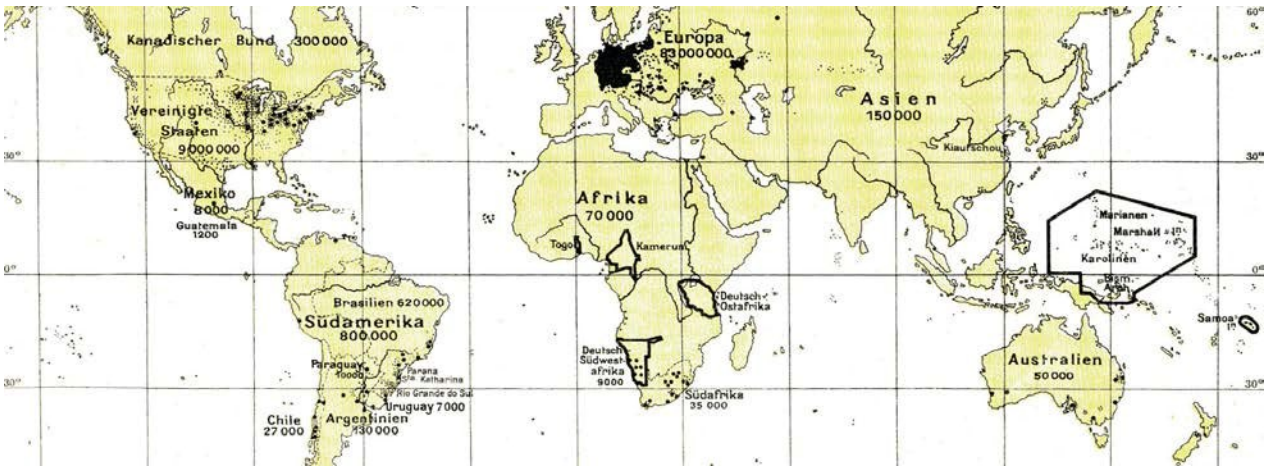
48th Wisconsin Workshop – International Symposium

Department of German and
Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies



Outside the *Kaiserreich*:

The German Diaspora in the World War I Era

October 8 – 10, 2015

UW–Madison University Club

UW–Madison Pyle Center

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Program

October 8, Thursday, 5:00–8:00 pm [University Club]

5:00	**Exhibit** Opening of *In Their Own Words: German Americans in the World War I Era*
6:00	**Keynote Address** *Imperial Germany as a Country of Emigration and Immigration,* Werner Sollors, Henry B. and Anne M. Cabot Research Professor of English, Harvard University
7:00	**Reception**

October 9, Friday morning [Pyle Center]

9:00	Words of Welcome
9:30–10:15	*The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment,* Walter Kamphoefner, Texas A&M University
10:30–11:15	*Fissures in the Element: German-American Disunity and the First World War,* Cora Lee Kluge, University of Wisconsin–Madison
11:30–12:15	*German in Metro Detroit in the Early Twentieth Century***,** Felecia Lucht, Independent Scholar

October 9, Friday afternoon [Pyle Center]

2:00–2:45	*Conflicting Loyalties in Wartime: The 'Germanness' of British and American Jews during World War I,* Sarah Panter, Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz, Germany
3:00–3:45	*The Impact of World War I on American Classical Music***,** Pamela Potter, University of Wisconsin–Madison
4:00–4:45	*Enemy Alien Internment in the British Empire during World War I,* Stefan Manz, Ashton University Birmingham, United Kingdom

October 10, Saturday morning [Pyle Center]

9:30–10:15	*Rethinking "National Indifference": German and Polish Activists in Łódź through the First World War,* Winson Chu, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
10:30–11:15	*Brothers in Arms but Strangers at Home: Germans in Schleswig-Holstein during and after WWI,* Julie Allen, University of Wisconsin–Madison
11:30–12:15	*The Immediacy of the Unapproachable: Writings on China by German POWs in East Asia during World War I,* Weijia Li, UW–Madison

