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Der hungerwinter: Family, famine, the black market, and denazification in allied-occupied Germany (1945 - 1949)

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Der Hungerwinter: Family, Famine, the Black Market, and Denazification in Allied-occupied
Germany (1945 -- 1949)

An Honors College Project Presented to
the Faculty of the Undergraduate
College of Arts and Letters
James Madison University

by Tyler Brandon Stanley

May 2018

Accepted by the faculty of the Department of History, James Madison University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Honors College.

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PUBLIC PRESENTATION

This work is accepted for presentation, in part or in full, at the JMU Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Cultures Conference on Courage on April 12 – 13, 2018.

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Acknowledgements

I have often seen quite a disdain for history from people my age and older, especially for events that transpired in places foreign to them. As an aspiring historian, I have always been irritated by that sentiment. The one question that I always hear them ask is “Why should I care?” I can think of several answers to that question, but I pose one overarching answer by writing this thesis: that the events anywhere at any time can easily affect how we think and act at home. I aim to illustrate this point by telling the story of a family spanning an ocean and two continents.

To offer some backstory of how this project came to be, I invite you to September of 2016. I received an email from Beate Warden, a German Lecturer in James Madison University’s foreign language department, in which she invited me and two other students to her office to discuss a surprising new opportunity. Upon arriving in her office with fellow students Cassie Pickens and Vanessa Simpson, Warden explained why she reached out to us. The Waynesboro Heritage Foundation & Museum had contacted Warden explaining they had received a sizable donation of objects. The donor had found a box of over one hundred letters in their attic, all of which were written in German and addressed to previous tenants of the house. The institution needed people to translate hundreds of handwritten letters and associated documents, among which were court proceedings and newspaper clippings. Lo and behold, Warden cajoled us students into undertaking the task.

We faced a serious challenge, especially since the three of us had yet to take the German Technical and Commercial Translation class. The most glaring difficulty in translating them was decrypting the handwriting. Any scholar of German culture knows very well how German script has changed throughout its history, which is why it looks so simple today. Sometimes it was difficult for us to differentiate j from y from f, depending on who was writing the letter.

The second difficulty was understanding the language of the time. German is a contextual language; several words can have the same meaning, and the context determined which word someone uses in speech or writing. While reading the letters, I encountered outdated words and had difficulty determining their proper translations. As a student, this was the most daunting task I have ever had to accomplish, and the same may apply to my fellow students. This was someone's voice and it was up to Cassie, Vanessa, and myself to ensure it would not get lost in translation. Thankfully, the task grew easier the more letters I attempted.

In the spring of 2017, I attended the Foreign Language Conference's annual banquet, during which I overheard Frau Warden speaking with other faculty members. "I wish we could get this work published somehow," she said. Then it struck me. I knew of the Honors program in which non-Honors students could choose to write an undergraduate thesis in their final academic year, so I seized the opportunity. My GPA was above the requirement for a student to enroll in the Track III program, and after obtaining all the signatures for the application and submitting it to the Honors College, I received an email in summer 2017 informing me that my proposal had been accepted.

With things in full swing, and with my research leading me to this point, I am writing a story about an elderly couple living in the United States and their extended family living in Allied-occupied Germany. Why does this family matter? What difference does one family in a small Virginia city make to an entire country in ruins from the most destructive war in human history? Based upon my research, not much distinguishes this family from any other living in the United States or in Germany, but the bond among them is something to which all can relate. The family in Germany was enduring the hardest times imaginable in post-war Europe, and it was up to their aunt and uncle living in rural Virginia to provide relief to help them cope with the

unusually harsh weather and the desperate lack of food. Not only does this story illustrate the unbreakable family bond, it also exemplifies how events in one part of the world can easily affect daily life in a completely different place.

I have always held that the purpose of history is not to simply retell stories from the past for its own sake, but to extract valuable lessons from it which we can use to improve our present condition. In researching the story of the Lingenhoel family and their many relatives, I discovered several stories of individual family members which illustrate critical lessons applicable to our lives in the twenty-first century. All of them will be outlined and examined in the following pages. The main task is to place their story in the grand scheme of history, namely in the context of Allied-occupied Germany. In turn, I aim to illustrate that strangers in faraway lands are closer to us than we might imagine at first.

