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Wilhelm Dibelius and His Influence on German-Canadian Studies

This essay will focus on Wilhelm Dibelius and how he influenced Heinz Lehmann and Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (Society for Germandom Abroad: VDA) through his observations and research in Canada. Dibelius was professor of English studies at the University of Berlin; he had already established an international reputation with his publication on Great Britain entitled *England*.¹ In this work, Canada was briefly discussed in terms of its relations to the mother country and role within the Commonwealth.² Dibelius' intention was to write a large-scale study on Canada;³ for this reason he traveled through the country during the summer of 1928. His research expedition was undertaken with the purpose of understanding Canada's cultural diversity and observing how German nationals were absorbed into society. Dibelius took a personal interest in the progress, struggles and accomplishments of all German speakers. Once in Canada, he was surprised to find so many German speakers and evidence of their influences.⁴ But his interest in German speakers abroad had not been suddenly awakened; Dibelius had been interested in German minorities abroad prior to his Canadian research. Dibelius and his brother Otto became involved with the VDA when they were university students, but Wilhelm's relationship with the VDA was solidified during his contribution to the publication *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande* (Handbook of Germandom Abroad, 1903).⁵ It was during this research on Posen, that he became acutely aware of the plight of German minorities on Germany's borders. After its completion, Dibelius remained in contact with the VDA and contributed to other publications.

The VDA was the oldest private non-political organisation trying to protect the German culture and heritage from assimilation in foreign countries. It was formed in 1881 for the defence of the German language and culture. The main areas of interest were schools in the border regions of Austria-Hungary and the German settlements in central-eastern Europe. Prior to WW I little interest was paid to Canada. After WW I, the VDA's mandate evolved and it extended their areas of interest outside of Europe. It was now not only directly active within the cultural work occurring in Europe but they also took an active interest in Germans scattered throughout the entire world. This field of interest expanded yet again when VDA became interested in German emigration.⁶ The VDA's goal was to save German speakers abroad from assimilation; it was one of the most influential private cultural institutions that was

active between the two world wars. Dibelius was the most prominent person affiliated with the VDA to visit Canada during the Weimar Republic.

After his return to Germany, Dibelius suggested that Lehmann write his doctoral dissertation on the ethnic Germans residing there.⁷ Lehmann eventually completed his thesis *Geschichte der Deutschen in Kanada* in 1931;⁸ unfortunately Dibelius died on 28 January 1931 prior to its completion.⁹ Due to Dibelius's observations concentrating on German speakers in western Canada and Lehmann's dissertation focusing on ethnic Germans in eastern Canada a direct correlation between the two may not be immediately obvious.¹⁰ Dibelius influenced Lehmann's dissertation, but this is more apparent within his *Habilitationschrift* (post-doctoral thesis) as he followed in his advisor's footsteps by repeating a fact-finding mission in Canada six years later - May to August 1934. This work, entitled *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (The Germandom in Western Canada), was published eight years after Dibelius's death. Possibly Lehmann was able to use his advisors' research notes and unfinished manuscript for his own research purposes.¹¹

Similar to other VDA scholars, Dibelius compared Canada to the United States and concluded that both countries had similar problems regarding immigration and assimilation.¹² Although he had traveled in both countries, Dibelius concluded that he had seen Canada more thoroughly than many German scholars, but cautioned that Canada was immense and so thinly populated that matters of interest or research were often hundreds of kilometers apart, hence traveling between destinations took considerable time and effort. During his research expedition Dibelius spent an unspecified amount of time in Quebec, followed by three weeks in Ontario, four weeks in the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and an unknown amount of time in British Columbia.