October 10, Saturday afternoon [Pyle Center]

2:00–2:45	*The Martyrs of Alcatraz: A Narrative Account of Hutterite Conscientious Objectors***,** Duane Stolzfus, Goshen College
3:00–3:45	*Pennsylvaniadeutschtum: Pennsylvania Dutch Identity and the World War I Era,* Mark Louden, University of Wisconsin–Madison
4:00	WRAP-UP DISCUSSION

Abstracts

Julie K. Allen: ***Brothers in Arms but Strangers at Home: Germans and Danes in Schleswig-Holstein***

The complex history of German-Danish interaction in the Schleswig-Holstein region, under both Danish and German rule, challenges simplistic narratives that assume a monolingual basis for national identity. Many residents of the area were bilingual, such that German-speakers could not easily be distinguished from Danes. In addition, the identification of individuals with one group or another was subject to shifting sociopolitical contexts over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly after Prussia's 1864 annexation of Schleswig-Holstein. Drawing on personal narratives, this paper explores the ways in which German speakers in Schleswig-Holstein found themselves positioned alternately as members of an oppressed minority, revolutionaries, conquerors, colonizers, or cultural emissaries. Events such as World War I, when Danish and German speakers from the region fought side by side, and also the subsequent division of the area and the return of North Schleswig to Denmark, foreground the question of how Germans and Danes could be brothers-in-arms but strangers at home.

Julie K. Allen *is Associate Professor in the Scandinavian Studies Department at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Her research focuses on questions of national and cultural identity in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Danish, German, and Scandinavian-American culture.*

Winson Chu: ***Rethinking "National Indifference": German and Polish Activists in Łódź through the First World War***

This paper examines the practice of nationalism in Russian Poland before and during the First World War, particularly among German and Polish activists in Łódź. This city, a major textile manufacturing center, had seen a tremendous immigration of Germans, Poles, and Jews during the nineteenth century, and many of its inhabitants not only maintained translocal ties with their places of origin, but also saw Łódź as their *Heimat*. The so-called *lodzermensch* has thus been considered to be an example of "national indifference," a concept that has recently gained ground in scholarship on Central Europe.

At same time, Łódź became a site of contestation between German and Polish activists, each group claiming the city as its own. Rather than looking at Polish and German nationalisms in isolation or as competitive, this paper understands these nationalizing projects to be mutually reinforcing. Far from being a watershed event that dramatically changed nationalist politics, the First World War and the postwar aftermath fostered prewar German and Polish practices that used similar *Feindbilder*. A more *völkisch* tone in Łódź German nationalism began to appear in the interwar period, a nationalism that also remained distinctly regional.

Winson Chu *is Associate Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. His research interests include Modern Central Europe, German-Polish borderlands, empires, national minorities, and diasporas.*

Walter D. Kamphoefner***: The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment***

This paper offers an overview of the attitudes and actions of German Americans in the World War I era and the war's effects on this ethnic group, its language and culture. German Americans were frequently misunderstood both by their fellow countrymen in the ancestral homeland and by their fellow Americans. The former often assumed that because German Americans were unable to prevent Woodrow Wilson's re-election or American entry into the war, they had shed their ethnicity and immersed themselves in the Melting Pot, abandoning the German language and culture, while

Anglo-Americans often confused expressions of German cultural loyalties and language use with political allegiance to the Fatherland.

The stance of German Americans toward the war, and the effect of the war on German Americans, can be summarized thus: Although most would probably have preferred that the United States remain neutral, German Americans served in the U.S. military at rates only slightly lower than the national average, and at higher rates than some other ethnic groups. While the war undeniably affected the survival of the German language and culture in this country, its impact was not universal, and it merely accelerated trends already underway well before fateful shots were fired in Sarajevo or deadly torpedoes launched against the Lusitania.

Walter D. Kamphoefner *is Professor of History at Texas A&M University, where he teaches in the fields of immigration, urbanization, and quantitative methods. He has published widely on topics of immigration and ethnicity, including the ground-breaking* Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home.

