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## **German-Language Broadcasting in Cincinnati, Ohio: 1929-1984**

It was in the late 1960s that the push to achieve increased civil rights for ethnic minorities resulted in a demand to increase the visibility of minority groups in broadcasting. Programming specifically oriented to various ethnic groups increased, as did minority group representation on staffs and percentages of minority ownership and control of broadcasting properties. At first glance, it might appear as if this period marked the beginning of significant amounts of ethnic broadcasting in the United States. However, such is not the case. Broadcasting in languages other than English in this country is more widespread and has deeper historical roots than is generally realized.<sup>1</sup> In fact, non-English-language broadcasting in the United States can be traced almost to the beginning of broadcasting.

An interesting example of a European immigrant group which, historically, has made an effort to maintain its language, alongside English, is the German community of Cincinnati. Broadcasting in German began in Cincinnati within the first decade of the history of radio broadcasting, when it served a post-World War I German-speaking community of approximately 127,000 people, nearly thirty-five percent of the total population of the city.<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1984, German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati had achieved a fifty-five-year discontinuous history occurring in three periods: (1) the pre-World War II period, from 1929 to 1938; (2) the war and post-war period, from mid-1943 until 1955; and (3) the modern period, from 1961 to the present.

In each time period, the nature of German-language broadcasting was shaped by the interests and needs of the German-speaking community, the character of American radio programming, and the efforts of individuals or institutions in the community. This survey will explore the impact of these forces on German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati throughout the three periods of its history.

## The Beginnings of German-Language Broadcasting in Cincinnati

From 1921 to 1924, the Cincinnati German community's involvement in the electronic media paralleled that of the community at large. Imported German records served as an incentive for investment in a Victor Victrola or a Brunswick record player by members of the German community, just as the availability of German music on player piano rolls increased interest in that mechanical instrument among Cincinnati's Germans. Radio set manufacturers, including Crosley in Cincinnati, were beginning to acquaint the public with radio receivers and the concept of broadcasting. Association of radio with the live concert was one strategy used by the manufacturers. For example, in December 1922, a Wurlitzer Radio-Concert was staged. Sponsored by the Crosley Radio Manufacturing Company, the choral concert was followed by a demonstration of Crosley radios.

By 1923, the principle of radio broadcasting was spreading rapidly. In July, the Fifth-Third Bank had an advertisement in the German-language press which showed a man with earphones at a table with the components of a radio receiver. His wife, who had been entertaining him at the piano, was turned toward her distracted husband. She found him attending to a message which included the call letters of mythical station S-P-A-R-E-N ("save").<sup>3</sup>

By the spring of 1924, radio ads began appearing in the German-language press, and on 18 March 1924 the newspaper began publishing selected lists of radio programs for the three Cincinnati stations on the air at that time: WLW (700 KHz), WMH/WKRC (550 KHz) and WSAI (1330 KHz).<sup>4</sup> Immediately added to these lists were selected programs available in Cincinnati but originating nationwide and outside of the borders, from Calgary, Alberta, to Havana, Cuba. Within two years, radio receivers were becoming more compact and easier to operate, and increasing numbers of ads for brand-name radios appeared in the German-language press. By 1929, ads for floor-model radios, often including built-in record players, were a common item in the advertising pages of the *Freie Presse*. The increased availability of home radio receivers, along with advances in receiver sound quality, undoubtedly stimulated interest within Cincinnati's largest ethnic group for programming directed toward themselves.

Adding to that impetus was the strong level of German cultural activity within the Cincinnati community in the 1920s. Prior to World War I, Cincinnati Germans published two substantial newspapers, the *Volksblatt* and the *Freie Presse*, and numerous German-language books. An active German Theater presented plays by German and other dramatists.<sup>5</sup> Although the war had a devastating effect on this culture, by the mid-1920s, German societies were being revived, the German Theater opened again, and German literary activities were being resumed.<sup>6</sup> Beginning in 1926, imported German films were shown at Emery Auditorium, the Civic Theater, local movie houses, and occasionally at the *Turnhalle*.

Technology and culture combined in the last half of the decade when it was clear that musical concerts were associated with evening radio listening within the Cincinnati German community. In 1927, a short poem appeared in the *Freie Presse* which described a family gathered in their living room during the evening, each pursuing a separate quiet activity, but all listening to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on the radio.<sup>7</sup> The framework was set for the development of broadcasting directed to the interests of the German ethnic community.

Actually, the first Cincinnati radio program that had a distinct German orientation was broadcast on 1 December 1927. From 7:45 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. that evening WFBE presented German folk songs with running commentary. The host was J. W. Fickencher.<sup>8</sup> The program appeared to be an isolated presentation; the beginning of significant German programming in Cincinnati occurred nearly two years later, in the fall of 1929. With the Graf Zeppelin still frequently occupying the headlines, Cincinnati's fifth radio station was about to go on the air. WCKY, actually licensed to Covington, Kentucky, signed on the air Monday, 16 September 1929, at 7:45 p.m. The maiden program featured a welcome from the Kentucky governor, forty-five minutes of music from the National Broadcasting Company network in honor of its seventieth affiliate, and, of some significance for the German community, live music by the "Little German Band."<sup>9</sup>

The existence of a fifth station in the Cincinnati market created a broadcast outlet that became available for use by the German community. Within WCKY's first week on the air, the *Freie Presse* initiated the first of what was to be a series of German programs on that station. On Sunday, 22 September 1929, the *Freie Presse* noted that the first of a continuing series of programs would begin that evening at 9:45 p.m. Intended as a showcase for German music, the fifteen-minute program was entitled *Eine Rheinreise* and was constructed as a musical travelogue, with commentary in German. The *Freie Presse* had responsibility for production of the program, which was intended to be light entertainment that could be enjoyed in the privacy of one's home for people who spoke German and who had an appreciation of German culture.<sup>10</sup> The program was consistent with a common theme in German literature: a reminiscent yearning for the homeland. Therefore, the introduction of German broadcasting in Cincinnati served as an extension of the existing forms of cultural expression—the music concert and the stage play.

On subsequent evenings, the program was extended to forty-five minutes and involved a variety of vocalists and instrumentalists. Early programs included dramatic materials, although by November the programs began to consist exclusively of music. Eventually, it was moved from Sunday evenings to leave that night free for religious programming. Particularly notable programs were those occurring during October in a month-long sixtieth anniversary jubilee of the *Freie Presse*. The first of those programs was billed as the most advanced artistic work to date in the *Freie Presse* radio series, a rival of the best English-language dramatic works found on other American stations. It

featured a dramatic presentation of the story of a German soldier's fate, "All Quiet on the Western Front." Two weeks later, a sixty-five member mixed chorus filled the studio of WCKY to present a concert of German choral works. The *Freie Presse* received several letters of appreciation, expressing thanks for the consideration the programming showed to the German-Americans, for the "correct German language," and for the lovely music, enjoyed by German speakers and non-German speakers alike.<sup>11</sup> The anniversary month culminated with a program which included comments from government officials who represented the German community.