Dibelius reported that everywhere in Canada he was accepted in a friendly manner. Although there were many memorials and remembrances to those that died during WW I, he experienced no personal animosity. While in the country he was invited to hold speeches at four Canadian universities—McGill (Montreal), Toronto, Kingston, and Winnipeg. He suggested that Canadian and German universities develop exchange programs for students, not only for the benefit of the respected institutions but also to improve relations between the two countries. Throughout his travels Dibelius was able to meet influential Canadians, including professors and scholars, but concluded that the educated elites' level of knowledge regarding Germany was poor. Another observation was that relations between Canada and Great Britain appeared strained. Dibelius expected to find relations somewhat aloof, but what he discovered was even beyond his expectations. In Ontario there was some affiliation with the former motherland, but even Canadians of an English heritage believed that Canada had too eagerly participated in the war, therefore many Canadians were killed merely for the pomp and prestige of the empire. A similar indignation was found in British Columbia but even greater resentment lingered in Quebec and the Prairie Provinces, overall relations between Canada and the United Kingdom were viewed negatively.

In comparison to Canadian and British relations, matters between Canada and the United States were more complicated. Many Canadians viewed the American administration as corrupt, which in Dibelius's opinion, was an exaggeration. Dibelius observed that some individuals contemplated both the advantages and disadvantages

of a formal union between the two countries, but noticed that this was not an issue for most Canadians, even though some Europeans believed it was. No one could deny the economic link between the two countries, but Canada had its own economic interests and priorities. Dibelius had believed that French-Canadians strengthened Canadian unity, but after his visit to Quebec he was left unsure of this sentiment. Dibelius reported that after a conversation with French-Canadian politician Henri Bourassa, he departed with the impression that Quebec's political agenda was dictated only by Francophone concerns—the agenda of outsiders carried no weight. French-Canadians wanted their province to receive as many rights, privileges and grants as possible while committed to a united Canada. Yet this position within the Dominion could become jeopardized by the growth of the western provinces. If the influence of the French-Canadians decreased they would do what was best for them, including the break up of Canada or a union with the United States. French-Canadians simply wanted a strong Catholic, French-speaking province to uphold their culture and heritage. Dibelius claimed that some Anglo-Canadians wanted to control the French, who put up stiff resistance to any such maneuvers.

The French-English language and Catholic-Protestant conflicts of eastern Canada were not merely limited to Quebec but had spilled over into Ontario and the western provinces. European immigration to western Canada had made Francophones a small minority even though bilingual schools had been possible. But with WW I minority linguistic privileges had been eroded in western Canada, thus affecting German speakers. Dibelius believed that the future of the French language in Canada was linked to the settlement of the western plains - if the French-Canadians could establish a stable footing there, the survival of the French language was ensured. Albeit another equally important question regarding the future of Canada regarded the assimilation of immigrants. It was on the prairies that Dibelius believed the language struggle between “the nationalities of the world“ would take place because its residents were aloof to British traditions.¹³ Dibelius stated that foreigners made up forty-seven percent of Saskatchewan's population, forty-three percent in Manitoba and forty percent in Alberta; it was due to this mixed population that English would succeed as the language of communication.

Yet within certain districts of Saskatchewan, where non-English speakers were the majority, it was possible to have German religious language instruction; however this was limited to half-an-hour a day, provided the local clergy was proficient in German. Dibelius warned that although this was helpful in the support of the German language one could not ensure that German was spoken between the pupils outside of lessons.¹⁴ Long-term prospects did not appear favorable because “everywhere I made the observation that school children of German nationals spoke English with each other. English is the language of the culture, the language of the teacher, the language of the newspapers, the language of the movies, the language of public life. Where the Germans live in closed settlements, like the small colony of Münster in Saskatchewan, this was not any different.“ Dibelius observed that the assimilation of immigrants in the Canadian prairies, especially Saskatchewan, was an important question for the security of the country—this matter was especially precarious due to the Anglo Saxons barely being in the majority. Dibelius explained, “the numbers of immigrants is so large that it is extremely difficult to assimilate them.“ Some English speaking Canadians called for an American style quota system because “the

Anglo-Saxon population will not accept this large scale [immigration of] additional foreigners." Others saw the need to ensure that English-speaking immigrants would receive preferential treatment when immigrating to Canada.¹⁵