Cora Lee Kluge: ***Fissures in the Element: German-American Disunity and the First World War***

Many scholars, especially in the field of German-American studies, have written about injustices perpetrated against the German Americans in this era, which were legalized by public policies, supported by private initiatives, and openly tolerated by widespread attitudes that emerged under the watchword of patriotism. Americans of German heritage were shamed, bullied, run out of town, or strung up; and traces of their culture were eradicated to the greatest extent possible. It was not America's finest hour.

This contribution concentrates on the other side of the picture: the view the German Americans themselves had of their place in American society in the decades preceding the war, their reaction to the growing Germanophobia of the period, and their various and differing attempts to protest, accept, or simply survive. Despite urgings and efforts on the part of some German-American leaders, no cohesive response was forthcoming from the group; and the opportunity was lost to promote understanding and counteract the stance taken by more radical individuals and organizations. The German Americans' failure to unite illustrates or is the result of deep tensions within the so-called German-American element, revealing fissures within the element that foretold and also contributed to its demise.

Cora Lee Kluge *is Professor of German and Co-Director of the Max Kade Institute. Her scholarship focuses on German-American studies and German-American literature; and she has become a leader in reclaiming nonEnglish-language American texts for the American discourse.*

Weijia Li: ***The Immediacy of the Unapproachable: Writings on China by German POWs in East Asia during World War I***

Tsingtao, China, a city believed in Germany to be a model colony, was the site of the surrender of German Governor Alfred Meyer-Waldeck and his troops to the Japanese Imperial Army on November 7, 1914. Coming to terms with defeat in battle and the loss of the colony has become an inevitable theme ever since in accounts of the Siege of Tsingtao.

Approximately 4,600 German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war (POWs) were transported to Japan where they lived until 1919 in eighteen POW camps. There they wrote accounts of their experiences and essays on Chinese culture and history, translated pieces of Chinese literature, and organized lectures to share their views on China, exposing the German reception of China in this period. This presentation illustrates how their writings negotiated between East Asia's past and present, while also attempting to understand the ongoing Great War. It argues that at their basis was the German quest to compare the West and the East and to reconcile the past with the present. In the process of mediating between China and the West, the POWs constantly sought confirmations or inspirations, while at the same time attributing eternal mysteriousness to an inexplicable "Chineseness," thus revealing the German imagination of the "Immediacy of the Unapproachable."

***Weijia Li** is Assistant Professor in the German Department at UW–Madison and the Director of the UW Global Higher Education Masters of Sciences Program. His scholarship addresses topics in the fields of transnationalism, Asian-German Studies, German-Jewish refugees in China, and twentieth- and twenty-firstcentury German culture and literature.*

Mark L. Louden: ***Pennsylvaniadeutschtum: Pennsylvania Dutch Identity and the World War I Era***

Though historical evidence points to the fact that the Pennsylvania Dutch have always seen themselves as American, nevertheless their self-identification as Americans has not always protected them from outsiders' questions regarding their loyalty to the United States, especially in times of war. This presentation draws mainly on information from contemporary newspapers, including rare and un-researched publications in the Pennsylvania Dutch language, to explore Pennsylvania Dutch identity in the United States during the World War I era, at a time when strong and occasionally violent expressions of anti-German sentiment were common across the country. First, we ask whether the Anglo-American majority population saw the Pennsylvania Dutch as belonging to a German or Germanophile "fifth column" that might undermine the American war effort; and secondly, we explore whether the Pennsylvania Dutch were largely immune to anti-German discrimination. In doing so, we shed new light on a complex time in American history. ***Mark L. Louden** is Professor of German and Co-Director of the Max Kade Institute. He is also an affiliate member of the Mosse-Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies and the UW Religious Studies Program. His main areas of research and teaching include Germanic linguistics, German-American studies, Pennsylvania Dutch, and Yiddish.*

Felecia Lucht: ***Urban Language Shift and the German Language in Early Twentieth-Century Metro Detroit***

Research on language use in North American immigrant communities reveals complex patterns of both language maintenance and language shift. Detailed case studies of historical and contemporary immigrant communities provide a clearer understanding of the factors and conditions which underlie these patterns, sometimes contradicting commonly believed notions concerning language use in such communities. This presentation is a case study of the development and changes in the use of German in Detroit, detailing patterns of shift that began before World War I, as well as patterns of maintenance and survival in the early 1900s.