After a 20 December Christmas program, which featured a mixed chorus and women's choir performing the works of Mendelssohn and Rossini as well as Christmas carols, the *Freie Presse* program ceased without fanfare and without notice.

As 1930 progressed, German music programs were offered periodically on Cincinnati radio, but without the artistic and production effort that went into the presentation of the *Freie Presse* programs. In mid-January, WFBE aired programs of *German Music* from 7:45 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. on consecutive Friday evenings, but the program was not continued.<sup>12</sup> In early February, WFBE began broadcasting a Sunday morning music program, *German Echos*, from 10:30 to 11:00.<sup>13</sup> The program continued weekly through 23 February; two weeks later it reappeared an hour later retitled *Deutsche Musik*.<sup>14</sup> Beginning in August, its air time was delayed yet another half hour, and then moved back again the following April. After the 17 May 1931 segment aired under the name *Deutsches Programm* the program was discontinued. From late spring through the summer of 1931, German programming was absent from Cincinnati's airwaves, except for an isolated half-hour presentation on WFBE at 2:30 p.m., Sunday, 30 August 1931. At that time, a half-hour network program was presented which had been produced by German radio.

As the 1930s wore on and Germany became increasingly involved in world politics, an occasional news presentation involving substantial use of German would be broadcast on Cincinnati's major stations. Although of interest to the German community in Cincinnati, the infrequent broadcasts were originated by the network and were available to all affiliates.

Even though little or nothing was being done with German broadcasting in Cincinnati for most of 1931, the presentation of German cultural materials in the community was not dormant. German films were being shown periodically, both at the Deutsches Theater and the Erlanger Grand Opera House at Vine and 5th in Cincinnati. With generally high mass media activity involving German matter continuing, it seemed to be only a matter of time before the community would again use radio as an artistic and cultural outlet. Renewed activity in German-language and German-music programming occurred in September 1931 with the advent of a half-hour German music program, *Echos von Deutschland*, on WFBE from 11:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.; it was discontinued after eight weeks. The week after *Echos von Deutschland*

began, the first of a series of radio programs reminiscent of the *Freie Presse* program of two years earlier was scheduled to be aired under the sponsorship of the UFA Theater, the main location for the showing of German-language films at the time.

The *UFA Theater Radioprogramm* was broadcast on WFBE Sundays from 12:30 p.m. to 1:00 p.m. These were dramatic presentations in German supported by a live orchestra, with some additional musical selections. The first half-hour presentation featured Adela Banker-Boltz, Henrietta Duning of the Duning Chorale and Travel Association, and Fritz M. Witte, narrator and actor in the earlier *Freie Presse* series. The program also included the UFA Orchestra.<sup>15</sup> The *UFA Theater Radioprogramm* ran with general regularity—apparently skipping an occasional week or two periodically—for the remainder of 1931 and into the late spring of the following year. On Sunday, 1 November 1931, it was reduced to fifteen minutes, the length it retained until the end of April 1932 when it was suddenly discontinued.<sup>16</sup>

As the depression deepened in the 1930s, people increasingly turned to radio for service and inexpensive entertainment. Yet, the increasing use of radio by the general public was not paralleled by an increase in German music and cultural programming in Cincinnati. While German-language films ran with some regularity at the UFA and Mayfair theaters during 1933 and 1934, broadcasting activity from the German community was nil.

Then, on Sunday, 2 February 1936, locally produced German programming returned to Cincinnati when a half-hour program, *The German Culture Hour*, was aired on WCPO at 1:15 p.m. The producer was William Duning, who was to remain instrumental in the production and talent aspects of a number of programs. The program focused on music and included anecdotal commentary and occasional serious lectures given in both English and German. Each program followed a theme, ranging from a Low German presentation—incorporating music and poetry—to a commemorative presentation on Mother's Day. One program, dedicated to the upcoming Berlin Olympics, included commentaries in English and German on the Olympic preparations and on Berlin as a city. *The German Culture Hour* was scheduled regularly for Sundays as long as German talent was available; newspaper notices asked those interested in appearing on future programs to make their interests known to the program's producers. After airing weekly through Sunday, 10 May, *The German Culture Hour* abruptly ceased.

In September 1937 the *German Radio Program of the Freie Presse* enjoyed a month-long revival, after which it was replaced for six weeks by an all-music program entitled *Deutsche Lieder*. At the beginning of 1938, the periodic effort to present a German cultural program continued as the *Freie Presse* reintroduced its cultural hour, now titled *The German Radio Program of the Free Press*.<sup>17</sup> After two months, that program, and all other efforts to provide German language and cultural programming, ceased. It was not to resume again until late in World War II. Another program, initiated in the mid-thirties and often associated with German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati, was entitled

*Canal Days* and aired quite regularly on WSAT until 1955. The program consisted of a series of vignettes of life in early Cincinnati, frequently focused on the German community, narrated in a German accent by Ray Shannon in the character of the Old Rhinelander. *Canal Days* is given only passing mention here because the narration and dialogue were entirely in English.

Even though there were times during this early period when no German-language or German-music broadcasting originated in Cincinnati, a less obvious development in broadcasting began to play a role in the Cincinnati German community's use of radio. Near the end of 1933, an ad appeared in the German-language press for a radio that was capable of receiving not only AM, but also police and air traffic bands. The general availability of all-band radio receivers made the existence of German international radio broadcasts a factor in the Cincinnati German community's use of German-language radio. By the fall of 1935, newspaper ads were promoting the shortwave capability of receivers in the German community. Philco appealed to the purchaser's interest in being able to listen to German radio broadcasts in an ad for an all-band receiver. The ad suggested that reception of stations from Berlin would be virtually guaranteed. This was a time when Cincinnati was a city whose population was sixty-five percent German extraction.<sup>18</sup>

German international broadcasts actually had begun in 1929,<sup>19</sup> but there was no evidence of any widespread reception of direct German broadcasts in Cincinnati in the early 1930s. On 3 April 1934, the *Freie Presse* included alongside its list of domestic radio offerings a list of German shortwave programs.<sup>20</sup> For the remainder of the decade, German shortwave programming was frequently included along with the domestic listings.

