

## Writing Texas History in Nazi Germany

In 1941, only a few months before the U. S. would join the struggle to liberate Europe from the fascist grasp of Nazi Germany, Friedrich Hertneck published in Leipzig a history of Texas.<sup>1</sup> Hertneck was a university-educated historian and economist, but no evidence could be found that he had formally studied either the history of the U.S. or of Texas. It appears that for Hertneck, who had published extensively about the history and policies of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, writing *Der Kampf um Texas* (The Struggle for Texas) was a research exercise that would probably be easily approved by the Nazi authorities. For Hertneck, researching and writing Texas history during the Third Reich in Germany became a retreat, an avenue of "inner emigration" in a time when he was forbidden as a professional *Volkswirt* (political economist) to teach and write about German history, politics, and economics.<sup>2</sup>

Friedrich Hertneck was born on 20 March 1901 in Elberfeld, a town near the industrial city of Wuppertal in the present state of Northrhine-Westphalia. His father was Friedrich Hertneck, an architect, and his mother was Elizabeth Hertneck, née Kampermann. After finishing high school in the spring of 1919, Friedrich enrolled at the technical institute at Karlsruhe with a major in chemistry. After only one semester, however, he changed his major to history and economics, and enrolled at the university of Heidelberg. From Heidelberg he went on to study at the universities of Tübingen and Berlin, where in 1927 he received the doctorate degree in history and economics. His dissertation was entitled *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (German Social Democracy and the Oriental Question in the Age of Bismarck).<sup>3</sup>

Even while earning the doctorate degree, Hertneck began editing and contributing to a series of works that elucidated the political philosophy of the Social Democratic Party, the governing political party in Germany at the time. His bibliography of publications from 1926 to 1928 lists eight works that promoted the Social Democratic philosophy.<sup>4</sup> From 1919 to 1933 he was also co-editor of the small newspaper, *Volksblatt für Spandau und das Havelland und den Berliner Verwaltungsbezirk Spandau* (People's News for Spandau and Havelland and the Berlin Administrative District Spandau), a small newspaper promoting Social Democracy.<sup>5</sup> In 1933 he was compulsorily removed from his post at the newspaper and for many years thereafter he had no regular source of income. During the ensuing years he had considerable difficulty supporting himself, his wife, and his two children, a son born in 1928, and a daughter, born in 1930. During the later war years, according to his granddaughter Britta Hertneck, the children were sent to Austria in order to escape the intense bombing of Berlin.<sup>6</sup>

Like many scholars in Germany at the time, Friedrich Hertneck was forced to live under the restrictive order of a *Berufsverbot* or prohibition to practice his profession. He was permitted to write and publish what he wished so long as it was not critical of the National Socialist government. Klaas Dirk Dierks records that in order to support himself and his family, Hertneck began writing popular western fiction, possibly under

a pseudonym. Diercks calls them "Cowboy-Romane" (cowboy novels). None of these novels, however, have been identified and located. Hertneck did not have any regular employment or income until 1940 when he was offered a nonpolitical position as an economist in a German-Italian textile commission.<sup>7</sup>

Friedrich Hertneck's death is recorded among the Notice of Residency Cards preserved in the Landesarchiv Berlin. According to Hertneck's record, he died on 16 December 1943, during a British bombing raid on that city. That report is also corroborated by an entry in the website, "British Bomber Command 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary-Campaign Diary, December 1943." There it is recorded that in the night from December 16 to 17, 483 Lancaster bombers and ten Mosquito bombers bombed the city center of Berlin. During that bombing raid, Hertneck's house, located in the Eichkamp district of Berlin, was destroyed.<sup>8</sup>

One must ask why Hertneck's attention fell on Texas as a subject of his scholarship. In the introduction to *Der Kampf um Texas*, he writes: "The history of Texas received its particular stamp at every turn from the great events that were shaping the political future of North America. Texas history mirrors these events faithfully in all their phases and even foreshadows the course of these events. From Texas history one can trace the rise and fall of the Spanish empire as well as the direction and course of French colonial politics. Texas history reflects also the unchecked expansionist urge of the Anglo-American frontier and the desperate life or death struggle conducted by the tribes of the prairie against the palefaces. However, the matter that makes Texas history especially important to us Germans is the dream that was embraced around the middle of the last century, namely the dream of creating a German colony from the territories north of the Gulf of Mexico. Even though this dream was not realized, nevertheless we will not forget the tens of thousands of our compatriots who found in Texas a new home."<sup>9</sup>