Lehmann followed Dibelius's lead and proclaimed that western Canada, most notably Saskatchewan, was favorable for the retention of the German language.¹⁶ Representatives of the Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office - AA) and members of the German government made the same assessment that the western province of Saskatchewan offered the best possibilities for cultural and language retention of Germans in Canada.¹⁷ Lehmann explained the situation this way:

in Saskatchewan the Anglo-Saxons have a very slim majority within the population and assimilation of the foreign ethnic groups is done energetically. On the other hand the many ethnic groups have not yet attempted a combined resistance against the Anglo-Canadian cultural policy. The Anglo-Canadian schools are not only to be in the English language, but rather the entire liberal urban civilization of [North] America itself, especially the present prairie regions and uses its appeal on the youth in German areas. They have often rejected the demanding religious life of the parents and with it the external lifestyle of the elders [including] their German ethnic identity. The intellectual leadership lies, until now, almost entirely in the hands of the clergy of the various confessions, they have tried with German private lessons church services and German social gatherings within their congregations.¹⁸

Dibelius explained that the dominant position the English language enjoyed was slightly stronger in Alberta and Manitoba than Saskatchewan, but the number of immigrants was also quite large, thus contributing to assimilation problems in the prairie provinces. For some Canadians immigration represented a danger to the integrity and security of the nation. He also noticed that the Canadian railways and sections of the provincial and federal governments supported immigration.¹⁹ For example both of Canada's railways, the Canadian National Railway (CNR) and Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), possessed land, which they wanted to sell, and were affiliated with religious immigration boards, which encouraged Germans to emigrate.²⁰

Dibelius noted that according to the 1921 census, the number of German nationals in Canada was given as 25,266; he estimated the number of ethnic Germans as being between 300,000 and 400,000. The majority of these German speakers were from the Volga, Crimea, Galicia, Volhynia or the United States; most had lived outside of Germany for generations and had only vague notions of Germany, its history and cultural heritage. Dibelius reported that ninety-nine percent were farmers and had no ideas regarding the maintenance of German heritage or traditions yet German was still the language at home and in most churches. Their sole cultural inspiration and defense against assimilation came from the church and the Bible—it was only possible for ethnic Germans to retain their language and culture through these two traditions.²¹ It appears that Lehmann believed this as well as he echoed similar statements within his own publications.²²

Dibelius concluded that at the moment the best means for the cultural survival

of the ethnic Germans in Canada lay within the strengthening of German churches and church organizations. Both were to be as German as possible and strive for the retention of their culture, language and character—this called for the revival of German cultural clubs. Although some clubs existed, Dibelius lamented that they often had no cultural goals. Where German cultural aspirations existed special attention should be given in the form of books and pictures, including visits from AA representatives from Winnipeg and Montreal. Protestant and Catholic Church representatives could make donations periodically; these would be in the form of reading material. Dibelius realized that the survival of Canada's Germans depended on the younger generation retaining contacts to both Germany and the German culture.²³

Dibelius's assessment directed VDA's awareness to the problems experienced by ethnic Germans in Canada and marked a turning point in the amount of exposure Canada enjoyed in its publications.²⁴ Prior to Dibelius's trip to Canada the VDA had already established contact with the ethnic Germans in Canada and had sent literature to selected groups and settlements.²⁵ The VDA recognized that newspapers, magazines and books represented an important cultural pillar in connecting ethnic Germans in foreign countries to Germany—this also fostered a leadership class in the German hierarchy abroad. This conclusion was essential for retaining one's culture and language when living as a linguistic minority.²⁶ Upon his return to Germany Dibelius wanted the VDA to become more active in its cultural support of Canada's Deutschtum and suggested more literature be sent. As a direct result, the VDA became more generous supplying Canada's German speakers with reading material. He believed that all Germans, especially those in western Canada, could retain their heritage if emigration continued and cultural support from Germany was received. It appears Dibelius's suggestion that more books be sent to Canada was accepted by the VDA. Unfortunately for Canada's Germans, shipments of reading material did not remain constant. Successive years saw a decline in the VDA's literary efforts in Canada. The VDA viewed ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe as more closely linked to Germany.²⁷