When the German shortwave listings were first published, the North American service was available from 9:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m., Eastern Standard Time. American listeners would have heard the opening transmission announcement in German and English, followed by a fifteen-minute program of German folk songs, which was followed in turn by incidental music programs that emphasized German folk songs, classical music, or popular orchestras, alternating with two fifteen-minute English and German newscasts. In the final quarter hour, a German-American program entitled "With the Stethoscope on the Heart of the Times" was presented. The sign-off at 11:30 p.m. was read in both German and English. At the beginning of 1935, the evening shortwave program had expanded to include the hours of 5:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.;<sup>21</sup> by mid-year, North American programming began at 5:00 p.m.<sup>22</sup> In 1937, the schedule included the hours from 4:50 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., a schedule maintained for the remainder of the decade.<sup>23</sup>

The evening's transmissions often included plays and documentaries. Music and poetry were sometimes blended in relatively lengthy programs. Some programs were directed to women; an occasional program had a youth orientation.<sup>24</sup> Later in the decade, fifteen-minute instructional programs in German for English speakers were included in the program schedule.<sup>25</sup> The schedule was varied in program type, and

was oriented to monolingual speakers of English, as well as to German speakers in North America. For listeners with shortwave bands on radio receivers, common in the mid- and late 1930s and 1940s, the additional availability of shortwave programming from Germany added materials—largely apolitical—which complemented the locally generated programming in that it added German music and cultural matter to the pool of available German programming in Cincinnati.

It is unlikely that the availability of the German international radio service had an effect on the production of German-language programming in Cincinnati. Locally produced programming arose from the artistic and cultural interests of the institutions within the Cincinnati German community, aided by the personal interest in radio in any who offered to serve as program host or talent. The availability of the German international service did not impinge upon either of those motivating forces. Undoubtedly, news from Germany was sought by those German-Americans who also followed local newscasts as tension mounted in the relationship between the two countries. The sorrow and anxiety experienced by the German community in Cincinnati, as in other German communities in the United States, were very likely paralleled only by the experiences of Japanese communities in the West. These concerns stimulated listenership in the international service, but that interest was ancillary to the interests that motivated the German community to produce programs locally.

The American networks also satisfied the interest in following news reports about Germany; they occasionally carried a major political address from Germany. Adolf Hitler's Vienna address on 15 March 1938 was typical of the way that the American networks handled that type of presentation. NBC carried Hitler's speech, a broadcast which was relayed in Cincinnati by WLW. The original speech was carried, but, periodically, Hitler's speech was faded under for a brief paraphrase of the ideas in English. Then the volume was restored on the speech itself. The paraphrased interruptions were sufficient to introduce the key ideas in English, but were not so intrusive as to destroy one's ability to follow the speech in German. The fading and signal distortion characteristic of shortwave transmissions magnified for American listeners the apparent frenzy of the German audience. At the close of the speech, the German national anthem was played, an opportunity the commentator used to complete a paraphrase of the closing portions of the speech.<sup>26</sup> The frequency with which this type of German-language matter was introduced into American society by means of the networks was not great, but it did have the effect of enhancing the German presence on the world stage in the minds of Americans. As for the German community in Cincinnati, the program was an outside source of German matter, with the varying resultant effects that such broadcasts had on German-American communities wherever they existed in the United States. It was not entirely coincidence, however, that the cessation of German cultural programming in Cincinnati during the World War II period coincided closely with Hitler's Vienna address of 1938. It was shortly after this time that, in reaction to native obloquy regarding citizens of

German extraction, the *Freie Presse* began publishing regularly a box stating "Our Platform" for German-Americans. The platform pledged, among other things, "absolute and unswerving loyalty to American ideals and principles, continued and consistent effort to inculcate that spirit in the mind and heart of every citizen of German extraction, and strict obedience to American laws and customs."<sup>27</sup> Through its publications, the German community believed that it was necessary to declare publicly its loyalty to the United States. By the same token, the majority of the community declared firmly that they would not fall prey to the inclination of the larger society to ridicule and vilify the German nation.

The lack of complete regularity in the German programming of the twenties and thirties may be attributed to several factors. Often, simple practical problems interfered with a program schedule. In the spring, baseball broadcasts would preempt Sunday afternoon schedules, a favorite time for the presentation of German cultural programming. Other practical problems pertained to the time and effort needed to coordinate talent and prepare scripted materials on a weekly basis. Such efforts are very difficult to sustain when the initiative is largely individual rather than institutional. Even in the case of the *Culture Hour* produced by the *Freie Presse*, the organization lent support to what were primarily individually initiated program efforts. The program production was not an integral part of the newspaper's organizational activities. German radio programming did not become institutionalized and, consequently, capable of sustaining itself in the absence of a particular figure who would promote and coordinate some venture.

It should be remembered, too, that programs such as William Duning's *The German Culture Hour* represented one among several activities that the Cincinnati Germans participated in to promote the culture and to stimulate use of the German language. The German-language press was the linchpin of these several activities, which included book publishing, legitimate theater, music concerts, and incorporated German motion pictures. The Duning-organized trips to German-speaking countries of Europe were another part of the composite effort to promote German cultural and linguistic activities, and the development of the German clubs and singing societies could also be counted among these activities. Irregularities in German radio programming should be viewed in that light. Radio programming was but one of several activities intended to promote things German, and the radio program was not central in the mix of existing activities.

### The World War II and Post-War Period

German cultural programming returned to the Cincinnati airwaves sooner than might have been expected during the period of the Second World War, largely due to the quiet but determined will of William Duning. With the support of the Willis Music Company, Duning introduced the half-hour *Zoo Opera on Radio* in early July 1943. For several weeks in the height of the summer the program aired on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at 5:15 on WCKY and Saturday evenings at 8:30 on WKRC before being discontinued.

About a year later (15 July 1944) the Alms and Doepke department store supported the USO and William Duning in the presentation of the *Opera and Cathedral Radio Concert* on WKRC Saturday evenings from 9:45 to 10:15. The inaugural program was in honor of the men and women in service to their country.<sup>28</sup> The program aired for the remainder of the summer, then was suspended for the rest of the year.

The Alms and Doepke *Opera and Cathedral Hour* resumed on 10 February 1945, again airing at 8:45 p.m. Saturdays on WCKY.<sup>29</sup> It continued to air regularly through mid-October 1949, the longest running German cultural presentation to that time.<sup>30</sup> The program remained under the direction of William Duning for the five years that it was on the air. Thematically, it was oriented toward classical music, emphasizing German composers, with a brief commentary on the music by Duning. Upon occasion, the commentary would be more extensive. It was his custom to use both German and English in the program's verbal continuity. Musical motifs played over the field of German composers (including programs on Wagner and Bach) and, at times, focused on semi-classical music or themes such as church music from the world's famous churches.<sup>31</sup>

The custom of providing special year-end programming was evident at this time. A special New Year's Day program was scheduled for the advent of 1947, featuring the music of Wagner again and Johann Strauß.<sup>32</sup> Later that year, a special Christmas program was scheduled for 7:30 p.m. on Saturday, 20 December, which presented Christmas tidings within the context of selections from Handel's *Messiah*. Regular programs continued to air on Saturdays at 7:30 p.m. on WCKY until late 1949.