Friedrich Hertneck's list of sources for writing *Der Kampf um Texas* is extremely brief, filling less than two pages, for his access to Texas history in German libraries was very limited. His list of sources which includes no government documents, letters, newspapers, or journal literature, suggests that either he had little access to archival sources and the numerous history journals published in the U.S., or that he feared political persecution if he was too persistent in his search for these materials. Unfortunately, Hertneck left no record of the library where he obtained his sources, but one must assume that it was the Humboldt University Library. Barring the possibility that Hertneck had books about Texas in his personal library, the political restraints on his research and writing prevented him from reaching beyond the secondary sources already available to him in German academic libraries. Of the twenty-four books listed at the end of his book, nineteen of them were published in the U. S., mostly standard works of Texas history. Citing only the secondary works that were available to him, Hertneck cites these books by the chapter for which they served as a source.<sup>10</sup> However, he cites none of these works by textual footnote references.

Hertneck's history begins with the Spanish conquest of Mexico and the ensuing period of colonial rule. Of the twenty-four sources listed in his bibliography, ten of them served as the basis for his detailed treatment of the almost three hundred years of Spanish rule in the border province of Texas.<sup>11</sup> Hertneck's description of the Spanish presence in Texas ranges from the exploits of several influential individuals such as Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and Hernán de Soto to the

enduring efforts of the Spaniards to resist the political and military encroachment by the French on Spanish territory.

While the Spaniards jealously guarded Mexico's northern border against French settlement, a challenge to Spanish power came from within, by the Mexicans themselves, and almost immediately after the Mexicans gained their independence from Spain, the Americanization of Texas began. The irony of this outcome of Mexico's struggle for independence and freedom was, of course, not lost on the author of *Der Kampf um Texas*. During centuries of watchfully guarding against encroachment by the French in Mexico's northern territories, the Spaniards had mistakenly overlooked the real threat: colonization by the Anglo-Americans.<sup>12</sup> Hertneck's treatment of this course of events is derived from a thorough study of four histories, three of them standard works on post-colonial Texas history.<sup>13</sup>

Hertneck's narrative suggests that the logical outcome of the Americanization of Texas was the Texas Revolution. When they emigrated to Texas, most of the Anglo-Americans brought with them democratic beliefs and traditions. They had been U.S. citizens, spoke only English, and harbored no loyalty to Mexico nor to the Mexican constitution of 1824. Recent events in Mexico, moreover, notably General Antonio López de Santa Anna's seizure of dictatorial powers, convinced most of the Anglo-American settlers that the future of Texas should be as an independent ally of the U.S. instead of Mexico.

Friedrich Hertneck's account of the Texas Revolution is somewhat unorthodox. While recounting thoroughly the heroic roles of William Barret Travis and James Bowie at the siege of the Alamo, he does not mention by name David Crockett. In his account of the massacre of Texan combatants at Goliad by their Mexican captors, he focuses almost exclusively on the actions of Colonel James Walker Fannin. Fannin's Mexican counterpart, General José Urrea, is not mentioned by name. Otherwise well-known Texan leaders such as Ben Milam and Erastus "Deaf" Smith are also ignored. Throughout Hertneck's account of the Texas Revolution General Sam Houston is center stage. The narrative would have been much improved had Hertneck consulted the account of the revolution by a young German participant, Hermann Ehrenberg's *Texas und seine Revolution*.<sup>14</sup>

In Hertneck's view, Houston's victory over Santa Anna at San Jacinto was one of the most decisive battles in world history, for "the liberation of Texas was the beginning of the end of Mexico's dominance in North America, and the annexations in 1845 and 1848 granted the United States that territorial dominance on the continent which provided the basis for the nation's ascendancy to being a world power."<sup>15</sup>

