 19, 1914, some two weeks after the World War began.<sup>21</sup> In his letter as it appeared in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* Hanschke wrote of Germany’s “phenomenal” economic achievements that had generated among “its three most powerful European competitors the resentment, envy, and hate that had driven them to war in order to humiliate and dismember [the Fatherland].” Hanschke spoke of the enthusiasm and patriotism that he witnessed as Germany mobilized for war, the “readiness to fight for a sacred cause (*eine heilige Sache*), for the preservation of the Fatherland.” As reprehensible as its rivals’ actions were that forced Germany to fight for its existence, so too did he expect them to do what they could to poison public opinion in the United States against the Fatherland. Hanschke recalled the days of the Franco-Prussian War, some forty-four years earlier: “I found myself living in New Orleans, which had

an influential French population and a daily newspaper, *L'Abeille*, which, in league with the English newspapers, knew to report only French victories.” How stunned and angry the population was when it learned of the Prussian victory at Sedan and the capture of Napoleon III. Now, in 1914, the London press is once again slandering the German Volk with vile and hateful reports. “How much worse [than in 1870-71] will the disillusionment be for the readers of all of this nastiness when the truth sees the light of day, when they realize how they have been deceived with bare-faced lies, how they have been stirred to hatred.” Hanschke closed his letter by indicating that, “As much as my strength allows, I will upon my arrival in New York devote myself to clearing things up and spreading the news about how things really stand, and I will continue to do so for the remainder of my trip until I reach home.”

Hanschke’s determination, once he returned to the United States, to counter the claims of Germany’s enemies about the origins and early course of the war fit nicely into what the German press hoped for from tourists returning to the United States. On that score the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* had this to say: “We are especially pleased that the Americans [now leaving Germany for the United States] are bringing the truth about the cause of the war and the current situation to their homeland, which thus far has had to make do with British and French reports whose untruths are familiar to us.”<sup>22</sup>

Hanschke would sail from Rotterdam on September 23 and arrive in New York on October 2.<sup>23</sup> Once he reached the United States, Hanschke would serve as a German-American “apostle” both through public appearances—for example, his remarks to the San Antonio Liederkrantz<sup>24</sup>—and by the publication of additional correspondence that he had produced before he left Germany.<sup>25</sup> Probably the most notable of such correspondence was the publication of the letter that is the subject of this presentation. On October 28, the *Freie Presse für Texas* published his “Abschiedswort” that had appeared in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* a month earlier.<sup>26</sup>

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Adjacent to Robert Hanschke’s letter as published by the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* on September 29 was the excerpt of a second letter, this from an unnamed “compatriot” (*Landsmann*) in San Antonio, Texas, which “was placed at [our] disposal.”<sup>27</sup> The *Lokal-Anzeiger* introduced the letter by noting that it “clearly describes” the efforts of the “Germans there” as they both combated the lies circulated by the overseas press and worked in behalf of the Heimatland. The author of the letter mentioned public assemblies of Germans that had been organized by the National German-American Alliance, and he noted—the author was almost certainly a “he”—that the weekly *Freie Presse*

*für Texas* was now appearing in a daily edition.<sup>28</sup> The correspondent added that a “literary bureau” had been set up to correct the errors, distortions, and exaggerations of the English-language newspapers, and that the bureau’s efforts had already produced a more positive tone in the local press.<sup>29</sup> Said the letter writer, “I am the secretary of this bureau.”

Remarks in both the *San Antonio Express* on August 15 and the *Freie Presse für Texas. Wochenblatt* on August 19 suggest that the unnamed correspondent was G. R. Spielhagen.<sup>30</sup> The *San Antonio Express* article described how, on August 14, “An organization [of German-Texans] was formed to create a more friendly feeling toward the Germans. J. C. Dielman was appointed chairman and G. R. Spielhagen was made secretary.” The *Freie Presse* article also identified Spielhagen as the secretary of the assembly (*Versammlung*). At the meeting Spielhagen read a set of resolutions that were adopted by the attendees with those resolutions mentioning that Germans could best confront the errors perpetrated by the English-language press with the formation of a “literary bureau” (*die Gründung eines litterarischen Bureaus*). In the letter at issue the author identified himself as the secretary of the literary bureau that was established to deal with the fabrications contained in the English-language press’s reporting on the war. Although the article in the *San Antonio Express* did not specifically mention a “literary bureau,” its placing Spielhagen as secretary of the “organization . . . formed to create a more friendly feeling toward the Germans” suggests, if not quite conclusively, that he was the secretary of the body identified by the *Freie Presse* as the literary bureau.<sup>31</sup>

The letter as it appeared in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* mentioned that the “some 30,000 Germans”<sup>32</sup> who live “here” love the “land of their fathers,” and the author of the letter, presumably Spielhagen, pointed to a committee that had been formed to collect money for needy widows and orphans in Germany and Austria, these funds to be sent abroad “after the war in order, as our resources permit, to help dry the tears.” In describing his activities in behalf of the Old Fatherland the correspondent added that “I am the secretary of this committee, [I] collect money and make propaganda, and am proud that from afar [I] can in some small way work in behalf of my Old Fatherland.”<sup>33</sup> At a small garden party “we have collected 1000 marks.”<sup>34</sup> This kind of effort “has gripped the entire United States,” and one could expect that very considerable sums will be raised.

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These four letters were written in the very early stages of the war. The latest to be published in the German press was Luetcke’s letter of September

4, which appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 2. What might these letters have suggested to those who read them in German newspapers? Those readers could fairly understand that German-Americans, and here specifically German-Texans, were sympathetic to the Old Fatherland as the Kaiser went to war with much of Europe. They could be reassured that German-Americans, while recognizing the seriousness of the crisis that Germany faced, were confident that their ancestral homeland would triumph in the end. They could also be reassured that *Deutschtum* in the United States, especially through the National German-American Alliance and its local branches, was contesting the “lies” about the causes and course of the war as those “lies” appeared in the “English” press in the United States. And they could be impressed by German-American efforts to provide financial support to Germany, its wounded soldiers, and the wives and orphans of those German soldiers who had been killed in the early days of the war. For the most part, this was being done by contributions to the German Red Cross. A mixed message was conveyed by reports that many German-Americans wished to fight alongside the Kaiser’s soldiers, but that they were unable to do so because Britain’s navy controlled the seas and prevented them from crossing the Atlantic to join up with Germany’s armed forces. Neither did these letters provide any encouragement to their readers in Germany that German-Americans would be able to influence U.S. policy to the benefit of the Old Fatherland. For the moment, Germans in the Old Fatherland would have to hope that the efforts of their compatriots in the United States would lead to an American neutrality that would, at the least, not define itself at Germany’s expense. Finally, the *Freie Presse*’s account of the “small garden party” that raised 1000 marks for the Old Fatherland also included a cautionary note. The article describing the event expressed some disappointment in two areas: that the meeting, which drew some 1,000 persons in the face of threatening weather, while “well attended” (*gut besucht*), did not measure up to what might be expected by the German population of San Antonio (“*Nicht tausend, zehntausend hätten anwesend sein sollen. . .*”). And the amount of money collected for the German and Austrian victims of the war seemed to disappoint as well. The collection was “very gratifying” (*sehr befriedigen*), but much larger sums needed to be brought in. “In the year 1870 thousands of dollars were sent to Germany from here, and we should not take a back seat to the Germans of that time.”<sup>35</sup>

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Almost a month after Hermann Gerhard wrote the letter treated in this essay he would inform the *Freie Presse für Texas* that the Farmers Union



(*Farmerverein*) of Deutschburg had affiliated with the Texas branch of the National German-American Alliance and that it had complained to the newspapers there “concerning the lying reports about Germany.” He added that the Union had seen to it that, as of September 14, in the German school in Deutschburg instruction would be carried out in German.<sup>36</sup> Gerhard, identified in newspaper accounts as “of Chicago,” would, in addressing the German Kriegerverein of North America at its meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota, on August 30, 1915, make “an impassioned plea for world peace that brought clamorous applause” and urge an “embargo on ammunition shipments.”<sup>37</sup> Gerhard’s commitment to “a strict embargo on shipments of arms and munitions to the Allies” was further emphasized at the conference by the distribution of a circular bearing his signature.<sup>38</sup>

Gerhard’s activities would early on attract the attention of the Bureau of Investigation, an arm of the United States Department of Justice. The earliest document in Gerhard’s forty-four page Bureau file was dated April 27, 1917, but the first item in his file, an undated ten-page “Summary Report” prepared by Special Agent P. R. Hilliard, indicated that Gerhard’s file, at one time at least, contained twenty-two items from 1915 and another eighty-nine from 1916.<sup>39</sup>

On April 16, 1917, W. W. Green, a Bureau agent in Houston, produced a memo that included the typescript of a letter from Gordon Lawson, identified elsewhere as an attorney in Palacios, and, it seems, a citizen who had taken it upon himself to watch Gerhard. In his letter dated April 10 Lawson reported on an April 9 meeting in Dichburg (presumably Deutschberg) attended by Gerhard. Lawson described Gerhard (whom he identifies as “I. H. Gerhart” or simply as “Gerhart”) as a “German writer and a member of a military organization in Germany known as the Jaugers [Jägers?] . . . ; he has been trying to reach Germany ever since war was declared between the Allies and Germany.” Lawson claimed to know that “Gerhart is contemplating a move of all unnaturalized Germans to Mexico.” It may be more than unlikely that Lawson knew of Gerhard’s letter that was published in the *Tägliche Rundschau*, but, given Gerhard’s confrontation at the Francitas postoffice and spirited claim that German-Texans were interested in returning to Germany to fight for the Kaiser, Lawson’s suspicions were probably not misplaced. In any event, Lawson claimed that Gerhard “in my humble opinion he should be watched, as he is a leader among the Germans and will furnish the brains for any move made. He holds his audience in true German style and is a military man and very dangerous.” In his second letter, dated April 14, Lawson insisted, again, that, in his “humble opinion” Gerhard “needs watching, and I have had him watched. . . .” While Lawson admitted that he has “not enough to know just what they [the German element] contemplate, but it

looks as though they were planning to make a move to take the Germans to Mexico.” Lawson then laid out in some detail Gerhard’s imminent trip to St. Louis. Lawson provided a full description of Gerhard: “He is about five feet six, light complected, about sixty years old, walks with a cane, and has a very prominent saber scar on left cheek commencing about his ear and extending across his cheek.” Lawson provided a second description of Gerhard “as given by the hotel clerk . . . , which corresponds with the description given by the ticket agent and the negro at the station. . . .” Green closed his memorandum by indicating that it would be forwarded to Special Agent in Charge Barnes at San Antonio “by special delivery letter, in order that, if he so desires, he may have time to advise St. Louis by wire prior to Gerhard’s arrival at St. Louis where he is due at 11:15 A.M. on the 17th instant.”<sup>40</sup>

Gerhard’s Bureau file includes several messages describing efforts to know about his trip to St. Louis. Among them is a message (April 17, 1917) from Agent Barnes to E. J. Brennan in St. Louis. In his message Barnes remarks that Gerhart [*sic*] “is suspected [of] being active organizing Germans in small towns in Texas to go to Mexico probably for military service thorough investigation not yet completed but believe information at hand warrants thorough observation probably detention[.]”<sup>41</sup>