In short, I wish to thank all the faculty at James Madison University who over time have given me inspiration to flex my academic muscles and undertake writing this thesis, namely Dr. Michael Gubser for solidifying my appreciation for German history, Dr. Raymond Hyser for training me in historical research methods, Dr. Gabrielle Lanier for supporting me in the history department, and German faculty members Beate Warden and Robert Goebel for offering me the opportunity to improve my German skills. I also wish to thank fellow students Cassie Pickens and Vanessa Simpson for their efforts as we translated the letters in tandem. I also wish to thank Chris Averill, a JMU alumnus, for strengthening my passion for history. Lastly, I wish to thank my mother who has often reminded me to keep my mind open in every new experience that comes my way.

Introduction

It was May 8, 1945. The war had finally come to an end in Europe. Germany was defeated a second time in global war, and the Allied powers subsequently divided the former

Nazi state into four zones of occupation. In 1945 Nuremberg, the Jewish population of Europe finally saw retribution for the crimes committed against them and countless other minorities at the hands of the Nazi regime. Gone were the years of legal subjugation, systematic persecution, and death for European Jews, but those were very much present for ordinary Germans living through the Allied occupation. Under the military governorship of the Allies, Germans were subject not only to military omnipresence and a cultural readjustment, but also a crippling winter that precipitated a nationwide famine leaving the health and nutrition of millions of German families in question. One such family lived in the south of Germany in the state of Bavaria. They endured the bitter cold of the Hungerwinter. They persevered through the uncertainty of a denazification trial, but on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in a small town in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, there were relatives watching over them.¹

Long before the May 8 surrender, the Allies carried out a brutal firebombing campaign encompassing the whole of Germany and parts of Austria. Beginning in 1941, the Allies targeted

¹ For a survey of European history following World War II, refer to *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History* ed. Dan Stone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (Penguin Press: New York, 2005); Philip Thody, *Europe since 1945* (London: Routledge, 2000). For an examination of Allied-occupied Germany, refer to Stig Dagerman, *German Autumn* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); William Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008); Jessica Reinisch, *The Perils of Peace: The Public Health Crisis in Occupied Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Konrad Jausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Steven Casey, "The campaign to sell a harsh peace for Germany to the American public, 1944-1948," *History* 90 no. 297 (2005): 62-92; Earl F. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946* (Washington: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1975); Henry Morgenthau Jr., "Suggested Post-Surrender Plan for Germany," (1944). For readings on American denazification in postwar Germany, refer to Tim Mueller "A legal odyssey: denazification law, Nazi elite schools, and the construction of postwar memory," *History of Education* 46 no. 4 (July 2017): 498-513; Alexandra F. Levy "Promoting Democracy and Denazification: American Policymaking and German Public Opinion," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 26 no.4 (December 2015): 614-635; István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Samuel Hutchinson Beer, "Report on Attitudes in post-Nazi Germany," *Samuel H. Beer Personal Papers, 1945-1962* (1945). For an examination of food and hunger in occupied Germany, refer to Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013); Richard Dominic Wiggers, "The United States and the Refusal to Feed Germans after World War II," in *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* eds. Stephen Bela Vardy and T. Hunt Tooley (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 2003): 441-466; Herbert Hoover, *The President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria: Report No. 1 – German Agricultural and Food Requirements* (February 28, 1947).