Dibelius reported "some ministers that come from Germany give a heroic effort and perform the same work twice. But since most ministers are not from Germany, but rather sent from American seminaries or from German Lutheran Synods of North American the care of the Deutschtum [German culture] is dying at its roots."²⁸ Lehmann also used similar vocabulary to describe the efforts the German-Canadian clergy made on behalf of Canada's German speakers.²⁹ The preservation of German elements within Canada rested solely upon the strengthening of German-Canadian church organizations and solidifying their commitment toward the preservation of their culture. Dibelius called for the revival of German clubs, societies, choirs, reading groups, etc. to strengthen Canada's Deutschtum—whatever would serve to make the German language present within the daily lives of all German speakers in Canada. Until WW I German speakers received some German schooling. With the war this privilege fell ending formal German language instruction. But some pastors and priests were attempting to provide German youth with language training - their actions represented the only educational measure that could be taken to protect and support the German language in Canada.

Although Dibelius hoped that language instruction by the German-Canadian

clergy gave German speakers a future, Lehmann examined this possibility and believed that not all ministers and pastors were truly committed to saving German speakers from assimilation in Canada. Lehmann wrote that the question of education split the German clergy in Canada. There were those that heroically defended the German culture and language with great energy and sacrifice while others actually acted within the assimilation process and weakened the German heritage in Canada.³⁰ Although German churches were seen as a method to help maintain the German culture, others warned that one should not put too much faith in them because they had their own goals and interests, they were not solely motivated to save the German language or culture from assimilation. Despite the fact that churches offered German speakers in North America an opportunity for both cultural and intellectual support they continuously defected from them. The VDA had already noted that if German emigrants were lost to the church, most were soon separated from their ethnic identity.³¹

Dibelius also posed the question if Canada could serve as a viable emigration alternative to Germany's lost colonies; regretfully the answer appeared to be no due to the high rate of assimilation. Dibelius wanted to keep German nationals in Germany but it seemed to be a necessary evil to sacrifice part of this surplus population to emigration. Yet those that left Germany must be incorporated into a worldwide community of Germans. Another possibility for German cultural survival entailed mass immigration of German citizens. Dibelius speculated that if there were more German nationals in Canada, perhaps 200,000 instead of a mere 25,266 with a few hundred having a good education and vision for the future while living in closed settlements, the ethnic Germans of western Canada would be much stronger. Dibelius believed without steady large scale German immigration, and ethnic Germans living in closed settlements, the existence of the German culture in Canada could not be assured. He was convinced that the Canadian railways and German-Canadian immigration boards would support increased German immigration to Canada, but the real question was how the other residents of Canada would react.³²

Similar to the praise others lavished on the Canadian railways and their German-Canadian immigration boards,³³ Dibelius also saw such organizations as performing good deeds on behalf of newcomers. In Winnipeg, for example, German church organizations affiliated to the CPR provided immigrants with work and protected them from possible exploitation. He noted that there were many false impressions in Germany regarding Canadian wages. Although salaries were higher during harvests this was only for a few weeks—this was incorrectly advertised in Germany as being the typical wages offered year round. CPR representative Colonel Dennis and CNR representative Mr. Black acknowledged that this problem existed, but insisted this only occurred through the advertising of some shipping agents abroad. Both men reported that Canadian envoys and railway agents could not suppress the stories that existed in Europe. Dibelius remained skeptical to this reply, but admitted that those that ventured overseas without acquiring accurate information from dependable sources were sometimes responsible for their own misery.³⁴

Lehmann also seized on the vein of thought, that German nationals were beneficial for the support and maintenance of Canada's German language and culture German speakers.³⁵ Dibelius surmised that the English speaking population of Canada would not stand for a massive immigration of Germans and allow for their settlement

within closed communities. If this would be attempted, Dibelius feared that teachers' unions, protestant organizations, women's groups, WW I veterans groups, etc. would protest. In order to counter such pressure groups Dibelius maintained that ethnic Germans had some political leverage through their loyal support of the Liberal Party, but Germans lacked proper leadership. Yet there was some hope for Canada's German speakers through W. D. Euler federally and J. M. Ulrich provincially in Saskatchewan. Both men claimed to place importance on their cultural heritage but Dibelius speculated that their true loyalties were to their political party. He did not believe that Germans alone had the voting power to control their own destiny, but a federation of ethnic groups could be strong enough to introduce legislation on the usage of foreign languages.³⁶