At this point the Bureau decided not to act on what it had learned about Gerhard’s activities in Texas. In a May 21, 1917 note, the “Chief”—presumably A. Bruce Bielaski (elsewhere identified as the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice, in Washington, 1912-1919)—told Barnes that “it does not seem from the information so far developed that it is necessary for you to take any further action in your district until this man is located in Chicago.”<sup>42</sup>

Gerhard again came to the attention of the Bureau of Investigation in Washington with a note of October 31, 1917 (discussed in note 40), that was sent to the agency’s Chief, Bielaski. The note stated that Gerhardt [*sic*] “now accused of opposing the Liberty Loan was reported from Francitas, Texas in May 1917 as [a] pro-German editor[,], minister [!], brilliant talker and writer who receives money from Germany.” The author of this note, Lieutenant Colonel Van Deman, in the Military Intelligence Section of the War Department, cited a lengthy October 24 memorandum that was prepared by Bureau Agent J. P. Rooney in Chicago. In a visit to Rooney’s office a member of the Foreign Language Division of the Liberty Loan Executive Committee claimed that he “had grounds to believe that Dr. Herman Gerhardt [of Chicago] is guilty of interfering with the sale of Liberty loan bonds. . . .” Rooney was referred to Attorney Charles Christmann, a member of the Foreign Language Division, Liberty Loan Executive Committee, and a member of the National German-American Alliance of Illinois. Christmann told Rooney that in an October

10 meeting “he had attempted to introduce a resolution favoring the sale of Liberty Loan bonds[, and that Gerhard] got up and made a speech against this resolution, killing it.” As recorded in his memo, Rooney cited Christmann’s claim that Gerhard’s “most flagrant statement . . . was that he demanded to know of his fellow members of the Chicago Branch of the German-American Alliance if it had reached the point where they were ready to get down and crawl and give money to England to buy bullets with which to kill their relatives in Germany.” Christmann claimed that Gerhard “has, for the past two years, been very active in connection with all pro-German matters.” His list of Gerhard’s transgressions included a claim that “he had been connected with the *Embargo Conference*, and raising funds for the benefit of the sufferers in Germany, among them the so-called *Milk for Babies Committee*.”<sup>43</sup> Two days later (October 26) Agent Rooney produced another memo that described his subsequent visits to two members of the local German-American Alliance who had attended the meeting described by Christmann. Each of them denied that Gerhard had remade the remarks attributed to him by Christmann. One of the two told Rooney that Gerhard “at the present time is suffering from Tuberculosis. . . , and that he doubts very much if Mr. Gerhard will live over a month.” Agent Rooney on October 27 produced yet another memo on the matter. Rooney recorded that he again visited Charles Christmann about the meeting at which Gerhard had allegedly railed against the sale of Liberty Bonds. Christmann said that Rooney “had probably misunderstood” him, that he had not been present at the meeting in question, and that he could not therefore have heard Gerhard make the remarks attributed to him. Nevertheless, Christmann told Rooney of a conversation he had had with Jacob Willig, a member of the local branch of the National German-American Alliance, who in Christmann’s words, reported that “all of the members of the Chicago Local were in favor of the purchase of Liberty Bonds by the members until Dr. Herman [*sic*] Gerhard made a speech in which he attacked any movement in favor of the purchase of Liberty Bonds by the members.” In still another memo, this dated November 1 [1917], Rooney described how he tried to verify that Gerhard at the meeting on October 10 had spoken against the purchase of Liberty Bonds by the Chicago Branch of the German Alliance. The trail eventually led Rooney to Willig who, according to Christmann, was the source of information regarding Gerhard and the Liberty Bonds. In the interview Willig told Rooney that Gerhard “did not make any vicious attack on the sale of Liberty Bonds. . . .” As Rooney reported, “*Mr. Willig* states that he and *Mr. Gerhard* are very much opposed to each other, but that as much as he dislikes *Mr. Gerhard*, he would not be telling the truth if he said that he [Gerhard] was opposed to the sale of Liberty Bonds.” Rooney then went to Gerhard’s home, only to learn that he had been taken to the Alexian Brothers

Hospital for an operation. Rooney “could ascertain practically nothing relative to Gerhard’s attitude, owing to the fact that the neighborhood in which he resides is thoroughly German.” At the hospital Rooney learned that Gerhard had the day before been operated on “for a growth in his throat and chest and it was deemed advisable to refrain from interviewing him at this time.” Rooney recorded his intention to “keep in touch with hospital authorities and just as soon as Dr. Herman Gerhard is in a condition to be interviewed, Employee [Rooney] will proceed to do so.”<sup>44</sup>

Several months later, on April 18, 1918, Agent Louis De Nette in San Antonio prepared a report about Gerhard, “a retired German army officer.” De Nette had interviewed “the informant in this case, who is A. Landrum, the only American [*sic*] living in Deutschberg.” Landrum told De Nette that Gerhard and his son had managed Hugh’s (presumably Charles Evans Hughes, Republican presidential candidate in 1916) campaign in four or five states, and that his health had broken down as a consequence, and he had come to this place to recuperate.”<sup>45</sup>

Later that month Gerhard, on an altogether different matter, once again came to the attention of the Bureau. In a memo of April 30, 1918, Agent W. N. Zinn in Galveston reported on a meeting that he had had with Post Master W. H. Clements of Bay City. Agent Zinn’s memorandum included the typescript of an April 25 letter that Clements handed to him. In his letter Clements, referring to Gerhard, indicated that “I am satisfied this is a dangerous man and one to be watched. I think his name is already on your list.” Clements added that Gerhard “lives in the Deutschburg settlement getting his mail at this and the Francitas Postoffice.” (The Francitas postoffice was, of course, where Gerhard’s daughter Adele had picked up the mail described in the letter published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* on September 14, and it was at that same postoffice where Gerhard confronted “my fellow English citizens” regarding the credibility of the English-language press, and, especially, the *Houston Post*.) In his memorandum Zinn restated that Gerhard “has been living for short periods at a time in this vicinity [of Deutschberg] for several years,” then noted that he “has previously received attention at the hands of both the San Antonio and Galveston offices.” Zinn also met with Jack Barnett, “Cashier of the Palacios Bank,” where Zinn learned of checks that were sent to Gerhard, including some from the “Krieg Verein Von Chicago [*sic*].” Presumably based upon information provided by Barnett, Zinn recorded that “Subject was believed to have been organizer for the Germany [*sic*] American Alliance,” and that “*Gerhard’s* daughter was in Germany when the War broke out but returned to U.S. in 1914. . . .”<sup>46</sup> Zinn then described Deutschburg as “a settlement of about 25 or 30 families all of them Germans. *Gerhard* has been living in Chicago most of the time and staying at Deutschberg from 1

to 3 months at a time.” Zinn mentioned that “*Gerhard* while at Deutschburg called himself a Doctor of Political Economy,” then closed his memorandum by stating that a “Copy of this report is being furnished Beaumont and Chicago offices for their attention.”<sup>47</sup>

There is no evidence in *Gerhard*’s Bureau file that he was prosecuted because of his activities in Texas and Chicago. But the end of the war did not bring an end to the Bureau’s interest in him, though his Bureau file contained only a single item, a copy of a one-page June 28, 1919 letter that, as Secretary of the Germanamerican [*sic*] Citizens League, *Gerhard* sent to the *San Antonio Express* in which he accused the paper of “going adrift in standing behind the president on his fourteen points despite your own intelligence, which tells you that the fourteen points are smashed and dead.” Recalling his use of the term “Deutschtexaner” in his letter published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* on September 18, 1914, *Gerhard* also lashed out at the controversy regarding “the hyphen,” insisting that he had, “many years ago, before the poison propaganda against the ‘hyphen’ was spread over this land, written the word ‘Germanamerican’ as one word just like you write ‘blueblooded’. It is an expression of a fact and all the ranting of pharisees cannot change a condition that God has created.”<sup>48</sup>

In fact, *Gerhard*’s one-page June 28, 1919 letter, at least as it is included in his “Old German File,” does not do justice to the context in which it was sent. *Gerhard*’s letter of June 28 was actually a response to material published in the *San Antonio Express* earlier in the month. On June 4 the *Express* ran an editorial entitled “‘Hoch der Hyphen!’” The editorial dealt with the “German-American Citizens’ League” [*sic*] of Chicago and a letter that the organization had produced calling on Americans to oppose the treaty that the victorious powers were about to impose on Germany. Said the editorial in the *Express*: “The war is over. But the treaty with Germany is pending. And the hyphen remains in this country. It wriggles. It is full of life. It is apt to run amuck!” The editorial referred to “the plague of the German hyphen,” the sign of “a rooted domestic condition that must be blasted out, not merely a condition of deporting or importing a few inimical alien agitators.” This editorial stirred *Gerhard*’s ire, which he communicated to the *Express* in a letter dated June 11. On June 18 the *Express* published copies of *Gerhard*’s June 11 letter and the letter—the “Protest Resolution”—in which the Citizens League urged “we American citizens [to] protest most emphatically against this peace treaty and ask our Congress at Washington to refuse to sanction or to approve this act of wild spirit of revenge and avarice.” As with *Gerhard*’s June 28 letter in his Bureau file, his June 11 letter to the *Express* was prepared on the letterhead of the “Deutschamerikanischer Bürgerbund (Germanamerican Citizens League).” The League’s May 20 letter—its “Protest-Resolution”—as pub-

lished in the *Express* was prepared on the letterhead of the “Germanamerican Citizens League.” Accompanying Gerhard’s letter and the League’s “Protest-Resolution” was the response of the *Express* which directed the reader’s attention “to the form in which the word, ‘american,’ appears in the letterheads—both the German and the English—and in the text: the ‘small’ (lower case) ‘a’: ‘Germanamerican Citizens League.’” The *Express* reminded its readers of “its refusal, past and present and future, to recognize that there is any ‘citizenship’ of and in this Nation that is not American—‘American’ without prefix, suffix, hyphen; American without moderation or adulteration—it has the heavy moral, patriotic endorsement of every American whose eye it meets.” The *Express* considered the term “Germanamerican citizens . . . a flagrant insult to the American people. . . . It is peculiarly an insult to Americans resident in Chicago, which Thompson, its mayor, erstwhile called ‘the sixth German city’ in the world.” The *Express* pronounced its verdict on the treaty: “Americans do not look upon it as a ‘barbarian’ treaty, but as a treaty that must be made with a people who have plagued the world with hellish barbarism; as a treaty demanded by the principles of righteous reparation, democratic justice, and democratic safety.”<sup>49</sup>