A likely sponsor of German music programming on radio would be a music store that featured imported records. It was just such a situation that resulted in a new German music program that was introduced on 13 March 1949. The program, *German Melody Time*, was introduced on WZIP (1050 AM) located just south of Cincinnati in Covington, Kentucky. It aired Sundays from 1:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. and was sponsored by Northside Music, which carried German phonograph records. The program was oriented entirely to music, but was short-lived, being discontinued after only two months on the air.

A special Christmas radio program was aired on WSAI on Christmas Day 1951. *An International Christmas*, sponsored by the Dittrich Travel Service, aired at 4:30 p.m. This same travel service promoted trips to German-speaking Europe during the period, and a record store would occasionally promote the fact that it stocked a selection of German records. The early 1950s constituted a dry spell for German-language or German-cultural programming in Cincinnati. No programming with a German orientation appeared until late 1954, with the exception of the isolated Christmas program. An occasional German cultural event was staged, however: In May 1950, a Viennese student group gave a live concert at Emery Auditorium, and, in the fall of 1953, the Harmonie Singing Society gave a concert at Harmonie Hall on McMicken Avenue.

But German cultural activity through the electronic media and even the motion picture was minimal during this period.

On Monday, 27 September 1954, German programming resumed in Cincinnati. Called simply the *Deutsche Radiostunde*, the program was heard Mondays on northern Kentucky's WZIP. The program continuity was provided in German by Werner Schulz,<sup>33</sup> and the program featured folk music reminiscent of the old homeland and German popular music.<sup>34</sup> The program aired approximately eight months, until early June in 1955, and then was discontinued. Although the program was relatively short in duration, it was the forerunner of the German radio disk jockey program, with German folk and popular music, commercials, and ad-libbed comments and announcements. With its termination, German programming again disappeared from Cincinnati's airwaves for the duration of the decade of the fifties.

The post-war period was marked by several significant characteristics. It represented an effort to revive the single-sponsor programming of the pre-war period, along with its structured block programming formats. The reintroduction of German-language programming while the war was still in process represents a courageous step by Duning, declaring, in effect, that it was the German language and German culture which originated abroad and which had been forged by the German experience there that were significant, rather than the expression of German national interests in the world political arena.

The period, too, was a troubled one for German ethnic radio, as it was troubled for radio in general. The late forties marked the beginning of a transitional period for radio that lasted into the mid-fifties. Two factors forced a major change in the concept of the societal role of radio. First, television made its debut in 1948; by mid-1949 a significant number of sets had been introduced into Cincinnati homes. Second, as the population's educational and socioeconomic levels increased, the view developed that radio should provide a significant service. With these changes came substantial changes in program formats. Block programming yielded to free-flow formats, and the inexpensive phonograph record assumed increasing importance again, as it had in the early 1920s. Program continuity, previously provided by staff announcers and program hosts, was increasingly provided by disk jockeys.

These changes were significant not only for broadcasting in general, but also for the programming efforts of the Cincinnati German community. People's electronic media habits were increasingly directed to television; interest in radio and the motion picture declined correspondingly. For a time, the effect that the general changes in radio would have on German-language programming was uncertain. Nevertheless, as radio struggled to redefine itself, so, too, did the Cincinnati German community seek ways to continue to use the medium as an outlet for linguistic and cultural expression.

### **The Contemporary Era**

The availability of additional radio channels through the increased use of the FM band in the 1960s was a boon to the ethnic broadcaster.

The increased channel availabilities reduced the competition for air time and increased the demand for programming, allowing for the expansion of German-language broadcasting on both AM and FM bands. The conditions were then ripe for an era of continuous German radio programming in Cincinnati which began early in the 1960s. Four separate efforts were involved in that decade.

WLW seldom became involved in German programming, but on 7 February 1963 it aired an evening program of German music, with the intention of trying to determine the extent and character of audience response to such programming.<sup>35</sup> The lack of any follow-up programs suggests that the experiment was not productive.

A longer-term effort was an evangelical religious program that aired on WHOH, Hamilton, Ohio, Mondays from 7:00 p.m. to 7:15 p.m. Entitled *Radio Midnight Call*, this syndicated program began in early October 1967 and ran until the end of July 1968.<sup>36</sup> It featured evangelist Win Malgo, who paid a personal visit to Cincinnati in late June 1968.<sup>37</sup>

A third program had an even longer run. In late July 1965, a German program was reintroduced to northern Kentucky's WZIP.<sup>38</sup> Called *Remember Germany*, the program was scheduled Sunday evenings from 6:10 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. There was a juggling of hours in the early fall, and the programming then settled in to a 2:05 p.m. to 3:10 p.m. afternoon hour on Sundays. The program was simulcast on the station's AM and FM facilities.<sup>39</sup>

Since the mid-sixties marked a period of renewed German immigration to the Cincinnati area, WZIP made an effort to find a program host who was fluent in both German and English and who had some knowledge of music as well. L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt served as producer and hostess of the program for most of its tenure. She had received encouragement from a citizenship council which suggested that bilingual broadcasts in German might aid immigration efforts. The program was completely bilingual, with introductory and descriptive materials given in English and then in German. It had the character of a travelogue, with the places and scenes illustrated by musical selections.<sup>40</sup> Even commercials were bilingual, with a male voice used for the English announcement and a female voice for the German. Although most of the programming originated locally, *Remember Germany* each month incorporated taped cultural programs from German radio. In June 1968, *Remember Germany* was discontinued due to administrative and program format changes at the station.<sup>41</sup>

The dominant German-language radio program in Cincinnati during the 1960s began on Easter Sunday in 1961. On 2 April Hermann Albers introduced *The German Hour* Sunday mornings on WKRC from 9:00 to 9:30, a program comprised of German music and conversation.<sup>42</sup> The program aired weekly on WKRC until December of that year when Albers transferred the program to WMOH in suburban Hamilton. He changed the name to *Over the Rhine Showcase*, and the program was given a two-hour time slot, from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m. Sundays. The program title was derived from the Cincinnati neighborhood known as

"Over the Rhine," a residential area that formerly attracted German immigrants.

In 1964, additional hours for German language programming were added to WMOH's FM station, WHOH, allowing *Over the Rhine Showcase* to run daily, from noon to 6:00 p.m. initially, and shortly thereafter, when hours were extended, to 7:00 p.m. The period from noon to 5:00 p.m. was taped in advance, and the evening block was live. The taped portion of the WHOH weekday programming was discontinued in the late summer of 1964, and *Over the Rhine* settled in to a twelve hour weekly schedule, 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. weekdays and Sundays from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m.<sup>43</sup>

At WMOH/WHOH Hermann Albers also encouraged bilingualism. For a time, Albers and his wife worked together on *Over the Rhine Showcase*; he made announcements in English, she in German. Due to schedule conflicts, his wife later left the program, and Albers hosted it alone. Generally, announcers for non-English-language programming have not had specific broadcast training. This was also the case with Albers. A baker by trade, he had had neither formal training as an announcer, nor a university education. Nevertheless, with the uncrystallized idea that "somebody ought to do something" with German-language radio, Albers put together a demonstration tape at home and submitted it to the program director at WKRC. Shortly thereafter, and with almost no warning, Albers was given air time on WKRC. Initially, Albers volunteered his services, but subsequently he was paid the legal minimum wage.