In the last full chapter of *Der Kampf um Texas* Hertneck takes up again the special German connection to Texas he alluded to in the introduction, namely "the dream that was embraced [in Germany] around the middle of the last century, . . . [the dream] of creating a German colony from the territories north of the Gulf of Mexico."<sup>16</sup> The colonization enterprise described by Hertneck was the Mainzer Adelsverein, an association of German nobles founded in 1842 for the purpose of directing an organized emigration of thousands of German farmers and tradesmen to Texas, where they would live in Verein settlements and till the land within the Verein's territory. The project entailed the acquisition of a large land grant from the Republic of Texas. Within less than a decade, however, the Verein was bankrupt, and only a few German settlements

had become thriving communities, notably New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. But this decade of German colonization in Texas, as Hertneck noted, sufficed to make the history of Texas of great interest to Germans in 1941, and to leave a distinctly German stamp on parts of Central Texas.

Hertneck's achievement in writing *Der Kampf um Texas*, using only other published histories as his sources, is even more remarkable when one considers the strict controls imposed on academic and public libraries during the Nazi era. Already in 1933, when the NSDAP took control of the government, restrictions were placed on libraries regarding the circulation of "undesirable" materials, meaning initially books and journals not supportive of the NSDAP's political agenda.<sup>17</sup> After September, 1939, when England declared war on Germany, these restrictions came to include also materials written in the English language, i.e. materials written in the language of an enemy country.<sup>18</sup> But since Great Britain and the U.S. shared a common language, the censors in the *Reichsstelle für Volksbüchereiwesen* (National Bureau for Public Libraries) often could not determine an author's nationality. Their task was made easier, however, in December, 1941, when Germany declared war on the U.S.<sup>19</sup> One can easily imagine the difficulties that Hertneck must have encountered in Berlin, probably at the library of the Humboldt University, when he attempted to obtain books written in English, the language of the enemy, about Texas history.

Friedrich Hertneck's history of Texas is interesting not only as a product of the period when the National Socialists by repressive measures completely controlled what was available for circulation in the academic and public libraries. But it is interesting to examine the history which Hertneck was able to produce with such extraordinarily limited resources and which attests to the remarkable degree that he was able to immerse himself in his subject. He narrates in broad strokes the history of the only state that had once been successively a Spanish possession, a French possession, a Mexican territory, and an independent republic. Hertneck's mastery of these events is excellent and no doubt intrigued his readers.

For a relative newcomer to Texas history in his scholarly career, Friedrich Hertneck exhibits a remarkable appreciation of his subject. *Der Kampf um Texas*, even though Hertneck had written previously only about the history of Social Democracy in Germany, is a scholarly and objective study. It exhibits no particularly obvious bias or cant of the author. In only one chapter does he suggest having some sympathy with the Texans. His admiration for the Texans' struggle against tyranny to achieve liberty and justice in their lives is clear, however, in the chapter about the Texas Revolution. He finds the roots of this struggle in Mexico's effort to populate the northern regions of the nation with an industrious immigrant population: "As always," he writes, "when a people have cast off the chains that formerly restrained them, there reigned in Mexico at the time an excess of pride and confidence that was not balanced by a measure of calm reflection and forethought. It became especially fateful for the Mexicans that the United States, their North American neighbor, was at the time their model nation. Every year tens of thousands of immigrants from numerous countries settled in the U.S. and the great "melting pot" of the frontier reshaped them all to Americans. And why should that which had succeeded in the U.S. not succeed also in Mexico?"<sup>20</sup>

The other event in Texas history that appears to have deeply interested Hertneck, and that made his book attractive to the Nazi authorities and therefore worthy of

publication, was the immigration of Germans in the mid-nineteenth century to Texas to form a German colony there. As he writes in the introduction, "the matter that makes Texas history especially important to us Germans is the dream that was embraced around the middle of the last century, [namely the dream] of creating a German colony from the territories north of the Gulf of Mexico." Hertneck's words leave little doubt that he was mindful of the Nazis' determination to build a connection to America that would help sustain the political aims of Nazism. Richards reiterates the point also that when the National Socialists came to power in 1933, "their most urgent mission was the unification of the German people in the common conviction of their unique characteristics as the master race." Hertneck's words, which connected German history and culture to the history and culture of the United States, emphasized the common history and traditions of both countries as a result of the massive German emigration to the U.S. in the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