With the exception of his June 28 letter to the *San Antonio Express*, there is no indication in Gerhard’s “Old German File” that the Bureau’s interest in him extended into 1919. But other newspaper accounts would tell a different story. Two days after the *Express* published its editorial “Hoch der Hyphen!” the paper printed an article originating with the “New York Tribune-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire” that described the newly created German-American Citizens’ League and Gerhard’s role in it. He was, according to the article, “formerly director of the German division of the American Embargo Association” who had become the “national and local secretary” of the Citizens League. The article reported that the Department of Justice in Washington “is examining the circulars” of the League. “It is the belief that the new organization which has as an avowed purpose, according to its founder, Dr. Gerhard, the perpetuation of German kultur among citizens of German descent in the United States, has the old German-American alliance and the American Embargo Association, as its parents.”<sup>50</sup> Another press account identified Gerhard as the “secretary and organizer” of the German-American Citizens League, formed in Chicago, “a national organization of voters of German descent [that] is opposing the league of nations [*sic*] and the peace terms made to Germany by the Paris peace conference. . . .”<sup>51</sup> Gerhard’s activity with the German-American Citizens League earned him the attention of the “United States Secret Service.” The *Chicago Tribune* of June 4, 1919 reported that “That branch of the government pried into the Germanamerican [*sic*] league soon after its organization last month.” The *Tribune* introduced its article by

reporting that the League “doesn’t fancy the peace treaty [Treaty of Versailles] or the league of nations [*sic*].” The *Tribune* quoted Gerhard as saying that “I am the only editor who advocated Mr. Wilson’s impeachment, and I still do.” Gerhard remarked that “We are not hyphenates. We insist on being Americans and we believe Mr. Wilson has gone back on his word and let the fourteen points go. . . . We are not violating the laws. As I explained to the secret service, the first principle is to be Americans and the second to perpetuate the German language and kultur.”<sup>52</sup>

Gerhard, “for years a contributor to German publications in this country,” died in Chicago on September 7, 1920.<sup>53</sup>

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Carl Luetcke, whose letter appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 2, 1914, would be instrumental in the formation of the Travis County effort in behalf of Red Cross aid for Germany and Austria.<sup>54</sup> He would travel to wartime Europe, specifically Norway, Sweden, and Germany, in 1916, as recorded in his October 23, 1916 passport application, for “business in connection with the estates of my mother and mother-in-law, and also matters of charity.”<sup>55</sup> He would return to the United States on April 20, 1917, some two weeks after the United States declared war on Germany.<sup>56</sup>

All other considerations aside, Luetcke’s 1916 trip to Germany would have been enough to attract the scrutiny of the Bureau of Investigation. The Bureau’s interest in Luetcke was initiated by a February 7, 1917 letter sent by J. H. Rogers, U.S. Marshall in Austin, to R. L. Barnes, a Bureau agent in San Antonio and the same person involved in the investigation of Gerhard. Rogers’ letter, sent while Luetcke was in Europe and some two months before the United States declared war on Germany, identified Luetcke as “a German lawyer . . . who is suspected of having some improper alliances with the German government. A few weeks ago he went to Germany.” Rogers’ interest in Luetcke was generated by “two gentlemen” of Austin who “have very strong suspicions that this man [Luetcke] is in some way striving to assist the German government.” These suspicions reinforced an earlier report “by one of our citizens here in Austin [who] told me that he suspected this party of being a German spy, or at least of having some improper relation with Germany.” Rogers had not at first reported on what he was initially told, “but the above information coming to me from these two other citizens, and especially since this party made a trip to Germany just at this time, it occurred to me that, while it was still merely suspicions, it would be well to give the matter some attention.” On February 9 Barnes wrote to Rogers (in Laredo) asking him “to arrange with the Postmaster to watch the mails which his [Luetcke’s] relatives

may receive, for the purpose of determining, if possible, the present address of Luecke [*sic*] whenever located in the United States. If you should secure this information, kindly telegraph the same to me, in order that we may arrange to cover his activities." The Marshall subsequently inspected the addresses and return addresses of envelopes containing letters sent to Luetcke, his wife, and his business partner—"tracings" as he described them. There is, however, no indication that Rogers opened the letters. Marshall Rogers reported on this to R. L. Barnes on February 17, and Barnes included a typescript of this letter in a memorandum dated February 21. Rogers cautioned Barnes that "Of course, you understand that the postoffice authorities naturally want this matter held in strict confidence, as always [*sic*] should be done, but especially so if anything sensational should develop in this case." In a letter dated March 1, 1917, "Chief" (almost certainly Bielaski) forwarded a different "communication" from Rogers, this to W. K. Offley, Chief of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation. In it Rogers said that Luetcke "made the claim before leaving here for Germany that he was going there to look after the closing of the Luetcke estate, belonging either to his father or mother. He has claimed some time to be interested in the Red Cross work, and has been known to receive contributions for that cause."<sup>57</sup>

The Bureau's further attention to Luetcke's travels was confirmed in a March 5, 1917 memorandum by C. J. Scully, a Bureau agent based in New York City, who noted that, "Pursuant to instructions received, made arrangements with the Customs officials whereby this bureau would be immediately notified in the event Carl Luetcke arrived at this port from abroad this so that his effects might be given a thorough examination to ascertain his reasons for visiting Germany." In his memorandum of March 8 Scully wrote that "This A.M. [he] was informed by Mr. Merryman agent in charge of the Passport Bureau, that Carl Luetcke had secured U.S. Passport No. 38554 on November 3, 1916. . . ." As recorded by Scully, Luetcke stated that he planned to visit Norway, Sweden, and Germany; that he intended to settle the estate "of mother and mother in law"; and that he wanted "to perform charitable work in Germany." Scully concluded his memorandum by noting that "A letter was said [by Merryman?] to be attached to the application for the passport in which he [Luetcke] refers to the Postmaster General as one who could state as to his qualifications, etc., and that a very strong endorsement was received signed by the Secretary to the Postmaster General." Marshall Rogers would subsequently produce two more memoranda regarding "tracings" of mail to Mrs. Luetcke, but the Bureau's file would suggest that it was no longer interested in pursuing a case against Luetcke. Despite the fact that Scully's March 8 memorandum was titled "All. [Alleged?] German Secret Agent," the Postmaster's endorsement of Luetcke may have been enough to allay the Bureau's



concerns about him.<sup>58</sup> Luetcke returned to the United States on April 30, 1917.<sup>59</sup>

On a least one other occasion during the war Luetcke showed himself ready to serve as a link between the Old Fatherland and the New. In early 1918 Luetcke, as described by the Special Assistant to the Attorney General, sent a letter to the Department of Justice, "in which he [Luetcke] states that he is in receipt of communications from the Prisoners of War Relief Committee, asking his assistance in investigating certain persons with a view to discovering whether they should be given financial assistance." The Special Assistant communicated Luetcke's request to the State Department, which, in the person of the Second Assistant Secretary to the Secretary of State, Alvey A. Adee, responded that "I should consider it advisable to inform him [Luetcke] that his connection with the above Committee [Prisoners of War Relief Committee in New York] does not meet with the approval of this Government."<sup>60</sup>

In the postwar years Luetcke would maintain his ties to Germany. In 1923 the German government named him as Consul in which capacity, from the consulate in San Antonio, he would serve most of Texas. Upon taking office, Luetcke announced his interest in "expediting international business as much as possible. . . ." And, as an indicator of what he thought needed to be done to integrate Texas-Germans more fully into the society around them, he planned

to urge the German people in my territory to break away, as much as possible, from the clannishness which has marked them in the past.

I am an American citizen and proud of it and I believe that Americanization of all foreign elements should be the first aim of every good citizen. Clannish colonies, in which only the language of their mother country is spoken, are a bad thing, both for the people making up those colonies and the native Americans living about them.<sup>61</sup>

A year after being named Consul Luetcke would participate in the post-war campaign sponsored by the American Committee for Relief of German Women and Children "to raise funds to feed the starving women and children of Germany. . . ."<sup>62</sup>

Luetcke served as the German Consul in San Antonio from 1923 to 1931.<sup>63</sup> He died in 1966.

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Robert Hanschke offers an interesting example of an immigrant who clearly embraced both the New Fatherland and the Old. In 1880, in New Orleans, he married Louisiana-born Elisabeth Weber, whose parents were born in Prussia, and in 1882 he became a naturalized U.S. citizen.<sup>64</sup> Very much involved in the American political process, Hanschke was an active member of the Republican Party, a “straight Republican.”<sup>65</sup> He was a McKinley supporter and attended the Republican Party nominating convention in St. Louis in 1896.<sup>66</sup> He owned/edited a newspaper identified as “Republican,”<sup>67</sup> and he was the Republican candidate for the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Texas in 1896.<sup>68</sup> Hanschke’s “American side” was captured by a 1911 article reporting that “his career since he landed in New Orleans in 1866 is accepted by all who know him as an illustration of what can be done in America if one possesses pluck, energy, and brains.”<sup>69</sup>

But, through all this, Hanschke maintained close ties both to his fellow German-Americans and to the Old Fatherland itself. His ties to German-America were exemplified early on by his giving an “oration” at the “Grand German Volksfest for the Benefit of the German Protestant Orphan Asylum” in New Orleans in May 1872,<sup>70</sup> and, almost forty years later, by his selection to serve on the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, “an organization created by the San Antonio Lokal Verband of the German-American National Alliance [*sic*]” to fight against prohibition.<sup>71</sup> The range of Hanschke’s connections to his fellow German-Americans was captured by a remark printed in 1910 that described him as “prominent in German lodge circles throughout the state.”<sup>72</sup> And almost from the day of his arrival in the United States, Hanschke was connected with the German-language press, including the *Deutsche Zeitung* in New Orleans; as editor, the *Texas Post* of Galveston;<sup>73</sup> and, finally, as owner/editor, the San Antonio *Freie Presse für Texas*.<sup>74</sup>

Hanschke reinforced his ties to the Old Fatherland by several trips to Germany. At a minimum, Hanschke secured passports to travel abroad in 1882, 1889, 1897, 1906, 1909 (returning to the United States in the same year), 1911 (returning in 1912), and 1921 (on which he identified himself as “retired editor”). Passenger arrival records for 1896, 1900, 1913, 1914 suggest that he may have taken additional trips to Germany. That Hanschke placed a good deal of importance on such trips was indicated by the fact that the Republican State Executive Committee in 1908 wished to choose him as its candidate for Land Commissioner, “but the gentleman was forced to decline because he has arranged to leave for Europe to be absent a year and could not serve if elected.”<sup>75</sup>

As with Herman Gerhard and Carl Luetcke, the World War brought Robert Hanschke to the attention of the Bureau of Investigation, though

only in 1918, almost one year after the United States entered the World War. Hanschke's file with the Bureau concerned his links to the Servicio de Prensa, a news service in Mexico City.<sup>76</sup> In a report (in the form of a letter) dated March 13 and sent from Breniman (elsewhere identified as Chas. E. Breniman, Division Superintendent in the Bureau of Investigation's San Antonio office) to Bielaski, the former described the search of the home and office of "Robert Hanschke, editor Texas Free Press [*sic*], German suspect," the day before. "Search based on information furnished by [the] Censor Board. Letters found show propaganda has been furnished Hanschke in San Antonio [by Servicio in Mexico City]." The search turned up "Other letters [that] show line of communication to Germany used by Servicio de la Perensa via Spanish boats to Spain and thence wireless to Germany."<sup>77</sup>

A March 14 memorandum produced by Agent W. A. Wiseman, one of the three agents involved in the search of the offices of the *Freie Presse für Texas*, indicated that Hanschke, apparently at the office at the time of the search, "stated that when war was declared against Germany he [Hanschke] received numerous letter [*sic*] from his subscribers speaking very bitter against the United States for entering the war, and he did not publish any of these letter [*sic*], but warned the parties to be carfull [*sic*] and be peaceful, under the present crisis that they should assist the country they were living in."<sup>78</sup>