The program philosophy was to generate materials oriented to entertainment, to minimize informational components, except for commercials and announcements for clubs and organizations, and to refrain from any consideration of political issues. The orientation of *Over the Rhine Showcase* was local, although Albers was aware of some program sources from Germany, primarily brief news reports and commentary. The German consulate made available informational tapes, usually news reviews, which Albers occasionally included in his program, along with a taped religious program in German and sports scores. Little additional effort was made to consider information categories in a broader sense. It was music that was the focus of the programming, and the philosophy of music programming adopted by Albers was based on the desirability of variety. Variety, in this case, included operettas, folk music, and popular music. Albers obtained a list of current hits from Germany and used it as a guide in his selection of music. He regularly played records from his personal library of German music. Albers left *Over the Rhine Showcase* in 1968. For a short time the program continued with interim announcers until Heinz Probst became host of the program upon his return from Germany where he had been collecting German records.<sup>44</sup>

Under Probst's directorship, *Over the Rhine Showcase* settled in to a broadcast pattern of 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Mondays through Saturdays and 12:00 noon to 5:00 p.m. on Sundays. The first two hours of the Sunday show, subtitled the "Germania Show," featured the latest hit

songs.<sup>45</sup> As 1970 drew to a close, the Sunday hours for *Over the Rhine Showcase* were extended from 7:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m.; by early 1972 the Monday through Saturday hours were extended from 5:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Soon afterwards, the hours began to be gradually altered and reduced.<sup>46</sup>

In late 1974, the call letters of WHOH, Hamilton, changed to WYCH.<sup>47</sup> The German program continued under the reorganized structure, although in November 1974 the time devoted to it was reduced considerably. The daily and Saturday programming had been discontinued, and the Sunday program was done live from 1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. This schedule was maintained until 1977, when Probst transferred his *Over the Rhine Showcase* to WCNW, a Hamilton AM outlet at 1560 KHz. The hours were Sundays from 2:00 p.m. to 5:15 p.m. In March 1978, the hours of *Over the Rhine Showcase* were adjusted slightly, and, later that year, the program left WCNW to remain off the air for slightly more than a year.<sup>48</sup>

Probst's *Over the Rhine Showcase* returned to the air in early 1980 on FM outlet WCNE in Batavia, Ohio.<sup>49</sup> The basic structure of the program remained unchanged. Airing on Sundays from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., the program included telephone and mail requests. It also incorporated vignettes of German-American history, in English, by Eugene von Riestenberg, with whom Probst had begun to collaborate in 1975. The series, known as *German-American Bicentennial Minutes*, concerned notable persons or groups of German ancestry who had contributed to the development of the New World.<sup>50</sup> The historical and biographical vignettes represented the first effort on Cincinnati German-language radio to provide some insight into the contributions of German-Americans to the evolving American society.

In February 1980, *Over the Rhine Showcase* expanded to two hours of programming on both weekend days; in May of the following year, two more hours on Sunday were added. In addition, Probst prepared special programs of Christmas music, broadcast from 6:00 p.m. until midnight on Christmas Eve and from 8:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. on Christmas Day.<sup>51</sup> In early February 1982, WCNE entered into a shared-time agreement with WOBO, Owensville, Ohio, and *Over the Rhine Showcase* formally became a presentation of WOBO, still at 88.7 MHz. The German-American cultural vignettes were gradually discontinued when von Riestenberg moved away from Cincinnati, but Probst included a weekly commentary from Germany with Hans Helmut Faber, news of the week in review from a European perspective.<sup>52</sup> The Saturday program was also discontinued, so that, as 1984 began, *Over the Rhine Showcase* was a four-hour program on Sunday afternoons, hosted by Probst.<sup>53</sup>

In the decade of the 1970s, Probst's program was not the only German-language program on the air. Late in 1970, a second German program was initiated. Called at first *The German Sunday Concert* and later, simply, *The German Concert*, the program originated from WPFB-FM, Middletown, Ohio, between Cincinnati and Dayton. The FM signal was strong in both communities. The announcer was Gebhard Erler.

There was some juggling of time schedules in the early months of the program: on 17 January 1971, the program aired from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; in April the hours were extended to 4:00 p.m.; and on 7 November the hours changed again to 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Christmas that year featured a special Christmas concert.<sup>54</sup>

In early 1972, WPFB-FM adopted the call letters WPBF, and at about the same time, *The German Sunday Concert* became *The German Concert* as it began to air on Saturdays from 9:00 a.m. until 12:00 noon, as well as maintaining a two-hour Sunday morning schedule, which was soon extended to four-and-a-half hours. In early April Erler included a syndicated sports report featuring the latest soccer results on a national and regional basis from Germany.<sup>55</sup> After the introduction of the "Request Concert" as an integral part of the program in early 1973, *The German Concert* settled in to a regular pattern of hours and program components for a number of months.

In early 1976 Erler introduced Gisela Shepherd to the program, providing opportunities for dialogue and a contrasting female voice for alternating commercials. Saturday hours were still 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon, and Sundays the program ran from 9:15 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., with a request portion of the program from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. and again from 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.<sup>56</sup> The remainder of the decade saw only minor time changes in *The German Concert* and regular Christmas specials that included Christmas Eve and Christmas Day programs of German Christmas carols. For the Christmas specials, Erler incorporated Christmas poems and stories read by Gisela Shepherd, Dieter Waldowski, and himself.<sup>57</sup> Gisela Shepherd began her own Saturday morning program on WQPR in Dayton, Ohio, in July 1982, a program that was still on the air in 1984. The signal, however, does not extend to the Cincinnati metropolitan area.<sup>58</sup>

Another German radio personality was introduced to Cincinnati listeners in the 1970s. Hans Kroschke broadcast on several area stations, including WCHO (Washington Court House, Ohio), WNKR (Falmouth, Kentucky), and WAIF, Cincinnati's non-commercial community-supported station. For a time, he worked with his sister Christel, providing the opportunity for male-female alternating voices; subsequently, he worked with both Gebhard Erler and Dieter Waldowski, later only with Waldowski, and, finally, alone. Kroschke's program has experienced numerous changes in day and time. He began with an hour on Monday evening and a half hour on Saturday.<sup>59</sup> After several moves in days and times, the schedule at the beginning of 1984 included two hours on Monday evening, one on Wednesday, and two on Saturday.<sup>60</sup>

A program deserving passing mention as an instrument contributing to an awareness of German culture in the Cincinnati area is a syndicated classical music program hosted by David Berger and aired on Cincinnati's public radio station, WGUC. The program became available in Cincinnati in 1975, Saturdays from 1:00 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.<sup>61</sup> *Music from Germany*, the commentary for which was entirely in English, contributed primarily to German culture by familiarizing the listenership with

contemporary German classical recordings, many of which had not become readily available on the American record market.