It is clear that Hertneck did not write *Der Kampf um Texas* as a major revision of traditional Texas history. In the absence of a statement by either Hertneck himself or his publisher in a foreword, one must assume that he was writing for other German historians and for the general public in Germany, an audience of readers who would be content to have a history written chiefly from English-language sources published in the U. S. and Great Britain. His concluding summary of the course of Texas history underscores the appeal of the struggle for Texas: "Gold was never discovered in Texas, and the riches which the territory concealed were never revealed by the gold-seeking ravages of the Spanish conquerors. Only when the North American immigrants came to Central Texas and turned over the rich soil there with their plows, only when the sweat of their difficult labor enriched the soil, did the riches of Texas become manifest."<sup>22</sup> These riches were shared also by the thousands of German settlers who came to Texas in the nineteenth century on the heels of the North Americans. The lesson, therefore, which Hertneck wanted to leave in the minds of his German readers in 1941 was that Texas was colonized successfully neither by the Spanish, nor by the French, but by the Anglo-Americans and the Germans.

In Nazi Germany, Texas was not a political entity that would likely arouse suspicion or enmity. It had been a member state of the United States since 1845, and hence it was not an independent enemy of the Third Reich. Friedrich Hertneck was no doubt mindful of Texas' unique political history as he embarked on his venture to write *Der Kampf um Texas*. Once earmarked by a number of empresarios and some German states and communities to receive German emigrants, Texas became the home of thousands of German colonists. This notion of creating a "Neu- Deutschland" on the Gulf of Mexico and a market for German manufactures became the springboard in the nineteenth century for solving Germany's problems of overpopulation, unemployment, and famine. Among the many ventures to create a German colony in the frontier territories of the U. S., however, Texas was in several ways unique. In the first place, Texas was the target of the largest of the German colonization ventures in the U. S. In the second place, this venture was not the product of political or commercial interests, but was a project organized by a committee or *Verein* of nobles.<sup>23</sup> Hertneck devotes an entire chapter to the *Mainzer Adelsverein* and was no doubt mindful of Texas' unique position as home to the largest of German colonization ventures in the nineteenth century. In 1941 there were still a number of German communities in Texas such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg,

Industry, Castell, Boerne, Umland, Niederwald, Grüne, Comfort, and New Ulm, where German was still spoken by the inhabitants, the farmers, the merchants, the housewives, and schoolchildren.

Texas State University-San Marcos  
San Marcos, Texas

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Hertneck, *Der Kampf um Texas* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1941).

One would expect that in 1941 the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag would be publishing books that were more supportive of the goals and policies of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) than a history of Texas, but at least half of the twenty-two books in publication in 1941 by the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag that are advertised on the rear fly-leaf of Hertneck's history appear to be works about German history, and world history and geography: Robert Bauer, *Die Insel der Heiligen und Rebellen*; J. B. Brebner, *Die Erforscher von Nordamerika; Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien*, ed. former governors of the German colonies; R. Busch-Zantner, *Albanien. Neues Land im Imperium*; Ferdinand Fried, *Wende der Weltwirtschaft*; Otto Graf, *Imperium Britannicum. Vom Inselstaat zum Weltreich*; Ernst Hering, *Die Deutsche Hanse*; Ernst Hering, *Die Fugger*; F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Die spanischen Konquistadoren*; Richard Moeller, *Rußland, Wesen und Werden*; Wilhelm Nowack, *Australien. Kontinent der Gegensätze*; Walther Pahl, *Wetterzonen der Weltpolitik*; Edgar Prestage, *Die portugiesischen Entdecker*; Erich Reimers, *Der Kampf um den deutschen Osten. Deutsches Schicksal in drei Jahrtausenden*; Erich Reimers, *Die Welser landen in Venezuela. Das erste deutsche Kolonialunternehmen*; Heinrich Schiffers-Davringhausen, *Stumme Front. Männer und Mächte im Banne der Sahara*; Paul Schmitz-Kairo, *Politiker und Propheten am Roten Meer*; Herbert Tichy, *Afghanistan*; Herbert Tichy, *Alaska. Ein Paradies des Nordens*; E. A. Walker, *Der große Trek*; Hans F. Zeck, *Nordsee. Raum der Entscheidungen*; Anton Zischka, *Wissenschaft bricht Monopole. Der Forscherkampf um neue Rohstoffe und neuen Lebensraum*. For a list of the books published by the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag from 1922 to 1962, see *Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag 1922-1962* (München: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1962), 161-207.