A memorandum of March 15 ("PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE March 13") produced by Agent E. T. Needham, another of the three agents who searched Hanschke's home and office, reported that, "With the consent of the United States Attorney [a] search warrant was secured for the residence and place of business of *Hanschke*, he being the proprietor of the Texas Free Press, a German organ in this section of the State." The Bureau's interest in Hanschke was initiated by the "Local Censorship Board," which reported that Hanschke had written to the Servicio de Prensa in Mexico City "requesting that they do not send him letters and information." The search of Hanschke's residence yielded nothing, but "At the print shop numerous letters from the Servicio de la Perensa, translation of which will be made at once, were found." Among those letters was one from the Servicio to Hanschke informing him "that he could communicate with Germany by writing [to the Servicio's] office in Mexico City, and they could relay the information by Spanish boat to Spain, and thence by wireless to Germany." According to Agent Neunhoffer, the third of the three agents to search Hanschke's home and office, the Servicio "is located in the Boker Building in Mexico City, and is headed by one *Carl Duems*, who is leader of the German Espionage system in Mexico." Upon questioning by the Bureau's agents, Hanschke "stated that the reason for not using the material [sent him by the Servicio] was that it appeared to him to be dangerous German propaganda. He could not explain, however,

why he did not report this matter to the Federal authorities.” Needham observed that Hanschke “has been in San Antonio for about 40 years, and has been a citizen of the United States for the past 35 years. For this reason it will be necessary to prosecute [*sic*] rather than intern him, and the United States Attorney desires a little additional information showing the connection of the Servicio de la Prensa with the German Government.” Needham reported that he “spent the entire night questioning *Hanschke*, but he refused to make any statement other than that he was innocent of any intent to do wrong.”<sup>79</sup>

A May 14, 1918 letter from Colonel R. H. Van Deman, Chief, Military Intelligence Branch of the Executive Division of the War Department, which was addressed to A. B. Bielaski, referred to “the charge of treason against Robert Hanschke.” The letter dealt with “evidence showing that the Servicio de Prensa, with which Hanschke is connected, was a German agency.” In a May 27 letter, also addressed to Bielaski, Chas. E. Breniman noted that the investigation of Hanschke was “based on a memorandum from the United States Postal Censor,” and that a search of Hanschke’s home and the offices of the *Freie Presse für Texas*, discussed earlier, had produced “a number of communications . . . that have passed between Hanschke and the Servicio de la Prensa.” The memorandum indicated that “The United States Attorney for this District is desirous of prosecuting Hanschke for his treasonable activities,” but also that a conviction would require a successful effort to link Carl Deums [*sic*], Hanschke’s Servicio correspondent, with the Servicio de Prensa.<sup>80</sup>

The letters and memoranda in Hanschke’s Bureau of Investigation file show U.S. authorities to have been convinced that the Servicio de Prensa provided a connection between Hanschke and Germany, and that Hanschke was in effect a traitor to the United States—though as early as March 15, 1918 a note from Bielaski to Breniman said this: “Unable [to] show connection Servicio Dela Perensa [*sic*] with German Government.”<sup>81</sup> Hanschke’s case presented at least two complications. Could U.S. authorities provide conclusive evidence that the Servicio was in fact the link to Germany that they believed it to be? Deums’ signature appeared on material received by Hanschke. But could authorities prove that the signature was actually that of Deums? As mentioned in Needham’s memorandum, Hanschke had resided in San Antonio for some 40 years and was a longtime citizen of the United States, and could not simply be interned. Prosecuting Hanschke would initiate legal proceedings, almost certainly a lengthy process, and again, as Needham indicated, the United States Attorney had already indicated that he needed more information to connect the Servicio with the German government. A May 27 letter from Breniman to Bielaski indicated that “The United States Attorney for this District is desirous of prosecuting Hanschke for his treasonable activities, but before successful prosecution can be main-

tained, it is necessary that we establish, through competent testimony, Deums' connection with the Servicio de Prensa, as well as Deums' signature." Breniman concluded his message by mentioning that Hanschke "is one of the most prominent German-Americans in San Antonio and is reputed to be quite wealthy." A June 12 letter from "Chief"—presumably Bielaski—to William H. Lamar, Solicitor, Post Office Department in Washington, suggested that the authorities had not yet dotted the eyes and crossed the tees of the case against Hanschke: "This Department contemplates a prosecution of Hanschke under the Espionage Act as soon as we secure witnesses who can identify the signature of Dums [*sic*]." A letter of July 27 from Breniman to Assistant U.S. Attorney Hugh R. Robertson in Austin suggests that authorities still were not confident that they could make a compelling case against Hanschke: "I would be pleased to have you advise me as soon as convenient, if in your opinion, Hanschke could be successfully prosecuted, without the establishing by competent testimony, the signatures of Duems [*sic*] and whether the correspondence between Hanschke and the 'Servicio de Prensa' of Mexico City, would be admissible in evidence as is so interestingly suggested by Major Barnes [identified elsewhere as Major Robert L. Barnes, Department Intelligence Officer, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and the former Bureau "Special Agent in Charge" who, through at least September 1917, operated in San Antonio]."<sup>82</sup> The closest thing to closure of the Hanschke case in his Bureau of Investigation file was a memorandum ("Violation of the Espionage Act") by Agent Wm. Neunhoffer dated September 13 (chronologically the penultimate document in Hanschke's file): "It is [United States Attorney] Mr. Robertson's intention to submit all evidence secured against *Mr. Hanschke* to the December federal grand jury for its consideration." In a letter dated May 12, 1919, the latest item in Hanschke's Bureau of Investigation file, "Acting Chief" indicated that "This Bureau has occasion to refer to the case of Robert Hanschke. . . . Will you be good enough to inform me whether this case was brought to the attention of the federal grand jury; if so, whether an indictment was found and indicated whether Hanschke has been tried." It may be that the conclusion of hostilities in Europe on November 11, some six months earlier, had eliminated the impulse for pursuing the case against "Mr. Hanschke."<sup>83</sup>

In 1920, Hanschke, who was by then seriously ill, sold the *Freie Presse für Texas* to Robert Penniger.<sup>84</sup> In 1921 Hanschke once again traveled to Germany, this time in the company of his daughter Mary, and with the intention of alleviating the suffering produced by his poor health. It is perhaps fitting that Hanschke, who had so often nourished connections between the Old Fatherland and the New by his travels to the Old Fatherland, died in Berlin on March 1, 1922.<sup>85</sup> As he had during his stay in Germany in 1913-14,

Hanschke sent letters back to the United States that were published in the *Freie Presse für Texas*, the last of them, “like a voice from another world,” appearing two weeks after his death.<sup>86</sup>

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Spielhagen’s Bureau of Investigation file, though relatively brief—only nine pages—, covers events in 1917, 1918, and 1919. In a memorandum dated April 1, 1917, several days before the United States declared war on Germany, Agent Erby E. Smith, in San Antonio, reported that “a personal friend of mine, Mr. *L. B. Stoner* advises that a Mr. *G. R. Spielhagen*, living at 214 Lotus St. this city is supposed to be paid for some service by the German Govt.” Stoner, who lived across the street from Spielhagen, told Smith “that he wished to give me this information as a good citizen should,” and he deemed it “public knowledge” that Spielhagen “received a salary from the German Govt.” Stoner added “That at one time the letter carrier misplaced a letter, or someone stole a letter out of *Spielhagen’s* mail box, and that a great stir was mad[e] about it.”<sup>87</sup>

Apparently following up on the Smith/Stoner encounter, Agent J. B. Rogers of Victoria, in an April 28, 1917 report entitled “Alleged pro-German Sympathies,” claimed that, as “a State Warehouse Inspector,” Spielhagen “has access to the books, records, stock of all warehouses. He can obtain all data as to location, arrangement, and contents. He is as I understand it employed by the State in the Warehouse and Marketing Department.” Rogers described a conversation at the Victoria Compress Company between owner Chas. L. Grunder and his assistant, G. G. Lawson. The assistant asked Grunder “if he had noticed the morning papers account of the fighting in France.” Spielhagen, who was inspecting the company’s records at the time, “quit his examination of the books and entered spiritedly into the conversation. His talk showed strong sympathy for the Germans. Among other things, he said the Germans are fight[ing] a just war and that he hoped not one American soldier would ever reach the firing line. His talk was so clearly pro-German that he [Lawson?] resented it and Mr. Lawson came near having an altercation with Spielhagen.” Grunder added that “Spielhagen did not examine all the records but became too much excited to do so.” Lawson, who corroborated Grunder’s account, told Rogers that “he got mad at Spielhagen and would have whipped him if he continued his talk.” Both Grunder and Lawson told the “Agent” that “they consider Spielhagen a dangerous man to have access to the records of such plants as theirs. If he is disposed to do so as his conversation indicates he can do an immense amount of damage by furnishing information to the enemy.”<sup>88</sup>

The Bureau of Investigation, in the person of Agent B. C. Baldwin, followed up on the earlier lead. In a memo “for May 5, 1917” Baldwin reported that he called on Governor Ferguson, who said that he did not know Spielhagen but “suppose[d]” that he had been appointed to his position by Senator T. C. Weinert [*sic*], presumably State Senator Ferdinand Carl Weinert of Seguin. Baldwin subsequently interviewed Senator Weinert. The Senator told Baldwin that “I appointed *Spielhagen* to pay a political debt, he has made us a good man-but if he has made any pro-German talks or in any manner shown that he is disloyal to the United States, I will not ask your department for the proof, but will immediately discharge him. He is an American citizen I am sure, but it makes no difference about that if he is pro-German he cannot work with me. I am of German parents, but first an American right or wrong for the U.S. [M]y record will show this; if you think best I will put this man at some other kind of work, and in meantime have him watched and report to your department any activities on his part, or as I before stated, will discharge him at once.” At that point, as he recorded, Baldwin “suggested that *Mr. Spielhagen* be given work of such a nature, that information valuable to Germany would not fall into his possession, also that *Senator Wienart* [*sic*] notify the department at San Antonio, of any activities on the part of this or any other German, which he agreed to do.” The Bureau’s interest in Spielhagen, at least for 1917, apparently concluded without further action.<sup>89</sup>

Spielhagen again claimed the Bureau’s attention in 1918. In a memorandum dated March 29, 1918 (“*IN RE: G. R. SPIELHAGEN* Pro-German”), Agent Louis De Nette, stationed in San Antonio, said that his office had received a report from John B. Carrington, the “local representative for the Federal Food Administration,” that Spielhagen, “formerly in the employ of the State, is believed by him to be one source of German propaganda against the planting of the castor bean. Said bean is used for the production of oil with which aeroplanes are lubricated.” Agent R. E. Corder subsequently (April 7) followed up on “Special Employee” De Nette’s report regarding “G. R. Spielhagen, pro-German suspect.” He did so by getting a statement from W. S. Hand, Federal Food Demonstrator. Hand said that he had had a conversation with Spielhagen in which “he asked me several direct questions about the caster [*sic*] bean. . . .” Hand remarked that, “From his manner and what I considered foolish questions for an intelligent man to ask, caused me to think that he wanted my statement to use in his arguments to his people to not plant the bean.” In September Division Superintendent Breniman, upon request, forwarded a copy of Spielhagen’s file to M. Wirt Steele, “Director of Organization, United States Food Administration,” in Houston. That note seems to have ended the Bureau’s 1918 interest in Spielhagen.<sup>90</sup>