Dibelius suggested an alliance of non-British immigrants involving German speakers and Ukrainians—in the Prairie Provinces this could achieve some political and cultural goals. Unfortunately, the ethnic Germans on the prairies were separated religiously through the Lutheran, Catholic and Mennonite churches, the Ukrainians were also divided between Roman and Greek Catholic churches.³⁷ Lehmann repeated this idea that such an affiliation of newcomers in western Canada could achieve political aims. Based on his research he expanded on Dibelius's idea and proposed a German, Ukrainian and French alliance.³⁸

At the end of his observations in Canada Dibelius supported a small scale German emigration to Canada, he was not alone in his support. Others that held some prestige and influence in Germany such as Reverend Dr. Friedrich Caspar Gleiss, Dr. Erich Koch, and Manfred Grisebach held similar views. Before traveling to Canada in 1928 Dibelius consulted Gleiss and Koch.³⁹ Gleiss served as Lutheran Immigration Board (LIB) representative in Germany from May 1924 to April 1925 and steadfastly supported a restricted emigration of German citizens and eastern European Germans to Canada. The LIB selected and fostered Germans emigration to Canada – it enjoyed good relationships with the Canadian government and a formal alliance with the CPR. Gleiss traveled in Canada for six weeks in the fall of 1924 and concluded that a controlled emigration to Canada allowed Germans to prosper and their cultural integrity remained intact. As a result of this support, Gleiss came into conflict with Germany's emigration authorities, which wanted to keep German farmers at home.⁴⁰ Gleiss had an article printed in a VDA publication, the 1928 edition of *Deutsche Welt* (German World). How Dibelius came to know of Gleiss' work on behalf of the LIB is unknown, but this probably occurred through the VDA administration.⁴¹ Dibelius also had personal contact with Gleiss' successor, Dr. Hermann Wagner. Although the extent of this association cannot be documented Wagner also supported German emigration to Canada after WW I.⁴²

In conversations with prominent Canadians Dibelius asked the question if Canada could become a multilingual country, similar to Switzerland - he hoped this might offer German speakers the possibility for cultural survival.⁴³ Others in Germany, most notably Reichsminister (Imperial Minister) Erich Koch, came to a similar conclusion that "Canada is becoming an American Switzerland". Koch also believed that Canada's German speakers could survive and even prosper.⁴⁴ Koch was named Reichminister des Innern (Imperial Minister of the Interior) in 1919, from 1920 to 1930 he served as member of the German parliament; from June 1928 to April 1929 he headed the Reichsjustizministerium (Imperial Justice Ministry). Koch

traveled to Canada in the fall of 1926 to personally inspect whether Canada was suitable for German emigrants. Koch concluded that Canada offered all German speakers the opportunity of financial success, as well as the retention of their ethnic culture and heritage.⁴⁵ The CPR later reported that Koch intended to establish an emigration society in Germany with the aim of selecting suitable German emigrants for settlement in western Canada.⁴⁶ Similar to Koch, Dibelius wanted to support Canada's ethnic Germans through emigration. Their proposals would have called for the emigration of German farmers; however, this was part of German society that the German government did not want to emigrate and represented a contradiction to VDA's traditional co-operation with Germany's emigration authorities.