<sup>2</sup> The "innere Emigration" was the term used for "the state of mental reservation which those dissenting from National Socialism were obliged to impose upon themselves if they were unwilling to incur draconian penalties by expressing their disagreement." Writers chose either not to submit new works for publication, or they chose new, sometimes more obscure topics for their writing. A typical example of the latter was Ernst Jünger's allegorical novel of antitotalitarianism, *Auf den Marmorklippen*, which was published in 1939. Henry and Mary Garland (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to German Literature* ((Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 420 (quotation), 441-42.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Hertneck, "Lebenslauf," *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks*, Diss. (Berlin, 1927), 39.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich List, *Die politisch ökonomische Nationaleinheit der Deutschen*, mit einem Nachwort von Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1926); Eduard Lasker, *Fünfzehn Jahre parlamentarischer Geschichte (1886-1880)*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1926); Ferdinand Lassalle, *Ferdinand Lassalles Tagebuch*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1927); Ferdinand Lassalle, *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Zentral-Komitee zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Leipzig*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1927); Karl Marx, *Karl Marx und die Gewerkschaften: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1928); Johann Baptist von Schweizer, *Die Gewerkschaftsfrage: Aufsätze*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1928); Friedrich Hertneck, *Verkehrspolitik und Verkehrsrecht: Vorträge gehalten auf dem 13. Bundestage des deutschen Verkehrsverbandes in Leipzig* (Berlin: Verlagsanstalt "Curier," 1928). I am indebted to Heidrun Louda, Archivist at the Archive for Social Democracy in Bonn, Germany, for sending me this list of Hertneck's early publications.

<sup>5</sup> Aiga Seywald, *Die Presse der sozialen Bewegungen 1918-1933: Linksparteien, Gewerkschaften, Arbeiterkulturbewegung*... (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1994), 356.

<sup>6</sup> Letter, Britta Hertneck to L. E. B., 4 April 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Klaas Dirk Dierks, "Gertrud David—Regisseurin, Produzentin," *CineGraph: Lexikon zum deutschsprachigen Film*, 6 vols. ed. Hans-Michael Bock (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 1984-2004), XXVIII, B7 (quotation); letter, Britta Hertneck to L.E.B., 4 April 2006.

I have been unable to learn the title of any of Hertneck's so-called *Cowboy-Romane*. Further, Hertneck's granddaughter, Britta Hertneck, reports that she could find no recollection among members of her family that her grandfather had written such novels. Letter, Britta Hertneck to L.E.B. (13 January 2007).

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Werner Breunig, archivist at the Landesarchiv Berlin, for providing to me verbatim the entry recording Friedrich Hertneck's death on his notice of residence, and to Tracy Achilles, assistant press and public affairs officer at the British Consulate-General in Houston, for directing my attention to the website, <http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/dec43.html>.

An account of the bombing raid by Otto Linnemann, a neighbor of Hertneck's, who was with him and his wife on that fateful night in the neighborhood bombshelter, recorded the experience on 7 January 1944 for Hertneck's children. A photocopy was sent to the author. Letter, Britta Hertneck to L. E. B., 4 April 2006. Typescript.

<sup>9</sup> Hertneck, *Der Kampf um Texas*, 8 (quotation). All quotations from Hertneck have been translated into English by L.E.B.

<sup>10</sup> An excellent description of the political and practical constraints imposed by the National Socialists on academic and research libraries during the Third Reich is Pamela Spence Richards' article, "Aryan Librarianship: Academic and Research Libraries under Hitler," *Journal of Library History*, 19 (1984), 231-58.