Spielhagen once again came to the Bureau's attention in what looks to have been a personal dispute. In his memorandum of October 2, 1919, Agent W. A. Wiseman of the San Antonio office recorded that he went to the office of Sheriff Tobin in San Antonio and interviewed "Max Dallmier, German Alien Enemy, who recently made an application thru the local Immigration Department for a passport to go to Germany." Dallmier had known Spielhagen "for a number of years and had all the confidence in the world of him," and he asked Spielhagen "to secure a New York Exchange check or to have the money [\$1,400] deposited in the Deutsch National Bank at Berlin, Germany, . . . but it had developed that Spielhagen has applied the money to his own use, and now refuses to return the money." Sheriff Tobin was advised that "there was no features of a Federal violation, in as much as Commercial [*sic*] relations with Germany had been established, it could not be considered a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, notwithstanding the fact that Spielhagen's [*sic*] was using the money in Germany, and suggested that charges be filed in the State against Spielhagen for receiving money under false pretense." This memorandum marked the conclusion of Spielhagen's Bureau file.<sup>91</sup>

The Bureau's concerns about his loyalty notwithstanding, Spielhagen was among the "close to 200 delegates" attending a meeting of the Texas branch of the German-American Alliance in Austin on June 28, 1916. At that meeting the organization adopted two resolutions, one "urging all citizens of Texas of German descent to vote in the July primary against submission of the prohibition question," the other "condemning the use of the term 'hyphenated Americans' when applied to citizens of German descent and condemning those persons who dispute the loyalty of the American citizens of German descent."<sup>92</sup> And Spielhagen continued his involvement in Texas political life. As mentioned above, he owed his position on the State Warehouse and Marketing Commission to Democratic State Senator F. C. Weinert, and he was among the "German-American Citizens" who supported former Democratic Governor O. B. Colquitt in his unsuccessful campaign to be the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate in 1916.<sup>93</sup> And yet, as the end of hostilities permitted, Spielhagen seemed intent on fulfilling the commitment mentioned in his 1914 letter, to provide relief to the needy people of Germany and Austria, "after the war, as our resources permit, to help dry the tears." In the summer and early autumn of 1919 he placed ads in the *Sequiner Zeitung* announcing that he would be managing the shipment of goods and cash "for Germany's and Austria's starving people!"<sup>94</sup> And at about the same time Spielhagen placed notices in the *San Antonio Evening News* announcing the shipment of relief materials to Europe.<sup>95</sup> In January 1920 the *Sequiner Zeitung* carried an ad over Spielhagen's name announcing the "fastest



freight and postal shipment to relatives and friends in Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.” The ad identified Spielhagen as an “agent (*Vertreter*) of the Hamburg-Amerika Line.”<sup>96</sup> And as late as the spring of 1922, in an ad placed in the *Seguiner Zeitung*, Spielhagen offered to ship *Liebesgabenpackete* to relatives in Germany. The ad placed Spielhagen in “Magdeburg, Germany.”<sup>97</sup> An article in the *Galveston Daily News* indicated that Spielhagen “had retired from active business prior to 1920, but reopened his office in San Antonio for the shipment of relief goods to Germany after hostilities had ceased, continuing this work for more than a year.” This information was part of an article reporting on Spielhagen’s suicide on June 26, 1923, just a day before he, his wife, and daughter were scheduled to arrive in Galveston after a two-year visit to Germany.<sup>98</sup>

\* \* \*

The second half of 1914, that period of time in which the four letters considered in this essay were published in Germany, would provide a somewhat blurred picture of the place that German-Texans occupied in the political landscape of the Lone Star State. On the one hand, the *Freie Presse für Texas* in December could report that German-Americans—eleven—would hold more seats in the next session of the state’s House of Representatives than ever before,<sup>99</sup> and that, as the letters treated here indicate, German-Texans could aggressively express, and act upon, their ties to the Old Fatherland. And individuals such as Robert Hanschke, both a staunch Republican and a frequent traveler to Germany, could safely be both German and American.<sup>100</sup> But those same letters indicate that German-Texans early on faced what they took to be the hostility of many of their neighbors and, especially, the “English press” with its reports that seemed to blame Germany for the war and to understate the successes of the German military. And the letters’ authors would attract the attention of the Bureau of Investigation, with each investigation, whether originated by “good citizens,” postal authorities, or law enforcement officials, questioning the loyalty of these German-Americans to their adopted homeland.

Frederick Luebke has written that, in the two decades preceding the war, “social forces had been operating to weaken the cohesion of the [German] immigrant community,” and that, in response, “German ethnic leaders had resisted the trend and had become increasingly chauvinistic in their promotion of *Deutschtum* as a cultural counter to the dominant one based on English foundations.”<sup>101</sup> It is not clear that each of the letter writers treated in this paper merited the designation of chauvinist, though Luebke would almost certainly have so identified Gerhard given what Luebke described as the

“chauvinistic editorials” Gerhard produced for the *Omaha Tribune* in 1916.<sup>102</sup>

Luebke has also written that “The declaration of war against Germany in 1917 altered the German-American position radically.”<sup>103</sup> But many German-Americans, not just the “chauvinists,” would have seen their world somewhat differently beginning in August 1914. They could not have helped but sense that their fellow Americans saw them somewhat differently upon the outbreak of war. And many German-Americans, through letters from the Old Fatherland, would learn of the death of their male relatives on the battlefields of Europe and would contribute financially to mitigate the suffering of their widows and orphans in the Old Fatherland.

Certainly the four first-generation German-Americans treated in this paper had gone to war in August 1914, well over two years before the United States entered the war in April 1917. And their ties to Germany would survive the distress they faced during 1917–1918 as each of them, in various ways, reaffirmed his ties to the Old Fatherland once the war concluded. As indicated earlier, in their postwar America Gerhard vigorously promoted German-americanism in Chicago; Hanschke traveled to Germany and died in Berlin; Luetcke, who would also travel to Germany, became the German Consul in San Antonio; and Spielhagen in 1919 strived to provide relief to the “starving people” of Germany and Austria and later traveled to Germany.<sup>104</sup>

On January 4, 1922, the *Freie Presse für Texas* observed that “One can predict with certainty a reawakening of national life (*des völkisch Lebens*) among the Americans of German ancestry.” For the *Freie Presse* that reawakening was visible in the German-speaking societies; in the German churches that were regaining former members who had left them during the war to avoid persecution by German-haters; and in other areas where Americans of German ancestry were coming together to face the challenges that the new times had placed before them.<sup>105</sup> In the end, that reawakening, the postwar activities of the four German-Americans treated in this paper, and Luetcke’s concern about “clannishness,” expressed in 1923, suggest that the Americanization of Texas’s “Germans” remained a work in progress.

*Woodbridge, Virginia*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Earlier versions of portions of this paper were read at annual symposia of the Society for German-American Studies at San Antonio, Texas on April 30, 2016, and at Indianapolis, Indiana on April 20, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> “Aufklärung des Auslandes,” August 19, 1914, *Erstes Morgenblatt*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15. Verhey uses that “rich newspaper culture” to describe the situation in Wilhelmine Germany with its “over 3,600 newspapers.”

<sup>4</sup> At least at the beginning of the World War, the San Antonio newspaper *Freie Presse für Texas. Wochenblatt* referred to Texans of German descent as “German-Americans,” and the author of this essay will use that hyphenated descriptor. (See “Der Deutsch-Amerikaner und der Krieg,” August 5, 1914, 4.) In other publications those same Texans would be described as “German Americans” or simply as “Germans” (as in “the Germans of this city”). See “Victoria Germans Show Patriotism,” *The Byran [Texas] Daily Eagle and Pilot*, July 31, 1914, 1. This article was accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on November 23, 2018. The contentiousness surrounding the “hyphen” will be touched upon later in this essay.

<sup>5</sup> For the larger context into which this narrative is set, see Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900–1930* ([Austin, Texas:] Kleingarten Press, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> The author of this essay has previously and briefly written about the letters from Gerhard and Luetteke. See his “German-America Writes ‘Home’: Its ‘Prevailing Mood’ and the Beginning of World War I,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* (published at the University of Kansas by The Society for German-American Studies), Volume 49, 2014, 53–100.

<sup>7</sup> For a study of the Bureau’s activity during the war see William H. Thomas Jr., *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department’s Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

The Bureau of Investigation files used in this essay draw on the “Old German Files,” described by Thomas as “a 594-reel collection of microfilm containing more than 380,000 files on individuals and organizations.” See his *Unsafe for Democracy*, 210, n52.

The Bureau of Investigation’s “Old German Files,” available online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com), were released to the National Archives in 1976. As such, they were not available to Frederick Luebke when he published his study of German-Americans and the Great War in 1974.

The author of this paper has used the “Old German Files” online at the [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) site, which describes the collection in this way: “By far the largest group of files, these are investigative records relating to German aliens who were politically suspect before and during World War I, more specifically in the period 1915–20. Case numbers for these files begin with #8000- and comprise nearly 400,000 records.” See [fold3.com](http://fold3.com). In fact, these files include records not only of “aliens” but of United States citizens as well.

<sup>8</sup> “Important Meeting of Chamber of Commerce Is Now in Progress,” *The [Victoria, Texas] Daily Advocate*, July 20, 1915, 1. Accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on February 3, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> “Das Echo des Weltkrieges im fernen Westen. Kriegsbrief aus Deutschburg in Texas,” [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 18, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5–6 (pages 1-2 of the *Unterhaltungsbeilage der Täglichen Rundschau*).

<sup>10</sup> “Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897” (accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on February 17, 2016. Gerhard arrived in New York on May 4, 1893.

For more on Deutschburg, including a photo of Gerhard and his home there, see [rootsweb.ancestry.com/~txmatago/deutschburg.htm](http://rootsweb.ancestry.com/~txmatago/deutschburg.htm) (accessed online October 15, 2016). This site shows an ad for the auction of a farmer’s property that placed Deutschburg twelve miles northwest of Palacios and eight miles south of Francitas. Deutschburg was midway between Galveston and Corpus Christi, not far from the Texas Gulf Coast.

<sup>11</sup> “Gerhard Power Behind New Hyphenate League,” *New York Tribune*, June 30, 1919, 6. This article, which contains a good deal of biographical information on Gerhard, reported that “he is a graduate of the University of Heidelberg [from which he] received the degree of Doctor of Political Economy—the origin of the title by which he is commonly called.” The article also reported that Gerhard “became interested in a German land colonization project in Texas [presumably Deutschburg], and spent several months in that state each year.” This article was accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on June 6, 2016.

For Gerhard as the “editor-in-chief” of the *Lincoln Freie Presse* in 1909, see “New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957,” accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on March 21, 2016.

Although clearly a Deutschburger and, thus, a Texan, Gerhard at least for part of the war also maintained a presence in Nebraska and Chicago. See Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, c. 1990), 15, 17, and 24. An article in the *Tägliche Omaha Tribune* [hereafter *TOT*] (“Dr. Gerhard wieder operiert!,” 1) of November 19, 1917 reported that for the previous two years Gerhard was a resident of Chicago. This article was accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on September 10, 2018.