Manfred Grisebach of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut (German Foreign Institute—DAI), another large German cultural institution that was active during the Weimar Republic also supported German emigration to Canada. Although Grisebach traveled to Canada in 1929 he had already been actively supporting German emigration to Canada at an earlier date.⁴⁷ Another advocate of German emigration to Canada was German Foreign Affairs Minister Gustav Stresemann. Stresemann was impressed with the Canadian disposition regarding the treatment of minorities and was influenced by Koch into supporting a small-scale movement of German citizens to Canada. Both Koch and Stresemann saw the obstructions to German emigration to Canada caused by the German government as unnecessary. Pressure exerted on the emigration authorities appeared to bear fruit for those favoring German emigration to Canada as LIB representatives visiting Germany were told that the government would no longer fight against emigration to Canada.⁴⁸ Important members of the German Catholic and Lutheran church also supported a limited immigration of Germans to Canada.⁴⁹

Upon returning to Germany Dibelius sent a text of his travels to the AA and asked for copies to be given to its representatives in Montreal and Winnipeg, German Caritas Association, German Lutheran Church Committee and VDA. This report was not only sent to the AA representatives in Canada but also to those in London, Washington, Pretoria, Dublin and Sydney. Members of the AA administration emphasized that Dibelius's opinion was not to be published or shown to the German press for fear of encouraging emigration to Canada. German authorities did not want Dibelius' report influencing German nationals in any way⁵⁰—during the inter-wartime years German emigration to Canada was strongly discouraged by the German government.⁵¹

As a result of his research Dibelius concluded that Canada needed only farmers and agricultural workers; those interested in other careers were not to consider emigration here. Although Dibelius supported a limited emigration to Canada, he warned that only those Germans that were prepared to do hard physical labor and endure great sacrifices would be able to withstand the working conditions and the challenges that emigration entailed. After approximately two years of sacrifice and toil one could buy some land and lead a comfortable but humble lifestyle. However, this relied on having some luck due to the elements of nature often wrecking havoc on farmers' plans.⁵²

Dibelius's research and observations influenced German-Canadian studies through his contacts with the VDA. His protégé, Heinz Lehmann, was also affected by his opinions and findings. Praise has been lavishly bestowed upon Lehmann due

to his books and articles being valued as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada." His research is ranked as the most "comprehensive critical account of the history of Canada's Germans." Lehmann is also known as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German Canadians."⁵³ Lehmann's research did for Canadian scholars what Albert B. Faust "The German Element in the United States" did for American researchers. Dibelius's contacts with the VDA also proved beneficial to Lehmann as his early articles were published in its journals⁵⁴ or with their financial aid,⁵⁵ e.g., Lehmann's post-doctoral thesis was fiscally supported by the VDA.⁵⁶ In addition to influencing Lehmann, Dibelius had good relations with the VDA and influenced their opinion of Canada. Dibelius's research in Canada caused the VDA to direct greater attention to Canada as an emigration destination and a country with a German-speaking minority that needed cultural support.⁵⁷ As a direct result of his visit VDA's interest in Canada initially increased, but later waned. But the best testimony of Dibelius's long-term influence can be found through Heinz Lehmann owing to the huge impact he had on the historiography of ethnic Germans in Canada. Dibelius' influences in Germany on the study of Canada's German speakers continued long after his death in January 1931 for his former student, Heinz Lehmann, made groundbreaking research regarding the settlement, immigration and culture of German speakers in Canada. This research has been for the benefit of both contemporary and future scholars.

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Notes

¹ Lehmann, Heinz *The German Canadians 1750-1937 Immigration, Settlement and Culture*, translated, edited and introduced by Gerhard P. Bassler (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1986), xxvii-xxxix (hereafter Lehmann and Bassler). Dibelius also published a bibliography on C. Dickens that was well received internationally.

² Dibelius, Wilhelm, *England* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag Anstalt, 1931), 1: 62-68.

³ Lehmann, Heinz, "Wilhelm Dibelius," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1931* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 190-91; Lehmann, Heinz, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada, Band I, Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada* (Stuttgart Ausland und Heimat Verlags - Aktiengesellschaft, 1931), v-vi.

⁴ Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," 190-91; PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band 1 Nr.1: Bericht über eine Reise nach Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten by Prof. Dr. Dibelius, 1928, 12-16 (hereafter Bericht, Dibelius).