Germany's urban and industrial centers, most notably the Ruhr Valley in Westphalia, as it was the region responsible for a majority of Germany's coal and steel production. Perhaps the most notorious incident of the Allied bombing campaigns was the firebombing of Dresden in February 1945. British and American bombers descended upon the eastern German city and unleashed a firestorm upon hundreds of thousands of civilians. The city was in ruins, and several of its cultural landmarks would not see reconstruction until the 1990s. In July of that same year, the Allied Powers convened at Potsdam for one final conference.²

The Potsdam Conference determined the fate of postwar Germany, thereby solidifying the Allies' victory and control over the defeated nation. Germany became a starkly divided nation following the end of the Second World War beginning with the four occupation zones administered by the victorious Allied Powers. The Soviet Union's zone of occupation comprised the eastern German states of Mecklenburg-Pomerania running southward to Saxony. The British held mostly the northern and western German states while the French held Rhineland Palatinate and southern Baden-Württemberg with Saarland as a protectorate. As for the U.S., the states of Bavaria and half of Baden-Württemberg were under the military governorship of Lucius Clay along with the northern port cities of Bremen and Bremerhaven. Living conditions varied in each occupation zone, but what remained consistent was Germans' desperation for a livable space for their families and at least subsistence rations.

Often overlooked in historical narratives is the fact that World War II left the German people both literally and psychologically in ruins. The February firebombing of Dresden was only a prelude to the devastation Germans would face leading up to and following their defeat in

² Christian Elmer, Marc von Lüpke, and Maximilian Schäfer, "Tod aus der Luft," *SPIEGEL Online*, April 25, 2015, <http://www.spiegel.de/einestages/luftangriffe-auf-deutsche-staedte-interaktive-karte-a-1030568.html>, accessed January 15, 2018.

April. Almost immediately following the Allied liberation, ethnic Germans fled from the former Nazi-occupied territories back to greater Germany and Austria.³ Some even went to labor camps as part of postwar reparations.⁴ At Yalta, the Big Three⁵ finalized their plan for postwar Europe: partitioning Germany and erasing all influence of the former Nazis. At the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945, the victorious Allies officially carved up the former Nazi empire. The eastern territories of Pomerania and Silesia, long held by Germany, then became a de facto territory of Poland.⁶ The Soviet Union along with Poland partitioned East Prussia while the city of Danzig, for a time, became an independent city state before joining Poland. As for the Allied military governments, the Soviet Union controlled eastern Germany, the U.S. the south, Britain in the north⁷, and France the southwest. Defeat and displacement, which accounted for nearly a million casualties alone, were only part of Germans' experiences following surrender, but the real dangers were hunger and famine.

Infrastructure and urban centers were the primary targets of the invading Allied forces during the war, but its destruction came not only from the Allies, but also from the Germans themselves, as Hitler called for his citizens to destroy any remnants of sustainable industry lest the Allies use them against Germany. Its destruction exacerbated the already ruinous conditions Germany endured during the war, which then put Germany at a huge disadvantage when the Hunger winter arrived the year following the Allied occupation.

³ Such areas went as far as Danzig, Silesia, and former East Prussia.

⁴ Most Germans who worked in forced labor camps after the war went to the Soviet Union.

⁵ The Big Three at Yalta were Soviet General Secretary Josef Stalin, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill., and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt. At the Potsdam Conference later that year, Clement Atlee would replace Churchill following a General Election and Harry Truman would replace Franklin Roosevelt following his death.

⁶ The German federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern to this day contains the western area of Pomerania.

⁷ While the British zone encompassed the northern German federal states including Hamburg, the port city of Bremen fell under U.S. jurisdiction to allow both Americans and British access to the Atlantic.

The winter of 1946 and 1947 was, and still is, the coldest winter on record in Germany. The subzero temperatures contributed a great deal to an ever-growing famine afflicting the German populace. Germany's agriculture and infrastructure were already in ruins because of the war, so food naturally became scarce. Obtaining food was almost completely beyond the individual's control in all zones, especially due to respective occupiers importing a bulk of the food supply to each region. One might give thanks to be in this situation when comparing it to the conditions in the eastern Soviet-occupied zone. The Soviets adopted a more punitive system of occupation for what would later become East Germany; they deprived German citizens of the right to produce their own food. Under Soviet-style communism, the state controlled all sectors of society, so the Soviets deemed it fit to seize the Germans' means of agricultural production and relocate their factories closer to Moscow. This process would take several years for the Soviets to completely fulfill. The Germans' inability to produce their own food only worsened their malnutrition and desperation.