Collectively, the German programming in Cincinnati from the 1960s through the 1980s represents an increase in total hours over any period in the past. In a sense, too, the collective contribution that has been made to the German language, culture, and music has increased accordingly, as is evident from an examination of the nature of the contemporary programming, the programs' audience, economic arrangements, and the functions that their producers perceived them to have.

### Programming

The programming of German-language broadcasting evolved during the contemporary era. Even though by the mid-sixties the disk jockey ad-lib style was dominant in radio generally, *Remember Germany* utilized the traditional form of the fully developed script with scheduled commercial inserts. The programming of the other German presentations has been more contemporary in type: a disk jockey pattern that concentrates heavily on music and commercials, with occasional brief informational inserts and announcements from the German civic associations and social clubs.

From the beginning of the era, an emphasis on music has characterized each of the programs. In *Remember Germany*, music scheduling adhered to a philosophy which condoned variety in musical types, from operatic to modern to regional folk patterns from various areas of Europe. The music on the three current programs is similar in type, although differences can be detected in the mix of record types. The focus is upon a traditional German popular music, which resembles American country music in that both tend to incorporate close harmony, lyrics with similar themes, or ballads. Nevertheless, the music types vary from operetta to traditional folk music, to the historical German *lieder*, and to the latest hits from the German popular music charts.

About sixty percent of Probst's music is made up of the traditional folk music of Germany, *Schuhplattler*, polkas, and waltzes. About ten percent of the music consists of the hits, and the remaining thirty percent is operetta music, music of the Austrian and Swiss Alps, and some Yugoslavian and Rumanian selections.<sup>62</sup> The music programming is characterized by a nostalgic traditional orientation. In this respect, it is distinguished from programming on mainstream stations in both Germany and the United States, where social and industry expectations dictate that music programming be oriented along the lines of mass tastes.

Little is done with the incorporation of entertainment elements other than records and disk jockey chatter. No dramas or dramatic sequences are carried, and only occasionally are there live broadcasts from remote locations. Erler noted that he has broadcast live from the *Oktoberfest* and German Day in Dayton, and from the Germania festivities in Cheviot (just west of Cincinnati).<sup>63</sup>

When he was on the air, Albers felt it might have been desirable to

dramatize some of the stories and legends from German folk literature. However, his self-consciousness about his North German dialect (for which he received occasional criticism) discouraged him from venturing into artistic efforts with cultural materials. He did weave into his regular programming the playing of the Angelus each evening at six o'clock, a traditional time for German farmers to pause in the fields to say their prayers.<sup>64</sup>

Relatively little news is incorporated in the German programming. Erler formerly used short taped news reports from the Deutsche Welle in Cologne, but he was using no news inserts in the early 1980s. Probst, on the other hand, was using a five-minute taped weekly news commentary from Germany, with discussion of major international and national news stories. A major item in the news is identified, and then the various editorial positions on that topic in leading German newspapers are explored. The previously mentioned *Bicentennial Minutes* also contained a news feature, as well as an educational and cultural segment. Kroschke's program has no regular news component, although he once ran brief reports from an immigrants' rights adviser, who provided advice on income tax questions for persons without citizenship status.

A small amount of sports programming is available, but it is limited in scope. The Erler program uses a four-to-seven-minute syndicated soccer report, with the previous week's results from the German leagues. The report is in German. Erler said that he would air the scores of local soccer matches, if called, but no systematic effort is made to obtain scores or other sports news. Probst expressed an interest in carrying sports results not generally available on English-language stations, such as soccer, skiing, and auto racing, but his program did not include such materials. Kroschke's program, too, was devoid of sports.

Public affairs programming is also minimal in current (1984) Cincinnati German radio. In recent years, only the *German-American Bicentennial Minutes* would fall into that category. Editorials are completely absent from this programming.

It might be expected that broadcasting from a particular ethnic base would generate pressure from the community to advocate causes of particular concern to that group. This apparently has seldom occurred in Cincinnati. For example, on *Remember Germany*, Adrian-Schmitt made a conscious effort to avoid issue-oriented programming that might be inherently controversial. Erler indicated that a group once approached him with a request to be able to air its views but that he discouraged the request. The general sentiment was that problems are avoided by staying away from inherently controversial issues, such as religion and politics. As Kroschke noted, "listeners say this is the nice thing about the program. Advocacy is disruptive; people don't like it. They want to relax. They want to be entertained." It is not surprising that station management has not applied pressure on the German-language broadcasters as a result of any program matter aired.

The deemphasis of informational programming may be understood as a reaction to the expressed programming interests of the audience,

the costs usually associated with informational programming, and the limited hours available to the German-language broadcasters. Erler had previously incorporated a half hour of political news from Germany, but a call-in program intended to elicit listener response concerning his programming discouraged his use of the information segment, which he subsequently canceled. The audience seemed to prefer that the limited amount of time available for German-language programming be devoted almost exclusively to music.

Probst's reaction to audience interests was somewhat different. He concluded that his listenership is generally interested in news from the Old Country, and he reviews any free materials he receives for possible airing. He acknowledged that other programming would be available, but most of it entails a fee, and the program's budget would not accommodate regular purchase of such programming.

All of the program producers wished that more time were available for programming informational materials. Erler would use additional time to incorporate news from Germany; Probst would also add cultural materials relating to the German experience in the Americas; Kroschke would focus on German-American activities in the local community. While extended hours might be feasible, none of the operators was hopeful that a full-time commercial German-language station might be developed. The traditional small business sponsors simply could not generate adequate revenues to support a station of even modest size.

### Listenership

Despite the sophistication of broadcasting audience measurement techniques in contemporary times and the large number of companies engaged in such research, no statistical evaluations have been made of listenership to the German programming. Some of the stations carrying this programming have subscribed to the general audience listenership reports, such as *Arbitron* or, formerly, *The Pulse*. In these cases, the German hours were blended in with the rest of the stations' programming. For example, general indications of audience size and demographics for *Remember Germany* were available from *The Pulse* ratings, to which the station subscribed, but no more specific audience studies were conducted for the German program. The usefulness of that information in establishing programming objectives, other than for advertising purposes, is limited. Nevertheless, the announcers develop some sense of the audience characteristics through informal means, such as telephone calls to the station, usually for requests, mail received, and conversations with listeners at gatherings of the various German organizations. Albers typically received four or five letters a week and fifteen to twenty telephone calls on a Sunday morning, with a heavy response from "the older generation." Probst estimates that one letter or telephone call represents a thousand listeners.