The titles of the nine chapters in Hertneck's *Der Kampf um Texas* are: 1) "Konquistadorenzüge" (Travels of the Conquistadors); 2) "Grenzschutz" (Border Defence); 3) "Zwischenspiel" (Intermezzo); 4) "Amerikanische Nachbarschaft" (American Neighbors); 5) "Die Amerikanisierung" (The Americanization); 6) "Der Freiheitskampf" (The Struggle for Liberty); 7) "Die Republik" (The Republic); 8) "Ein deutscher Kolonisationsversuch" (An Attempt at German Colonization); 9) "Rangers und Ranches" (Texas Rangers and Ranches).

<sup>11</sup> All authors' names, titles, publishers, dates and places of publication of the works cited by Hertneck for all chapters have, where needed, been supplied: Ernst Daenell, *Die Spanier in Nordamerika 1513-1824* (München/Berlin, 1911); George P. Garrison, *Texas: A Contest of Civilizations* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin & Co., 1903); Henderson K. Yoakum, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (2 vols.; New York: Redfield, 1855); Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación*, transl. Franz Termer (Stuttgart, 1925); Morris Bishop, *The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca* (New York/London: The Century Co., 1933); George P. Winship, *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, D. C., 1896); A. F. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America* (New York: D. Appleton, 1893); Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921); Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanasie de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780* . . . (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914); Lyle Saxon, *Lafitte, the Pirate* (New York: Century Co., 1930).

<sup>12</sup> Hertneck, *Kampf*, 153-58, 178.

<sup>13</sup> Erich Kempfen, *Die Ausbreitungspolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1923); Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, *A Social and Political History of Texas* (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1932); Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas 1793-1836. A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People* (Dallas: Cokesbury Press, 1926); Eugene C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas 1821-1835. University of Texas Research Lectures on the Causes of the Texas Revolution* (Dallas: P. L. Turner, 1928).

<sup>14</sup> Ehrenberg's narrative of the Texas Revolution was published three times, each time with a different title: *Texas und seine Revolution* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1843); *Der Freiheitskampf in Texas im Jahre 1836* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844); *Fabrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845). Sources utilized by Hertneck for the revolutionary period in Texas are as follows: Clarence Wharton, *San Jacinto, The Sixteenth Decisive Battle* (Houston: Lamar Book Store, 1930); Ephraim D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas 1836/46* (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1910); James Marquis, *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929); and Frank C. Hanighen, *Santa Anna: The Napoleon of the West* (New York: Coward McCann, 1934).

<sup>15</sup> Hertneck, *Kampf*, 217-18 (quotation).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 (quotation). Hertneck's sources for his account of German colonization in Texas were Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1930), and Hermann von Freeden and Georg Smolka (eds.), *Auswanderer: Bilder und Skizzen aus der Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1937). One wonders why Hertneck did not consult any of the numerous publications that appeared in Germany between 1845 and 1855 describing the German colonization efforts in Texas. In his bibliography Biesele cites no less than twelve of them.

<sup>17</sup> Richards, "Aryan Librarianship," 247 (quotation).

<sup>18</sup> *Lexikon der deutschen Geschichte: Personen, Ereignisse, Institutionen . . .*, ed. Gerhard Taddey (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1979), 1275; Margaret Stieg, "The Second World War and the Public Libraries of Nazi Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27 (1992), 28; Richards, "Aryan Librarianship," 248.

<sup>19</sup> George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, Brief 3d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1993), 778, 780; Taddey (ed.), *Lexikon*, 1276; Stieg, "The Second World War . . ." 28.

<sup>20</sup> Hertneck, *Kampf um Texas*, 161 (quotation).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 (quotation). An outstanding account of the efforts by the Nazi authorities to construct a cultural bridge to the U. S. can be found in Cornelia Wilhelm, "Nazi Propaganda and the Uses of the Past: Heinz Kloss and the Making of a *German America*," *Amerikastudien*, 47 (2002), 57-61; Richards, "Aryan Librarianship," 232 (quotation). An excellent history of the German emigration in the nineteenth century, its causes, effects, and the politics of the phenomenon, can be found in Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>22</sup> Hertneck, *Kampf um Texas*, 295 (quotation).

<sup>23</sup> Stefan von Senger und Etterlin, *Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika: Massenauswanderung, nationale Gruppenansiedlungen und liberale Kolonialbewegung 1815-1860* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), 214.