Waynesboro, Virginia (1946 - 1948)

Formerly known as Flack, the city of Waynesboro lies in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in western Virginia. Along with neighboring Staunton, it is an independent city encompassed by Augusta County. Interstate US-64 traverses the small city, connecting it to Staunton to the West, which then merges into Interstate US-81, and Charlottesville to the East which leads to Richmond. The city relies primarily on retail, tourism, and industrial production to sustain its revenue. The Waynesboro Heritage Foundation serves a part in the tourism industry with two museums located on West Main Street, the Heritage Museum and the Plumb House Museum. The local Italianate Swannanoa house is also a focal point for tourism and architectural history in Waynesboro today.

In terms of its population, Waynesboro saw gradual increase from the time of its founding until the early twentieth century. From 1860 through 1900, the city had a population of less than one thousand people. By 1910, the city had surpassed one thousand citizens, and the population grew by nearly 300% by 1930. It was around this time that a wave of German immigrants began to settle in Waynesboro; and they came to stay, and the Lingenhoels were among those many Germans. This only added to the Shenandoah Valley's deeply rooted German heritage.

There are several reasons why Germans chose to emigrate to the United States at this time. The first was due to the wartime devastation of Central Europe. The Treaty of Versailles made it no better for Germany, as it forced a \$33 billion debt onto the country and dismantled its former institutions as well as the port city of Danzig which then became a free city-state. This left millions of Germans displaced in areas which now belonged to Poland and Czechoslovakia. While they were subjects of Austria-Hungary, they began to identify as German. Discriminative policies against ethnic Germans soon followed, depriving them of work, property, and citizenship rights. The only recourse for these Germans was to find a new place to call home, and for some, that place was the United States.

The second reason was due to the ruinous economic conditions following the establishment of Weimar Germany. The Weimar economy succumbed to crippling hyperinflation. This dire economic condition meant, for example, that one U.S. dollar would cost trillions of Deutschmarks (DM). To illustrate the human cost of this condition, a German citizen would have to spend 1 million DM to buy a loaf of bread. Others would use the currency as fuel given how worthless it was. The six-year period of hyperinflation only worsened Germans' standards of living and overall morale at home, which then led to internal political strife.

Tensions came to a head when numerous far-left revolutionary groups attempted to overthrow the government, an event known as the German Revolution, which lasted from the November armistice of November 1918 until the establishment of the Weimar Republic in August 1919.

The third reason why Germans emigrated to the U.S. at this time was the encroaching influence of the Nazi Party. The party's utopian vision of Germany meant dystopia for several other German citizens, among whom were Jews, Catholics, and several other minority groups. Impending persecution was a signal to leave Germany and never turn back. One such family was the Lingenhoel family, namely Adam and Johanna.

The Lingenhoel Family

Adam Lingenhoel perfectly fit the bill for the stereotypical German physique: blond hair, blue eyes, and a good head on his shoulders. Born in the Swabian town of Niederstotzingen September 30, 1886, Adam Lingenhoel lived at 1207 East Main Street in Waynesboro, Virginia, at the time of the Allied occupation of Germany. He was sixty years old when his German family began to write him and his wife Johanna, detailing the conditions under which they were living. After serving three months in the Deutsches Heer (German Army), Adam emigrated to the United States in 1912 before the larger waves of Germans followed. He lived on East 57th Street in New York City, where he also worked as waiter in a hotel along with his brother George. While living in the New York area, he would meet Johanna (née: Fritz), who came to the U.S. for good in 1930. and later lived with her at 284 Manhattan Ave in Jersey City, New Jersey. Adam continued working as a waiter. Around 1942, Adam and Johanna moved southward to Virginia, settling in Waynesboro. The couple stayed for a few years before Adam temporarily took up residence in Detroit, Michigan. Johanna stayed in Waynesboro. Adam lived at 12135

Barlow Street and worked at 2000 Gratiot Avenue, which was about an eleven-mile commute.