Erler says that the telephone calls he receives cut across the spectrum of age groups and sexes. Children call for the birthdays of their parents, parents for birthdays and anniversaries, and the elderly for anniversaries. The calls come in both German and English, about half in each

language. The number of calls he receives and the wide geographic area from which they come lead him to believe that some 200,000 persons listen with some regularity, many of whom are non-German-speaking Americans.

### Economics

Stations broadcasting non-English-language programming characteristically enter into any one of several types of contractual arrangements with special groups interested in air time. The most common of these is brokered programming, where the station charges a flat rate for each hour of programming. Program hosts are responsible for selling their own advertising. WAIF charges a nominal hourly fee in a conventional brokered arrangement; Kroschke then receives donations to underwrite a portion of his costs. Probst also receives donations from listeners.

A slight variation is used by WPBF with the Erler program. In this case, the station provides the air time free, but, in return, receives all of the advertising revenue. For his part, Erler receives a percentage of the sales that he initiates. Typically, he would make an initial contact with a prospective advertiser and then turn the account over to the station's sales department. With *The German Concert*, Erler indicated that there was little difficulty attracting a full complement of sponsors for the program. He estimated that he averages about twelve minutes of commercial time an hour and that he typically runs two or three minutes of public service announcements in addition to the twelve commercial minutes. For a Sunday morning time period, this number of commercial minutes would be comparable to that of the community's major stations and represents strong advertiser interest in the program. Most of *The German Concert's* advertisers are small local firms in Cincinnati: restaurants, bakeries, meat markets, boutiques, import shops, night clubs, novelty shops, hardware stores, and auto parts shops.

The same advertising pattern existed in the 1960s. For *Remember Germany*, there was virtually no national advertising; nevertheless, local advertising increased until it neared the limits of former NAB commercial time limitation recommendations (eighteen minutes per hour). Albers recalled that his program averaged from four to six commercials an hour, most sold by the station's regular sales staff, but some sold by Albers with the help of leads from sympathetic acquaintances. Most of the commercials were for local sponsors, many with some particular connection to the German community, such as meat packers and bakers. The one national account that Albers had regularly was Lufthansa airlines, which submitted prepared copy in both German and English. More recently, Lufthansa has directed advertising to the Erler program.<sup>65</sup>

The program hosts incur substantial expenses. A major expenditure is the purchase of their own records and tapes. Probst has acquired more than 2,000 German records and is on a mailing list for some fifteen records a month from Germany.<sup>66</sup> Erler has acquired between 1,600 and 1,700 record albums, 200 to 300 45 RPM singles, and 150 to 200 tapes.

Equipment costs, where programming is done from a home studio—as is the case with Probst—add to the expenditures that must be accommodated by the program hosts.

### Programming Functions

The German-language programming broadcast throughout Cincinnati serves a variety of functions in the community. On the one hand, it serves as a facilitator for the immigrant struggling to make the transition from the German language and culture to English and American customs. Yet, the contribution is not so much one of providing information that would assist in acculturation; rather, it is important psychologically. It provides a momentary respite from the anxiety of adjustment. For those who have been in the community for a longer time, the programming continues to provide a sense of respectability and identity and to serve as a primary disseminator of information pertaining to club activities.

The common use of English and heavy reliance on music, an international language understood and appreciated apart from the language of the lyrics, attract monolingual English speakers along with German-English bilinguals. Kroschke estimates that seventy percent of his listeners are monolingual English speakers. Occasionally, the presence of German music and language on the air has inspired a young person to choose German as a language to study in school or to persevere in the language study. There seemed to be no sentiment that German-language broadcasting should spearhead a resurgence of German in the community; rather, the program producers regarded the schools as the appropriate source of such linguistic reinforcement.

The program hosts agreed unanimously that the main contribution of their programming to the German-Americans in Cincinnati was to bring them a little something from home—a bit of nostalgia. The music and language provide a reminiscence of childhood. To attempt to ascribe broader social or linguistic effects to the programming would not seem to be justified on the basis of the perceived effects of the current program producers.

However, the nostalgic contribution should not be dismissed as insignificant. It is important both for those who listen to the programming and those who produce it. Erler told of a time a few years back when an elderly German woman in a hospital, who knew she was dying, asked for a radio to be able to listen to the German music that she knew and loved well. A radio was brought, and she listened to the sounds of the program as she slipped from consciousness. What she wanted more than anything else was the sound of the German popular music, which apparently gave her a sense of ease, a sense of being at home. Erler added, "These touching things happen. That's the only reason I do it [continue with the weekend programming]. It's not for the money, because I would have had to quit a long time ago if it were for the money. It's a small thing I love to do for people." Since part-time avocational contacts describe the character of the announcers' involvement with ethnic programming in Cincinnati, the announcers' own

nostalgic reminiscences, from personal involvement with the audience and the music, seem to provide much of the motivation to continue with the German-language programming.

### Conclusion

German-language broadcasting was a natural outgrowth of the size and concentration of the German population in Cincinnati, and it is not surprising to note, therefore, that German-language and German-cultural broadcasting has continued to exist in the city since 1929. It is also characteristic of Cincinnati German-language broadcasting that, historically, it has been carried on as one component of a larger effort to perpetuate German culture in America. This effort has consisted not only of German cultural perpetuation per se, but particularly of the perpetuation through widespread dissemination of the newer German-American culture that arose in this country.

Several factors have contributed to the fact that German broadcasting in Cincinnati remained a marginal vehicle for information and culture transmission to the Cincinnati German community. Along with their European counterparts who immigrated to the United States in the last three centuries, the Germans were assimilated into American society rather quickly. They also accepted readily the challenge of learning English. For the large early immigrant groups, this assimilation was virtually complete by the time that broadcasting became an instrument recognized as a major disseminator of entertainment, information, and culture. The rate of assimilation was accelerated due to the fact that at two periods of American history—during the First and Second World Wars—the German language and culture were dealt severe blows through legal or administrative efforts to repress the German language and to blunt the culture and through the difficulty of perpetuating the language and culture in a general climate of calumny in which the German-Americans lived during those periods.

Along with the rate of assimilation within the German-speaking community, institutional pressures from outside the community have hindered the broadcasting efforts. Ownership changes at radio stations have often resulted in program format modifications and a concomitant interest in achieving a uniform sound in the station's music. The inconsistency of the sound of the German program with that of the rest of the station's schedule has quite frequently resulted in station pressure to move the programming to less desirable time slots—low listenership periods—or to eliminate the German programming altogether.

There has been little to counter these forces. Aside from the institutional support of the *Freie Presse* in 1929 and the early thirties, German broadcasting has resulted almost entirely from the interest and effort of a single individual, from the substantial efforts of William Duning in the mid-thirties and forties to those of the three Cincinnati German radio personalities of today. The production, dissemination, and generation of financial support for even modest broadcast activities demand a collective effort if they are to be sustained for any length of time. That collective effort is more likely to be maintained if it is

institutionalized in the form of a private company, an academic institution, or some other community organization.