In January 1915 Gerhard was identified as a member of the editorial staff of the *Tägliche Omaha Tribune* (“Ein angenehmer Neujahrsbesuch,” *TOT*, January 2, 1915, 4), and his byline would appear with occasional articles in that newspaper. See, as examples, “Der ‘neutrale’ Onkel Sam!,” November 18, 1914, 4; “Wir fordern Embargo!,” December 14, 1914, 4; and “Parteipolitik und Nationalpolitik!,” January 14, 1915, 4. Gerhard was also the author of occasional verse—generally anti-British—that was published in the paper. See, as examples, “Die Britenschlacht!,” November 23, 1914, 4; “O Jonathan! (Melodie: ‘O Tannenbaum’),” November 24, 1914, 4; and “Der Völker-Judas!,” December 26, 1914, 4. On occasion, with both articles and verses, the author identified himself as “Dr. Hermann Gerhard in Deutschburg, Tex.” The *TOT* would also publish ads for events that featured Gerhard as their speaker. As examples, the *TOT* on the same day, June 10, 1915 (page 3), published ads for these two events: a mass assembly on June 12 for Germans of Eustis (Nebraska) and the surrounding area, with “Dr. Hermann Gerhard of Omaha, Neb.” delivering the *Hauptrede*, and the Deutsches Kinder-Fest in Uehling, Nebraska, on June 14, with “Dr. Hermann Gerhard of Omaha” delivering the *Festrede*. The material from the *TOT* was accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on September 10, 2018.

Frederick Luebke described the relationship between Gerhard and Val Peter, the owner of the *Tägliche Omaha Tribune*, in this way: “The partisanship of the *Omaha Tribune* [in 1916] for the German cause continued unabated or, perhaps, more shrill than before. Val Peter regularly published chauvinistic editorials ground out by the erstwhile first vice president of the [Nebraska branch of the National German-American] Alliance, Dr. Hermann Gerhard, who mercilessly castigated President Wilson for his allegedly pro-Allied policies.” See Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 24.

<sup>12</sup> For Gerhard’s role in the establishment of Deutschburg see “Dr. Gebhardt [*sic*] Here. Editor of German Frie [*sic*] Presse Buys a Farm at Francitas and Will Erect a Large Residence,” *The Francitas Bee*, January 26, 1911, 1. This article was accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on July 8, 2018. An ad for the “Kolonie Deutschburg Texas” was published in the *Tägliche Omaha Tribune* on October 21, 1912, 5. Additional information could be obtained from Dr. Hermann Gerhard in Lincoln, Nebraska. See “Kolonie Deutschburg,” *TOT*, October 21, 1912, 5. This ad was accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on September 10, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> On August 5, the *Freie Presse für Texas. Wochenblatt* (hereafter the *FPfTW*), at the request of the German Consulate in New Orleans, published a notice that those with a German military obligation were to return to Germany (“Mitteilung vom deutschen Konsulat in New Orleans,” 1), but added this: “Those whose immediate return is, for what-

ever reason, not possible, must at once report to the German Consulate in Galveston or to the undersigned consulate [in New Orleans].” The *FPFTW* would publish this notice again on August 12 and August 19.

<sup>14</sup> That German-American reservists were ready to return to Germany to fight for the Old Fatherland, even though the British Royal Navy’s control of the seas prevented them from doing so, served as evidence in the German press that their kin across the Atlantic retained a loyalty to their ancestral homeland. See, for example, an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that touched on the lot of reservists in the United States and expressed the newspaper’s hopes for them: “The enormous energy produced by the feeling of unity that upon the outbreak of war has struck all of Germany has also reached our kin (*Stammesbrüder*) on the other side of the ocean. It is heartening to see that the Germans in the United States stand with the Old Fatherland. Hundreds of thousands of them would now fight under our flag were their way not blocked by England’s domination of the seas. Since they are not now able to resort to the sword, they need to perform their service with the pen in order to liberate Germany’s truth from the nets of English lies and malicious slanders.” See “The Fatherland,” October 24, 1914, *Erste Morgen-Ausgabe*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> The *Houston Post* article that so fueled Gerhard’s exasperation carried this heading: “British Warship and German Cruiser Had Long Range Duel. H. M. S. Bristol, Smallest of English War Dogs, Claims Bloodless Victory Over The Karlsruhe [*sic*], Largest of the German Cruisers” (August 14, 1914, 1–2).

For German-language articles printed in the *Houston Post*, see, as examples, “Germany’s Status in Present Crisis as Seen by Germans,” with subheadings “(From the Philadelphia Morning Gazette.) Ein Kampf Aller Gegen Einen,” August 17, 1914, 3, and “The Duty of the Germans Who Are American Citizens,” with subheadings “(From the German Morning Gazette.) ‘In Deutschem Geist und Herzen Sind Wir Eins,’” August 18, 1914, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Gerhard probably would have preferred that the phrase be translated as “our Germantexans.” The “hyphen” was a subject of serious concern for him, and he would make that concern explicit in 1919 (as will be discussed below). But he also dealt with the matter at least as early as the autumn of 1915 in two articles published by the *Detroitter Abendpost* where he made it clear that the “so-called hyphenates” were the real Americans. Each of the articles concerned Gerhard’s promotion of an arms embargo that would prevent American businesses from providing arms to the World War’s combatants, arms shipments that, given the British navy’s control of the seas, could go only to Germany’s enemies. Each of the articles celebrated the contributions that “hyphenates” had made, and were continuing to make, to the United States. In an October 7 meeting of the German Bund at Harmonie Hall in Detroit the *Detroitter Abendpost* reported that “Dr. Gerhard declared at the start of his presentation that, today, the hyphenated-Americans (*Bindestich-Amerikaner*), so maligned by the pro-British press, are, in reality, the best Americans. . . .” This they demonstrated in the moment by their views on issues such as loans to Britain and France, freedom of the seas, and the weapons trade. (“Administration scharf gegeist. Dr. Gerhard kritisiert die ‘Hornochsen-Politik’ Wilsons,” October 8, 1915, 5 [accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on May 17, 2018].)

Some six weeks later the *Detroitter Abendpost* carried an article by Gerhard in which he recounted the many contributions that “hyphenated citizens”—Gerhard mentions only Germans in this regard—had made to America, and he contrasted those contributions with the actions of the so-called “real Americans,” among whom he counted the powerful in Washington, with their links to the pro-British press, and the speculators in Wall Street and the shameful weapons traffickers with their fancy residences along Fifth Avenue. Against these Gerhard pointed to “the simple artisan and worker, the small assiduous businessman,” and to “the farming areas in the west where most of the ‘Hyphenated’ reside. There is the

real home for the family, which forms the foundation for the nation.” Said Gerhard, “These few comparisons, which can be multiplied many times, may show the lords in Washington and their allies where the true ‘Hyphenated citizens’ and where the true ‘Americans’ can be found.” For Gerhard, those carrying the “hyphenated” tag were at least as genuinely and fully American as the rest of the population. See Dr. H. Gerhard - Chicago, “Wer ist in Wahrheit ‘Hyphenated’?,” *Detroit Abendpost*, November 17, 1915, 4 (accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on May 17, 2018).

<sup>17</sup> According to the 1910 U.S. Census, Herman Gerhardt [*sic*], then living in “Lincoln City,” Nebraska, was the head of a household that included three sons (all born in Wisconsin) and three daughters (two born in Minnesota and one born in Germany). See the “1910 United States Federal Census,” accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on February 24, 2016.

<sup>18</sup> “Die Deutsch-Amerikaner,” *Kölnische Zeitung*, October 2, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1–2. The *Kölnische Zeitung* identifies the letter’s author as “Karl”; in most other sources used for this paper Luetcke is “Carl.”

This article identifies the person who wrote to Luetcke as “Schlimmer,” though it clearly is “Schlemmer.” Information regarding Schlemmer was drawn from an article about a later letter that he sent to Luetcke (“German Writes from Europe,” *The Rockdale [Milam County Texas] Reporter and Messenger*, December 17, 1914, 8 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on October 3, 2016), and by Nicholas C. Schlemmer’s April 1920 passport application (accessed online at “United States Passport Applications, 1795-1925,” at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on November 19, 2018).

The *Kölnische Zeitung* (“Ein Aufruf von Deutsch-Amerikanern,” September 16, 1917, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 1) had previously reported on a call to action “An das Deutschtum von San Antonio” by the local branch of the National German-American Alliance. In this report the *Aufruf* appeared “in the name of the San Antonio Lokalverband, F. Hensel, President, G. R. Spielhagen, Secretary.” By that *Aufruf* German-Americans were to meet at the Halle der Hermannsöhne to consider how they could help the “German Fatherland” and counter the maliciousness of the press. The article was for the most part a reproduction of the call to action that had appeared in the *Freie Presse für Texas. Wochenblatt* on August 12 (“Deutsche Versammlung,” 8). The ensuing meeting that took place on August 14 was covered by the *FPfTW* on August 19 (“Die deutsche Versammlung,” 6).

The efforts of the “Travis Germans” were such as to warrant the attention of the *Houston Post* (“Travis Germans Gave \$1000 to Red Cross,” August 28, 1914, 8): “The Travis county association for the aid of the Red Cross in Germany has sent the first \$1000 collected from the Germans and their friends of Travis county.”

<sup>19</sup> Each issue of the *Freie Presse für Texas* carried the following information regarding the newspaper: “Herausgegeben von Freie Presse fuer Texas Publ. Co. Robert Hanschke, Präsident.” On at least one occasion Hugo Moeller was addressed as the editor (*Redakteur*) of the *Freie Presse für Texas* (“Interessante Briefe,” *Wochenblatt*, August 19, 1914, 5). Moeller, who may have been serving as editor during Hanschke’s lengthy stay in Germany, was the President of the Texas branch of the National German-American Alliance. See, among others, “Deutsch-texanischer Staatsverband,” *FPfTW*, August 5, 1914, 3, and “Texas Staatsverband des Deutsch-amerikanischen Nationalbundes,” *FPfTW*, August 12, 1914, 5.

<sup>20</sup> “Ein Abschiedswort,” *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 29, 1914, Abendausgabe, 3.

<sup>21</sup> “Reise-Brief. 50[.]” *FPfTW*, August 19, 1914, 9. In that same issue, in a note “To the readers” (page 5), the newspaper separately indicated that the letter was written before the outbreak of war “and just now reached us.” An unnumbered “Reise-Brief. Kriegsstimmungen in Berlin” was published by the *FPfTW* on September 9, 1914, 7.

<sup>22</sup> “Die Abreise der Amerikaner,” *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>23</sup> See “*New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957*,” accessed online at ancestry.com on December 11, 2015.

<sup>24</sup> “Verbrüderungskommers des Liederkranz,” *FPfTW*, November 4, 1914, 7.

For an article calling upon American tourists returning from Germany to serve as apostles once they reached the United States, see Martha Toeplitz, “Wir Amerikaner in Berlin,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 15, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3: “Every American returning home actually becomes an apostle who proclaims what he has experienced here [in Berlin].” The term also appeared in a Berlin newspaper article about Americans returning to the United States after their stays in Germany. See “Weitere Abreise von Amerikanern,” *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 11, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4: “The Americans departing from Germany will be amply provided with German newspapers and copies of the German *White Book* in English translation; with that [material] every one of them can over there be an apostle of truth about the causes of the war and the war situation.”

The *White Book*, a product of the German government, was intended to demonstrate that Russia, not Germany, was responsible for the European war. On August 4, at the very outset of hostilities, a preliminary draft of the *White Book* was delivered to members of the Reichstag and published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Sonder-Ausgabe), “Vorläufige Denkschrift zum Kriegausbruch,” 9–12. (At least two Berlin dailies referred to the “semiofficial” or “halbamtliche *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.” See “Zur Festnahme der Engländer in Deutschland,” *Tägliche Rundschau*, November 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3, and “Die englische Kriegausleihe—made in Germany [*sic*],” *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, November 27, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3.) It did not take long for the German government to realize that an English-language version of *Das Weißbuch* could serve as a weapon that German-Americans returning to the United States could use in the battle for public opinion that was being conducted in the United States.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, “Aus Berlin,” *FPfTW*, September 30, 1914, 7. This piece contained a “Privatbrief” from Hanschke that was dated September 6.