He continued working as a waiter just as in his younger days in New York City with his brother.⁸

While Adam was generating a source of income outside of Virginia, Johanna remained in Waynesboro operating Lindy's Inn, a tourist home located at 1207 E Main St. The fact the ethnic Germans were proprietors of their own business after the war's end shows that citizens of Waynesboro did not espouse any anti-German sentiments, at least not through their actions. Owning and operating the local inn served as a stable source of income for the Lingenhoels, which allowed them to regularly send CARE packages to their family in occupied Germany.

As she was operating the inn and tending to any guests who may arrive in town, she communicated with the rest of her family living in Germany. The family spanned across Bavaria from the Alpine city of Kempten Allgäu to the Lower Bavarian town of Kelheim. Among those with whom she corresponded were her sister Else Fritz. Emma Kurfürst, Adam and Johanna's niece from Kelheim, frequently wrote to Waynesboro and spoke of her son Günther in her letters. Antoinette Lingenhoel, Adam's sister who lived in the Kottern borough of Kempten, also wrote frequently talking about her children Anton and Anna Lingenhoel. Wolfgang Demmelmaier, Adam's cousin, lived with his wife Betty at 328a Reisbacher St. in Dingolfing,

⁸ "United States World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K6J9-L4M> : 13 March 2018), Adam Lingenhoel, 1917-1918; citing New York City no 131, New York, United States, NARA microfilm publication M1509 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 1,766,333; "New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KX9W-XL7> : 12 March 2018), Adam Lingenhoel, 1925; citing Immigration, New York, New York, United States, NARA microfilm publication T715 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.) ; "United States Census, 1940," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K4BC-QF1> : accessed 2 April 2018), Adam Lingenhoel, Ward 12, Jersey City, Jersey City, Hudson, New Jersey, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 24-355, sheet 6A, line 18, family 129, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, NARA digital publication T627. Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1790 - 2007, RG 29. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2012, roll 2411; "United States Social Security Death Index," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VM2M-BZ9> : 19 May 2014), Adam Lingenhoel, Mar 1975; citing U.S. Social Security Administration, *Death Master File*, database (Alexandria, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, ongoing); Frieda Lingenhoel to Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Emily Willoughby (April 21, 1947).

Bavaria, which lies about 80 km south of Kelheim where Emma lived. These family members were all surviving amidst the Hungerwinter, Germany's coldest winter since the nineteenth century. Two of these family members would also stand trial for their involvement with the Nazi party.

Hunger in Occupied Germany

In a 2014 blog post, American freelance journalist Anika Scott recalled a conversation she overheard in a German bakery earlier that year. A man of about seventy approached the cashier to purchase a loaf of bread and the cashier promptly asked him, "Do you have your bread card?" The man replied, "That's all over with." The cashier appeared confused. "We haven't had bread cards since the war ended," the man added. He finalized his transaction and left the shop, after which time the cashier glanced over at Scott and rolled her eyes in disdain at the exchange she just had: "What the hell was he talking about?"⁹

In this brief exchange, the past became all too present for this old man. He may not have known that the bread cards were to allow one free loaf of bread after purchasing ten loaves. Instead, the old man thought only of the bread cards that he and his family had after Germany's defeat in 1945. The cards he thought of were for bread rations rather than a free loaf, and hearing the word *Brotkarte*¹⁰ certainly evoked painful memories of his family and him struggling to sustain themselves during *Stunde Null*.¹¹

Scott's account illustrates a time in German history that seems difficult to imagine when looking at Germany today. In the days following the Allied invasion and the Nazis' subsequent

⁹ Anika Scott, "Eavesdropping," *Postwar Germany*, May 2, 2014, accessed January 14, 2018, <https://postwargermany.com/2014/05/02/eavesdropping/>.

¹⁰ Bread card.