It is clear that the primary function of German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati is neither linguistic reinforcement nor the providing of primary informational services. Although useful, the dissemination of information about the activities of the several German societies does not constitute a substantial service function. Nostalgia is the primary force motivating the continuation of German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati. While nostalgia is not an insignificant motivating factor in non-English-language broadcasting, it is, nonetheless, insufficiently powerful to result in substantial increases in German-language broadcasting in this community. Before any such increases can occur, there has to be the perception that broadcasting is performing a significant informational service function for its audience.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> There is some use of Spanish-language broadcasting on stations—mostly radio—in forty-seven of the fifty states, as well as in the District of Columbia. Only Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi have no non-English-language broadcasting. Of our two other colonial languages, French is transmitted in twenty-four states and German in twenty-eight. Polish is used in twenty-two states. American Indian languages are broadcast in nineteen states, Italian in fifteen, Portuguese in eight, and Japanese in three. *Broadcasting/Cablecasting Yearbook 1985*, F-86-96, and *Broadcasting/Cablecasting Yearbook 1982*, D-98-111.

<sup>2</sup> Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "Cincinnati's German Heritage in the Twentieth Century," *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee, Cincinnati, 1983*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Cincinnati, OH: The Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982) 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 1 July 1923.

<sup>4</sup> The first two stations went on the air in 1922; the third followed in 1923. They were joined by WFBE, 1926; WCPO, 1927; and WCKY, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Tolzmann 93-94.

<sup>6</sup> Tolzmann 96.

<sup>7</sup> Franz Mennacher, "In den Fliegenden Blättern," rpt. *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 13 Feb. 1927: 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 1 Dec. 1927 (radio listings).

<sup>9</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer* 15 Sept. 1929: 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 23 Sept. 1929: 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 20 Oct. 1929: 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 10 Jan. 1930 and 17 Jan. 1930.

<sup>13</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Feb. 1930 (radio program listings).

<sup>14</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 9 March 1930 (radio listings).

<sup>15</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 20 Sept. 1931: 13.

<sup>16</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 1 Nov. 1931 (radio listings).

<sup>17</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1938: 2. The German title of the program was *Das Deutsche Radio-Programm der Freien Presse*.

<sup>18</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 1 Sept. 1935: 1.

<sup>19</sup> Sydney W. Head and Christopher H. Sterling, *Broadcasting in America: A Survey of Television, Radio, and New Technologies*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982) 27.

<sup>20</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 3 April 1934 (radio listings).

<sup>21</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 1 Jan. 1935: 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 8 July 1935: 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1937: 5.

- <sup>24</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1937: 5.
- <sup>25</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1939: 7.
- <sup>26</sup> A recording of this speech is available at the Miami University Broadcasting Service/Crosley Broadcasting Corporation ET Archives, Miami University, Oxford, OH.
- <sup>27</sup> For example, *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1940: 4.
- <sup>28</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 9 July 1944: 2.
- <sup>29</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 4 Feb. 1945.
- <sup>30</sup> The final ad appearing in the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* for the Alms and Doepke *Opera and Cathedral Radio Concert* is found in the 16 Oct. 1949 issue.
- <sup>31</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 6 Oct. 1946.
- <sup>32</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 22 Dec. 1946.
- <sup>33</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 12 Dec. 1954.
- <sup>34</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 26 Sept. 1954: 6.
- <sup>35</sup> *Cincinnati Freie Presse* 3 Feb. 1963.
- <sup>36</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 6 Oct. 1967. The program's German title was *Radio Mitternachtsruf*. The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* changed its name to the *Cincinnati Kurier* on 3 April 1964.
- <sup>37</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 21 June 1968.
- <sup>38</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 23 July 1965.
- <sup>39</sup> WZIP's AM frequency was 1050 KHz; the FM, 90.5 MHz.
- <sup>40</sup> *Remember Germany*, prod. L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt, WZIP, Cincinnati, 3 Nov. 1965.
- <sup>41</sup> L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt, interview, May 1984.
- <sup>42</sup> Hermann Albers, personal interview, 27 June 1981.
- <sup>43</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 7 Aug. 1964.
- <sup>44</sup> Dan Bellman, *Nachricht*, publication of the Cincinnati German-American Citizens League (March/April 1979): 1.
- <sup>45</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 20 Feb. 1970.
- <sup>46</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 25 Dec. 1970, 7 Jan. 1972, and 23 Feb. 1973.
- <sup>47</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 1 June 1973.
- <sup>48</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 29 Nov. 1974, 9 Dec. 1977, and 3 March 1978.
- <sup>49</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 18 Jan. 1980.
- <sup>50</sup> Heinz Probst and Eugene von Riestenberg, personal interview, 20 June 1981.
- <sup>51</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 22 Feb. 1980, 19 Dec. 1980, and 1 May 1981.
- <sup>52</sup> *Amerika Woche* 16 Dec. 1982. The *Cincinnati Kurier* ceased publication on 21 May 1982. The Chicago-based *Amerika Woche* then became the major German-language newspaper outlet for Cincinnati. Even though *Amerika Woche* was a regional publication, it acquired some of the Cincinnati advertising that had formerly gone to the *Kurier*.
- <sup>53</sup> David Bitter, President, German-American Citizens League (Cincinnati), telephone interview, 29 Dec. 1983.
- <sup>54</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 15 Jan. 1971, 23 Apr. 1971, and 25 Dec. 1971.
- <sup>55</sup> The telephone reports originate with a sports reporter from the German-language *Philadelphia Gazette-Demokrat* who provides his syndicated radio reports to several stations.
- <sup>56</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 20 Feb. 1976; times in the ad were erroneously reversed.
- <sup>57</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 22 Dec. 1978.
- <sup>58</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 21 May 1982.
- <sup>59</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 5 Aug. 1977.
- <sup>60</sup> Hans Kroschke, personal interview, 29 Dec. 1983.
- <sup>61</sup> *Cincinnati Kurier* 7 March 1975.
- <sup>62</sup> Heinz Probst, personal interview, 20 June 1981.
- <sup>63</sup> Gebhard Erler, personal interview, 12 June 1981.
- <sup>64</sup> This and subsequent information was gathered in interviews with L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt (May 1984), Hermann Albers (27 June 1981), Gebhard Erler (12 June 1981), Hans Kroschke (10 June 1981 and 29 Dec. 1983), and Heinz Probst (20 June 1981).
- <sup>65</sup> Difficulty in attracting national advertising has characterized ethnic programming by all ethnic groups until fairly recently, when the Spanish-language broadcasters convinced several major advertising agencies that it would be profitable to target certain national advertising to the ethnic station.
- <sup>66</sup> Bellman, *Nachricht* (March/April 1979): 2.