⁵ Weidenfeller, Gerhard, *VDA, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland. Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein (1881-1918), Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutschen Nationalismus und Imperialismus im Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 1976), 294-96.

⁶ Komjathy, Anthony, and Stockwell, Rebecca, *German Minorities and The Third Reich* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980), 2-5; Weidenfeller, 290-94, Ausker, Wolfgang, *Behörden und Bestandesgeschichte Einleitung* (Berlin: Bundesarchiv, 1963), vi.

⁷ Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*. 190-91, Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi; Grams, Grant, *German Emigration to Canada and the Support of Its Deutschtum during the Weimar Republic. The Role of the Deutsches Ausland Institut, Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland and German-Canadian Organisations* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Publishers, 2001), 205-12.

⁸ Bundesarchiv Koblenz R57/1281/I (hereafter BAK): Zu Heinz Lehmann, "Geschichte der Deutschen in Kanada," undated and unsigned document. The dissertation was published as "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada."

- ⁹ Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931, 190-91* and Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi.
- ¹⁰ Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, 114-15.
- ¹¹ Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," 190-91.
- ¹² Hammann-Perleberg, "Vom Deutschtum in Kanada, Reisebeobachtungen und -erfahrungen," in *Das Deutschtum im Ausland - Vierteljahreshefte des Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (Berlin: Hermann Hiller Verlag, 1911), 502; Oppel, Alwin, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," in Paul Langhans, ed., *Deutsche Erde* (Gotha: Justus Perthes Verlag, 1906), 47-51; Oppel, Alwin, *Kanada und die Deutschen*, A. Geiser and H. von Staden, eds. (Dresden: Heimat und Welt Verlag, 1916), 28.
- ¹³ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 1-31.
- ¹⁴ Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Prof. Dr., Aus der kanadischen Prärie, in *Klasinger Monatschrift*, June 1929, pp. 407-408 (Hereafter Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie).
- ¹⁵ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 14-32.
- ¹⁶ Lehmann, Heinz, "Kanada," in Carl Petersen, Paul Hermann Ruth und Hans Schwalm, eds., *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums, Band III* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1938), 272 (hereafter Lehmann, *Handwörterbuch*, translation by author).
- ¹⁷ Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26 and 72-73; Grams, 250-51
- ¹⁸ Lehmann, *Handwörterbuch*, 272.
- ¹⁹ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 14-15.
- ²⁰ Grams, 127-81.
- ²¹ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- ²² Lehmann, Heinz, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin: Junker and Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1939), 272-73.
- ²³ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- ²⁴ *VDA Jahresbericht 1928* (Berlin: Thormann und Goetsch Druckerei), 84; Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931, 190-91*.
- ²⁵ *VDA Jahresbericht 1928*, 53-54, Grams, Grant W., "Der Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland and its Observations of Canada prior to World War One," *Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies* (2001): 117-23; *Deutsche Welt 1925* (Dresden: VDA Wirtschaftsunternehmen GmbH), 208.
- ²⁶ "Erziehungsaufgaben des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland," *Deutsche Arbeit 1923*, 213-15.
- ²⁷ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 21-31 and BAK R57/1564: VDA to Ludwig Eid signed Hagl, dated Feb. 23, 1933.
- ²⁸ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 20-21.
- ²⁹ Lehmann 1935, 12-14.
- ³⁰ Lehmann, Heinz, "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1935* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 12-14; Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26-27.
- ³¹ *Deutschtumarbeit in der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, Druck von Thormann und Goetsch Berlin, 1925, p. 3.
- ³² PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- ³³ Grams, 189-95.
- ³⁴ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 26-29.
- ³⁵ Lehmann and Bassler, 257-60.
- ³⁶ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 21-23.
- ³⁷ Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie, 407-8.
- ³⁸ Lehmann, 1939, 310-11.
- ³⁹ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 2-3. At the conclusion of his research in Canada Dibelius took the time to thank the Norgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (Crisis Society of German Science), preußisches Kultusministerium (Prussian Ministry of Education and Arts), the Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office) and its representatives in Montreal and Winnipeg, Prelate Schreiber, Deutscher Caritasverband (German Caritas Association), Pastor Dr. F. Geiss and Reichsminister Dr. Erich Koch, the Canadian National Railway, Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian Prime Minister King for their information and help.
- ⁴⁰ Grams, 131-51.
- ⁴¹ Gleiß, Friedrich, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," in Carl Friedrich Badendieck, ed., *Deutsche Welt*

(Dresden: Wirtschaftsunternehmen GmbH, 1928), 69-74.