***Felecia Lucht** received her PhD in Germanic Linguistics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her primary research interests include language contact and German-American studies. She has taught at Michigan State University and Wayne State University, and is one of the founding members of the Ethnic Layers of Detroit working group, which uses digital storytelling to connect classrooms with communities in order to document and share narratives of Detroit's ethnic histories.*

Stefan Manz: ***"Enemy Alien" Internment in the British Empire during World War I***

On the eve of the First World War, German, and to a lesser extent Austrian and Ottoman subjects had settled as sizeable minority groups in all parts of the British Empire and Dominions. Following the outbreak of war, many were classified as "enemy aliens" and faced mass internment. An extensive network of camps was set up throughout the Empire, including Castle Mountain in Canada, Holsworthy in Australia, Fort Napier in South Africa, and Ahmednagar in India, each holding several thousand people. Knockaloe on the Isle of Man was the largest camp, with 23,000 internees, many of them captured and deported from British but also occupied German colonies. The total number of "enemy alien" internees in the Empire is estimated at 40,000. This presentation analyzes state policies and their impact on "enemy alien" minorities from a specifically imperial perspective and argues that the British Empire played a crucial role in establishing the policy of civilian mass internment as an integral part of twentieth-century warfare.

Existing studies on military and civilian incarceration during World War I operate within local, national, or international and comparative contexts. This paper adds another dimension by identifying established *imperial* structures as efficient transmission belts and by looking at internment as personal experience, arguing that the British Empire presents a meaningful geographical and methodological framework to go beyond previous studies and reconsider the roots of ethnic contraction on a global scale.

***Stefan Manz** is Reader in German Studies at Aston University Birmingham, UK, and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His research interests include migration studies, Anglo-German relations, and current German affairs.*

Sarah Panter: ***Conflicting Loyalties in Wartime: The "Germanness" of British and American Jews during World War I***

At the outbreak of the World War I, Jews across and beyond the European continent were confronted with a potential dilemma between their transnational bonds of Jewish solidarity and their obligations as loyal citizens of a particular state or nation. British Jews, for example, found themselves fighting on the side of the Jewish "archenemy" Russia, while across the Atlantic American Jews were forced into "neutrality," although they were torn in their sympathies because of their diverse cultural heritages and familial connections.

During the war debates concerning the "Germanness" of their Jewish minorities were heard in English-speaking countries. On the one hand, many established Jews in Britain and the USA felt a strong sense of connection to German culture, which in their opinion did not conflict with their civic loyalty as British or American citizens. On the other hand, Jews in both countries were often seen by others (negatively) as pro-German, that is, as sympathetic to the German cause. Thus, ascriptions of "being Jewish" and "being German" both functioned as negative ethnic markers implying disloyalty.

This paper demonstrates how a transnational approach to the intertwined meanings of "being Jewish" and "being German" during the war might enable us to analyze the image of a German-Jewish symbiosis in a different, more Janus-faced light than is assumed when one looks only at the case of Jews in German-speaking Central Europe.

***Sarah Panter** is Research Fellow at the Leibniz Institute for European History at the University of Mainz, Germany. Her research focuses on Jewish history in German-speaking Europe, Great Britain, and the United States, as well as questions of identity and cultural transfer.*