<sup>26</sup> “(Aus dem Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger vom 29. September.) Ein Abschiedswort,” *FPfTW*, October 28, 1914, 5.

<sup>27</sup> “Ein Abschiedswort,” *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 29, 1914, Abendausgabe, 3.

<sup>28</sup> The *FPfTW* (August 12, 1914, 1) announced that, “Due to popular demand we have decided that, beginning tomorrow, we will publish a daily paper in order to be able to supply Germans in the city and the area each day with impartial reports about the war.”

<sup>29</sup> In a call to action (*Aufruf*) published in the *Freie Presse* C. J. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance, called upon “every German and German-American (Deutscheramerikaner) in the United States” to act in behalf of “the best interests of our Deutschtum.” To that end, “In every city a literary bureau with a capable press agent should be established who in the English language will immediately react to all hateful attacks and ignorant allegations by irresponsible reporters of the English press.” See “Texas Staatsverband des Deutscheramerikanischen Nationalbundes,” *FPfTW*, August 12, 1914, 5.

<sup>30</sup> “Germans to Aid the Fatherland. Mass Meeting Raises Funds and Denounces New Reports,” *San Antonio Express*, August 15, 1914, 9; “Die deutsche Versammlung,” *FPfTW*, August 19, 1914, 6.

While generally referred to as G. R. Spielhagen, he was fully identified in his 1921 passport application as Gustav Reinhold Spielhagen, a native of Stassfurt, Saxony. For Spielhagen’s passport application see “U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925,” accessed online at ancestry.com on February 1, 2016.

<sup>31</sup> In another context Spielhagen was unmistakably linked to the “German Literary Club,” probably a separate organization from the “literary bureau.” In any event, the *San Antonio Express* of November 25, 1914 reported that, on that very evening, the club would be presenting “a grand charity entertainment to be given for the benefit of the Red Cross Society of Germany and Austria Hungary. . . .” The program included “a one-act comedy, The Pastor of Leuthen.” The part of Frederick the Great “will be played by G. Spielhagen. . . .” See “Charity Concert Tonight,” *San Antonio Express*, November 25, 1914, 16 (accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on May 23, 2018), and “Das Fest des Deutsch-litterarischen Vereins,” *FPfTW*, November 18, 1914, 4.

<sup>32</sup> According to the 1910 United States census, the Texas population of 3,896,542 at that time included 44,929 persons born in Germany. According to that same census, the San Antonio population of 96,614 included 3,398 persons born in Germany, and the Austin population of 29,860 included 794 persons born in Germany. See Department of Commerce and Labor. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), page 24 [Texas, total], page 64 [Austin and San Antonio, totals], page 206 [Texas, Germans], page 213 [Austin and San Antonio, Germans]. By population, San Antonio was the largest city in Texas in 1910.

<sup>33</sup> The unnamed author of the letter published by the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* on September 29, again, presumably Spielhagen, also mentioned that he “collect[s] money.” The *Freie Presse* frequently printed “lists of collections of funds for the German wounded,” and Spielhagen, among others, was identified as a collector of such funds. See, as examples, “Liste der Kollektionen zum Fonds für die deutschen Verwundeten,” *FPfTW*, September 30, 1914, 5, and October 7, 1914, 6.

<sup>34</sup> This event is almost certainly the “German assembly” held in the garden of the Hermannsöhne in San Antonio on Friday, August 14, and described in the *Freie Presse für Texas. Wochenblatt* (“Die deutsche Versammlung”) of August 19, 1914 (page 6). In a brief address Hugo Moeller, president of the Texas branch of the National German-American Alliance, in the words of the newspaper report, described the purpose of the gathering to the some 1,000 persons in attendance: “first of all, that a common front must be formed to counter the anti-German propaganda (*Stimmungsmacherei*) of the English newspapers and, secondly, that money be collected for the German and Austrian victims of the war.” Moeller suggested that a literary bureau be formed to deal with false statements in the English press, and that money collected for Germany and Austria be turned over to Theo. Mueller, the secretary of the State Alliance, who would in turn forward it to the National organization. Other speakers addressed the assembly. At the close of the meeting “a sum of \$250” (the approximate equivalence of the 1000 marks mentioned in the letter) was collected for Germany and Austria.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> “Texas,” September 16, 1914, 16.

<sup>37</sup> “Only Thing to Bring Peace is an American Embargo,” *The Anaconda* [Montana] *Standard*, August 31, 1915, 3. For similar articles on this event, see “German Urges World Peace,” *The* [New Orleans, Louisiana] *Times-Picayune*, August 31, 1915, 2, and “A Plea for World Peace,” *The* [Charleston, South Carolina] *News and Courier*, August 31, 1915, 1. Each of these articles was accessed online at “America’s Historical Newspapers” [[www.newsbank.com](http://www.newsbank.com)] on June 6, 2016.

Gerhard was on at least two occasions identified as the editor of the *Chicagoer Presse*. See the untitled article in the *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 1916, 8 (accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on July 6, 2016), and the previously cited *New York Tribune* article of June 30, 1919: “Gerhard Power Behind New Hyphenate League.”



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<sup>38</sup> “Germans Would Force Embargo,” *The Cook County [Grand Marais, Minnesota] News-Herald*, September 9, 1915, 2 (accessed online at [chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) on February 15, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Although undated, Hilliard’s “Summary Report” carries a date-stamp indicating that it was “RECEIVED JAN 16[?] 1919 [by the] Bureau of Investigation.” Hilliard, based in Chicago, had been directed by Division Superintendent Hinton G. Clabaugh “to make a brief summary” of the file regarding the “American Embargo Conference, Dr. Herman Gerhard et al., File No. 1887.” Gerhard’s Old German File as presented in the “fold3” online rendition totals forty-four pages, which cover twenty-one items—memoranda, letters, tracings, etc. Hilliard’s report, pages 1–10 of Gerhard’s file, lists, in chronological order, some 215 items covering the years 1915–1918. These listings do not include Hilliard’s own ten-page memo, nor does his memo mention a one-page letter from Gerhard to the *San Antonio Express* dated “June 28th -19” (presumably 1919), both of which are part of Gerhard’s forty-four page Old German File. It seems fair to say that Gerhard’s Old German File lacks more than 190 items as that file was described by Hilliard. This suggests that Gerhard’s Old German File is, in a significant way, incomplete. It also raises the possibility that other “Old German Files,” perhaps lacking a comparable “Summary Report,” may be similarly incomplete. Hilliard’s “Summary Report” encompasses pages 1–10 of Gerhard’s Bureau file. See “Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908–1922,” Series “Old German Files,” Case #8000-9415, which was accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on February 10, 2016.

Moreover, there are memoranda about Gerhard that are neither included in Hilliard’s list nor in Gerhard’s case file. A brief letter of October 31, 1917 from a Lieutenant Colonel, General Staff, Chief, Military Intelligence Section—R. H. Van Deman—, to Bielaski, included in Gerhard’s case file (page 11), mentioned a report by Agent Robert C. Newman that “referred to” Gerhard. But Newman’s report, which described his September 6, 1917 interview of Cuno Rheden, who was serving an eighteen-month sentence in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, is not part of Gerhard’s case file even though Rheden placed Gerhard among “Germans in Chicago who are active in anti-draft and other propaganda” and who “also meet at the former Schlitz Palm Garden at Milwaukee, Wis. Rheden professes to have had the acquaintance of these men and knows positively that each and all of them are engaged in work for the enemy.” For this, see Robert C. Newman’s September 6, 1917 report entitled “Interview and information- C. Rheden, German, at Federal Penitentiary.” Newman’s report is included in the “Old German File” of Cuno Rheden, Case #46063, 31–34, accessed online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com) on July 8, 2018.

<sup>40</sup> “Old German Files,” case number 8000-9415, pages 24–25 (accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on February 10, 2016).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

For Bielaski, see “A. Bruce Bielaski” at [wikipedia.org](http://wikipedia.org) (accessed online August 22, 2018).

<sup>43</sup> In their typed reports Bureau agents occasionally underlined the names of people, places, and organizations that were of interest to them. In this paper such people, places, and organizations are italicized instead of underlined.

<sup>44</sup> “Old German Files,” case number 8000-9415, pages 11, 12-14, 15–17, and 35–36, 37-39 (accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on February 20, 2016).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>46</sup> The author of this essay has been unable to confirm that one of Gerhard’s daughters was in Germany when the World War began.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 18–21.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 43. Gerhard's missive appeared on the letterhead of the "Deutschamerikanischer Bürgerbund (Germanamerican Citizens League) [*sic*]," which was founded on June 9, 1918.

Needless to say, he was not persuaded by the newspaper's response to his June 11 letter or to the League's May 20 "Protest-Resolution."

<sup>49</sup> These items in the *Express*, the June 4 editorial ("Hoch der Hyphen!" [page 6]) and the three pieces published on June 18 (Gerhard's letter of June 11, the League's "Protest-Resolution," and the newspaper's rejoinder "Germanamerican Citizens League" [page 6]) were accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on December 8, 1918.)

In my online search of the *San Antonio Express* for 1919 I have not been able to turn up a copy of Gerhard's June 28 letter. Perhaps the editors of the *Express* thought that they had already and conclusively dealt with Gerhard's concerns, and that nothing was to be gained by pursuing the matter any further.

<sup>50</sup> "Says League Is a Menace," *San Antonio Evening News*, June 6, 1919, 3 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on October 3, 2016).

<sup>51</sup> "German-American League Protests Against Peace as Offered to the Huns," *The Bryan [Texas] Weekly Eagle*, June 12, 1919, 1 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on October 3, 2016).

<sup>52</sup> "German Blood Here Rises to Fight Treaty," *Chicago Tribune*, June 4, 1919, 3. Two days later the *Tribune* would publish a letter from Gerhard to the newspaper in which he insisted that "Your reporter was not quite accurate in his article." See "German Blood Again Rises—To Explain Itself," June 6, 1919, 9. The *Tribune* articles were accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on July 8, 2016.

The day after the *Tribune's* June 4 article the *Kansas City Star* carried a similar article: "Huns Here [Chicago] Grow Daring," June 5, 1919, 4. An article published later that year would cite Gerhard's claim that the Citizens League's membership totaled 18,000. See "German Factions of Chicago Uniting for Political Influence," *Bryan [Texas] Daily Eagle*, November 3, 1919, 3. These two articles were accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on October 3, 2016.

<sup>53</sup> Untitled item, *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1920, 19 (accessed online at [fold3.com](http://fold3.com) on July 4, 2016).

<sup>54</sup> See "To Aid German Red Cross," *The San Antonio Light*, November 11, 1915, 5 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on April 21, 2016).

<sup>55</sup> His passport application, dated October 23, 1916, indicated that he would be sailing for Europe aboard the *Kristianiafford* on November 18, 1916. He identified himself as an "Attorney-at-Law." See "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925," accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on February 20, 2014.