⁴² Wagner, Hermann, *Von Küste zu Küste bei deutschen Auswanderern in Kanada* (Hamburg: Verlag der Evangelischen lutherischen Auswanderermission, 1929), 114-15; Grams, 161-64.

⁴³ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 18-19.

⁴⁴ "Eindrücke von Reisen in Amerika und Rußland" (speech by Reichsminister Dr. Erich Koch-Weser), *Der Auslandsdeutsche 1929* (Stuttgart: Verlag des Deutschen Ausland Instituts), 394.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Wagner, 11-175.

⁴⁶ Glenbow Museum and Archiv (hereafter Glen) M2269 File 689: Memorandum for Mr. Colley, dated Calgary, Alberta, December 1, 1926. Koch intended to work in collaboration with Baron von Lindequist and George Wolff.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Wagner, 11-15.

⁴⁸ Handelskammer Bremen A I 4(5): Bremische Gesandtschaft an die Senatkommission für Reichs- und auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Bremen signed Nebelthau, dated Berlin Dec. 9, 1927 and Handelskammer Bremen A I 4(5): Norddeutscher Lloyd to Handelskammer Bremen signed Raven, dated Bremen Dec. 15, 1927. See Krüger, Peter, *Die Außenpolitik der Republik von Weimar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 471; Walters, F. P., *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 408; *Bericht über die Jahresversammlungen des DAI's 1928/29* (Stuttgart: Verlag des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts), 15-16.

⁴⁹ Timpe, Georg, *Durch USA and Kanada von See und Landfahrten* (Hamburg: Anton Lettenbauer Druck und Verlag, 1928), 51-74 and 155-82; Größer, Max, "Deutsche Prärie," in *Die Getreuen* 1,4 (Berlin: Josef Habel Verlag, 1924), 89-94; Jahresbericht des St. Rapahaelsverein für das Jahr 1924, Flugblatt 14, Buchdruckerei der Osnabrück Volkszeitung; and Größer, Max, *Die Möglichkeit deutscher Auslandsiedlung, Antwort auf Fragen zur Auswanderung* (Berlin: Zentralverlag GmbH, 1932), 8-20, Staatsarchiv Bremen (hereafter STB) 3-A.4. File 552: Auszug aus dem Senats Protokolle [Bremen] to die Auswanderungskommission vom Feb. 1930; STB 3-A.4., File 611: Ev. Auswanderer-Mission Bremen to Behörde für das Auswanderungswesen signed Carsten and Meyner, dated Bremen Jan. 27, 1930; Wagner, H., 114-15.

⁵⁰ PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Prof. Dr. Dibelius to Auswärtiges Amt, dated Englisches Seminar der Universität Berlin, January 21, 1929.

⁵¹ Grams, 14-22 and 101-200.

⁵² Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie, 408; PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 26-29.

⁵³ Lehmann and Bassler, xxiv-xxxv; Wagner, Jonathan, 6.

⁵⁴ Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91, Lehmann, Heinz: "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1934* (Berlin: Grenz und Ausland Verlag), 610-13; Lehmann, Heinz, "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1935* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 12-18; Lehmann, Heinz: "Das Deutschtum in Westkanada," in *Deutsche Arbeit 1935*, 394-402; Lehmann, Heinz, "Deutsche Zeitung für Canada," in *Deutsche Arbeit 1935*, 482-87; Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26-31 and 72-78.

⁵⁵ Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91; Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi; Faust, Albert B., *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909).

⁵⁶ Lehmann, 1939, 9.

⁵⁷ Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91.