Pamela Potter: ***The Impact of World War I on American Classical Music***

For more than half a century leading up to World War I, German conductors, educators, and performers had almost single-handedly built up a culture of classical music in the United States. With the war's outbreak, however, America's indebtedness to this German inheritance was temporarily abandoned. The centerpiece of this surge of patriotic anti-German sentiment was the scandal over conductor Karl Muck, a subject of the Kaiser, who was caught in a controversy over demands that he perform the Star-Spangled Banner at symphony concerts and was ultimately imprisoned and deported. Simultaneously, German operas had been banned from the Metropolitan Opera stage, and orchestras with German conductors and musicians were not allowed to perform in Washington, D.C. For American composers, who since the Civil War had made it their practice to go to Germany to study composition, interest in French musical developments took hold. Over the next few decades, virtually an entire generation of American composers spent an obligatory year or two studying in Paris. This estrangement could not last for long, however, as the German roots of the American classical music industry could not be easily forgotten. By the time of the next global conflict the reverence for Germany's musical contributions to America and the world had been fully restored.

Pamela Potter *is Professor of Musicology in the German Department at the UW–Madison and is affiliated with the School of Music. Her research interests concentrate on relating music, the arts, and the writing of cultural history to ideological, political, social, and economic conditions, focusing on twentieth-century Germany, Jewish music, and the impact of German emigration on American musical life.*

Werner Sollors: ***Imperial Germany as a Country of Emigration and Immigration***

About five million Germans—some political refugees but mostly economic migrants—came to the United States between 1850 and 1920 and helped to create German-language media and cultural institutions. At the same time, the *Reich* included a large number of non-German-speaking minorities, 8 percent of the total population in the 1900 census. While little Germanies emerged in American cities from New York to Milwaukee—vividly represented, for example, in Caspar Stürenburg's *Klein-Deutschland* (1885)—Berlin became the largest Polish and the largest Jewish city in Germany, with high residential concentrations around the Schlesischer Bahnhof and the Scheunenviertel. After the Russian Revolution, Charlottenburg became known as Charlottengrad, and the Ukrainian-born trilingual writer Micah Yosef Berdichevsky (1865–1921) nicknamed another Berlin neighborhood *Neveh-shalom* (abode of peace), a Hebrew adaptation of Friedenau. Meanwhile Berlin-Ruhleben served as a transit point for East European migrants headed for America. There were shared features between the lives of "*Auslandsdeutsche*" and the various national colonies in Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic: ethnic businesses, unions, mutual aid societies, and newspapers; growing intermarriage rates, language mixing, generational conflicts, name changes, tensions between settled minority members and newcomers, and cases testing the host society's tolerance. This paper examines such topics in American and German sources.

Werner Sollors *is the Henry B. and Anne M. Cabot Research Professor of English at Harvard University. A cofounder of Harvard University's Longfellow Institute, which supports the study of non-English writings in the United States and reexamines American history and culture in the context of American multilingualism, he is known for his work in the fields of American Literature, American Studies, Ethnicity, and Comparative Literature.*

Duane Stoltzfus: ***"The Martyrs of Alcatraz": A Narrative Account of Hutterite Conscientious Objectors***

In World War I, four Hutterites from South Dakota, Jacob Wipf and David, Joseph, and Michael Hofer, refused to perform military service when drafted. They were court-martialed, imprisoned in Alcatraz, and then, just days after the Armistice, sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where shortly after their arrival, the two youngest men died.

This presentation explores tensions between a country at war with Germany and a Germanspeaking people whose history of martyrdom for their pacifism traces back to their sixteenthcentury Reformation beginnings. Not only did the Hutterites speak the language of the enemy, they also invited suspicion because of their practice of holding all property in common. Their neighbors saw in their communal farms the seeds of communism, if not the actual fruit. Still worse was their refusal to fight for the homeland at a time when everyone was required to do so.

The treatment of the Hutterites illustrates the failure of government to stand by its constitutional guarantee of freedom to practice religion, as well as its promise to safeguard its citizens. Their legacy and that of other conscientious objectors became apparent a few decades later when the U.S. once again went to war against Germany. This time they had a chance to perform "work of national importance" through the Civilian Public Service program, at arm's-length from the military.

Duane Stoltzfus *is Professor of Communication at Goshen College in Indiana. His current research focuses on media and ethics and American pacifism. His most recent monograph,* Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War, *was published in 2013.*

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