<sup>56</sup> "New York, Passenger Lists, 1820–1957," accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on December 7, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Luetcke's file was accessed online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com), "Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908–1922," Series "Old German Files," case number 8000-2581, pages 1-2, 4, 5–6, 7–8.

There is no signature on Barnes' February 9, 1917 letter. Rather, the typed identifier at the signature line is "Special Agent in Charge," and the author's initials, next to those of the typist, are "RLB."

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 12, 13.

<sup>59</sup> "New York, Passenger Lists, 1820–1957," accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on December 7, 2015.

<sup>60</sup> "Records of the Department of State Relating to World War I and Its Termination," accessed online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com) on March 7, 1918.

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<sup>61</sup> “German Consul Named In San Antonio Would Abolish Clannishness,” *San Antonio Express*, May 2, 1923, 7 (accessed on line at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016).

<sup>62</sup> “German Relief Drive This Week,” *San Antonio Express*, February 3, 1924, 4 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016).

<sup>63</sup> “German Consul Quits Post Here,” *San Antonio Express*, October 10, 1931, 11 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016).

<sup>64</sup> “Louisiana, Parish Marriages, 1837–1957,” accessed online at familysearch.org on March 2, 2016.

Per Hanschke’s 1897 passport application. See “U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925,” accessed online at ancestry.com on February 1, 2016.

<sup>65</sup> “Sunday Short Snaps,” *San Antonio Sunday Light*, May 29, 1904, 10 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on August 1, 2016).

<sup>66</sup> “Texas Delegation,” *San Antonio Sunday Light*, May 10, 1896, 4 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on May 18, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> “A Republican for Senator,” *San Antonio Daily Light*, July 10, 1896, 5 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on May 20, 2016), and *N.W. Ayer & Sons Newspaper Annual and Directory*: Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1914, Part 2, 950.

<sup>68</sup> “Republican State Ticket,” *San Antonio Daily Light*, September 22, 1896, 2 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on February 1, 2016). A *New York Times* report (November 4, 1896, 12) identified Hanschke as a “Lily White Rep[ublican].” This article was accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on May 20, 2016. See also “Bexar County Contest,” *The Galveston Daily News*, March 24, 1896, 4 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016). For more on the “Lily-White Movement,” visit the Texas State Historical Association’s online *The Handbook of Texas* (tshaonline.org), viewed on May 21, 2016, and the entry for the “Lily-White Movement,” viewed at wikipedia.org on May 21, 2016.

<sup>69</sup> “Robert Hanschke Will Locate in Chicago,” *San Antonio Express*, November 15, 1911, 5 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on January 4, 2016). As it turned out, Hanschke did not relocate to Chicago.

<sup>70</sup> “Grand German Volksfest,” *The New Orleans Bulletin*, May 2, 1874, 4 (accessed online at chroniclingamerica.loc.gov on May 21, 2016).

<sup>71</sup> “Pay Poll Tax Is Slogan of Lokal Verband,” *San Antonio Light and Gazette*, December 31, 1910, 9 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016).

<sup>72</sup> “Editor Hanschke to Chicago,” *Galveston Daily News*, November 17, 1911, 9 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on October 3, 2016).

<sup>73</sup> “Local Personals,” *Galveston Daily News*, November 28, 1876, 7 (accessed online at newspaperarchive.com on August 1, 2016). “Editor Hanschke to Chicago,” *op.cit.*

<sup>74</sup> At one point Hanschke was reported to have accepted a position in Chicago “as manager of the business and editorial departments of the Illinois Publishing Company, publishers of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, a morning paper; the Abend Presse, with three editions daily; the Sunday paper Westen und Daheim and the weekly Abend Presse.” See “Robert Hanschke Will Locate in Chicago,” *op.cit.*

<sup>75</sup> “Republican Committee Meets,” *Dallas Morning News*, October 2, 1908, 2 (accessed online at “America’s Historical Newspapers” [infoweb.newsbank.com] on March 7, 2016).

<sup>76</sup> The proper identification of this agency is probably the “Servicio de Prensa,” but Bureau agents also identified the “Servicio de la Prensa,” the “Servicio de la Perensa,” and the “Servicio Dela Perensa.” In quoted remarks, the author of this essay will use the spelling that the agents did.

<sup>77</sup> Hanschke's file was accessed online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com), "Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908–1922," Series "Old German Files," case number 8000-156669, page 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–5.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, 18, 20–21.

In Hanschke's Bureau of Investigation file his alleged Servicio de Prensa correspondent is identified variously as Deums, Duems, Dums, Carl Duems, Carl Dums, Carl Duns, and C.H. Deums.

Hanschke's Bureau file contains transcriptions of documents exchanged between the Servicio de Prensa (some from C. H. Deums) and Hanschke that were "found in possession of" Hanschke. See Agent E. T. Needham's memoranda of March 19 and 15, *Ibid.*, pages 7–11.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>82</sup> "The Bureau of Investigation . . . had demonstrated its competence in the field of intelligence. Not surprisingly, when the United States entered World War I, Bureau agents were quickly recruited by other organizations. For example, the Bureau's supervising agent in San Antonio, Robert Barnes, was snapped up by Military Intelligence in 1917. He was commissioned as a major, was stationed at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, headquarters of the Southern Department, and was assigned as the Department Intelligence Officer, responsible for the Texas, New Mexico and Arizona border." See Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Archaeologist Was a Spy. Sylvanus G. Morley and the Office of Naval Intelligence* ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press, 2003.), 11.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 4–5, 20–21, 27, 35, 42, 15.

<sup>84</sup> During the war Penniger himself had attracted the attention of the Bureau of Investigation. His Bureau file is available online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com), "Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908–1922," Series "Old German Files," case number 18037.

<sup>85</sup> "† Robert Hanschke †," *FPFT*, March 8, 1922, 1. (By 1922 the *Freie Presse für Texas* no longer included the word *Wochenblatt* on its masthead.) The author of this article, "P.," was almost certainly Robert Penniger. (This piece included a fair amount of biographical material on Hanschke.) Penniger was not only by then the owner of the *Freie Presse für Texas*, but also its publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager. See "Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc. required by the act of August 14th, 1912," *FPFT*, April 12, 1922, 2.

For a retrospective account of Hanschke's life, see "Oldtimers Remember Robert Hanschke as Civic Leader," *San Antonio Express*, January 10, 1939, 7 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on February 1, 2016). Interestingly enough, this article barely mentions World War I.

Hanschke's death did not go unremarked in Germany. On June 21, 1922, the *Freie Presse für Texas* ("Aus dem Berliner 'Lokal-Anzeiger,'" 3) reproduced an article that originally appeared in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* on March 8. That article briefly described Hanschke's "long life of hard work" and "his untiring activity in behalf of the maintenance of the German way of thinking and behaving (*für die Aufrechterhaltung deutscher Art und deutscher Gesinnung*)." That article went so far as to identify the doctors in Berlin that Hanschke had hoped would ease his physical pain.

This author is grateful to Fritz-Ullrich Schneider of Berlin who obtained for me a copy of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* article ("Robert Hanschke †") from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

<sup>86</sup> Robert Hanschke, "Auf der Reise," *FPFT*, March 15, 1922, 8.

<sup>87</sup> Spielhagen's file was accessed online at [www.fold3.com](http://www.fold3.com), "Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908–1922," Series "Old German Files," case number 8000-5332, page 4.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2. For more on Texas Governor James Edward Ferguson Jr., see "James E. Ferguson" at [wikipedia.org](http://wikipedia.org) (accessed online on June 3, 2018). For more on Ferdinand Carl Weinert, see "Ferdinand C. Weinert" at [wikipedia.org](http://wikipedia.org), accessed online on August 5, 2018, and "Weinert, Ferdinand C." at [tshaonline.org](http://tshaonline.org), accessed online on June 3, 2018.

<sup>90</sup> "Old German Files," case number 8000-5332, pages 6–8.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>92</sup> "Germans of Texas Voted Americanism," *The Bryan [Texas] Daily Eagle*, June 29, 1916, 4 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on June 4, 1918).

<sup>93</sup> *The San Antonio Light* of July 18, 1916 (page 2) carried a "Political Advertisement" for a "Colquitt Meeting of the German-American Citizens at Beethoven Garden." The ad appeared over the names of twenty-six German-Americans, Spielhagen among them. This ad was accessed at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on June 4, 2018. Spielhagen served on a "special committee" that made arrangements for Colquitt's August 16 campaign visit to San Antonio. See "Colquitt to Speak Wednesday Night," *San Antonio Light*, August 13, 1916, 5 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on June 4, 2018).

<sup>94</sup> See, as examples, ads (Hülfe! Hilfe!) that appeared in the *Sequiner Zeitung* on August 14, 1919, 4; September 4, 1919, 4; and October 23, 1919, 6. (These pages were accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on November 3 and November 15, 2018.) For a remittance of \$5 Spielhagen offered to ship to "your relatives or friends" "Packet No. 1," a ten-pound package that would include, among other items, three pounds of Crisco, two and one-half pounds of Karo Syrup, and two bars of Ivory Soap.

<sup>95</sup> "RELIEF SHIPMENT," September 25, 1919, 14 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on June 4, 2018). The note appeared in other issues of the newspaper, among them those of September 20, September 23, and September 24 (all 1919). It read as follows: RELIEF SHIPMENTS by FREIGHT of food and clothing will be made to GERMANY, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, JUGO-SLAVIA and ALSACE-LORRAINE this coming week. Call at once for information. G. R. SPIELHAGEN at Hermann Sons Hall.

<sup>96</sup> "Schnellster Fracht u. Postversandt," January 22, 1920, 8. This ad was accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on November 3, 2018.

<sup>97</sup> See, for example, Spielhagen's ad in the *Sequiner Zeitung* of March 31, 1922, 8 (accessed online at [texashistory.unt.edu](http://texashistory.unt.edu) on November 3, 2018).

Spielhagen's location in Magdeburg may be explained by the fact that Luise, his second wife, was born in Magdeburg, and that he and she would be traveling together to Europe in 1921. See Spielhagen's March 1921 passport application ("U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925," accessed online at [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com) on February 1, 2016).

<sup>98</sup> "Man Takes Own Life 1 Day Out From Galveston," *San Antonio Express*, June 29, 1923, 4, and "Son of Suicide to Join Mother and Sister Today On Vessel in Quarantine," *Galveston Daily News*, June 30, 1923, 1 (accessed online at [newspaperarchive.com](http://newspaperarchive.com) on June 4, 2018).

<sup>99</sup> "Texas," *FPfTW*, December 2, 1914, 8. The Thirty-Fourth Session of the Texas State Legislature, elected in 1914, would convene in 1915.

<sup>100</sup> As one scholar has written in a slightly different context, "Many German-Americans, on the basis of an American neutrality that was emphasized again and again, were actually convinced that their vehement support for Germany would not stand in conflict with their newly adopted fatherland." See Jörg Nagler, *Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: 'Feindliche Ausländer' und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg:

Hamburger Edition, 2000), 106–07. The letters treated in this study were written by naturalized U.S. citizens; Nagler’s study focuses on the fate of German aliens in the United States during the World War.

<sup>101</sup> Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 86-87.

<sup>102</sup> Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 24.

<sup>103</sup> Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 311.

<sup>104</sup> Gerhard, who died less than two years after the war ended, did not travel to Germany after the war, though his widow Mary did so on at least three occasions.

<sup>105</sup> “Wiedererwachen in Amerika,” *FPfT*, January 4, 1922, 7.