¹¹ The phrase *Stunde Null* directly translates to "hour zero," but its meaning connotes Germans' position between their once glorious past and their uncertain future following Germany's defeat by the Allies.

surrender, ordinary Germans were caught between two worlds, both in terms of their own civilization and of the geopolitical game of chess between the United States and the Soviet Union. The glorious Third Reich reached its end, and before his suicide in April 1945, Hitler urged ordinary Germans to fight until their dying breath.¹² If they were not fighting, then Hitler urged Germans to destroy infrastructure, farmland, and any other resources that Allies could take over, for a destroyed Germany was better than a defeated Germany. The destruction of Germany, both at the hands of the Allies and those Germans willing to destroy it, yielded dire consequences for those living in the final hours of the Allied invasion and the years that followed. They lost the country they knew and their means to rebuild it.

While the Allies celebrated their victory over Germany, ordinary Germans had nothing to celebrate. It was not just because of national defeat, or because they were leaderless, but because millions lost their homes and hunger loomed over the country in ruins. Germany's agricultural sector existed predominantly in its former eastern territories, all of which now belonged to Poland and the Soviet Union. Food imports from occupying forces would not alleviate the food situation for citizens. A centralized food distribution system existed prior to Allied invasion, and it posed a great risk for inadequate production and transportation of food to the German population. Destruction of this apparatus meant that the occupying forces had to develop their own means to feed German citizens and refugees. Because the Soviet Union suffered the greatest in WWII, both in terms of its casualties and loss of infrastructure, they took a strictly punitive approach to administering the Eastern zone of occupation, part of which involved highly restricted access to food.¹³

¹² The most notable of these last-ditch efforts to defend Germany was the *Volkssturm*, a national militia comprised of ordinary German citizens and Hitler Youth tasked with defending the country from the Allied takeover.

¹³ Iris Kesternich et al, "Individual Behavior as a Pathway Between Early-Life Shocks and Adult Health: Evidence from Hunger Episodes in Post-war Germany," *The Economic Journal* 125 (November 2015): 374-375; Alice

Interstate commerce flourished prior to and during the war due in part to the construction of what would become the Autobahn and the Reichsbahn, but it came to a halt after the Allied invasion and occupation, which then halted transport of food and raw materials from agricultural regions of Germany. Interstate commerce resumed after the British, French, and American occupation unified and assisted a currency reform in 1948, which provided a kick-start to West Germany's new economy.

William Hitchcock devotes a chapter to the Germans' plight in his 2003 book titled *The Bitter Road to Freedom*. In examining the human cost of the Allied victory, Hitchcock offers a glimpse into the food situation under American occupation:

Historically, the area under American occupation had imported 25 percent of its food and had never been able to sustain itself. General Clay thought he could supply the Germans in this zone with 1,500 calories a day, but only with significant imports from America. Military Government set up community kitchens which served over four million meals a month. One survey in late August concluded that 60 percent of the Germans were living on a diet that would lead to disease and malnutrition. By October, random weighing of German civilians revealed a falloff in body weight of 13-15 percent in adult men and women. Children, pregnant women, and the elderly suffered the most.¹⁴

This was in the year 1945 alone. In 1947, the year of the titular winter, Herbert Hoover compiled a report for President Truman further detailing the dire food situation afflicting the German population. In it, he included not only the rationing program that was currently in place, but also the number men, women, and children in various age groups, their respective caloric needs, and the necessary procedures to properly nourish ordinary Germans.

Weinreb, "For the Hunger Have No Past nor Do They Belong to a Political Party": Debates over German Hunger after World War II," *Central European History* 45 (2012): 58.

¹⁴ William Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 206-207.

Before detailing the Germans' food situation in 1947, Hoover briefly noted Germany's agricultural conditions before the war and leading up to the Hungerwinter. Hoover explained that "about 25 percent of the German pre-war food production came from areas taken over by Russia and Poland. Moreover, the Russian Military Zone in German was a large part of the bread basket of Germany." The areas Hoover referred to in this sentence were namely former Prussia and Silesia and areas surrounding the Oder River. Hoover further notes that average German prewar food consumption lied at 3,000 calories per day, and that caloric intake fell drastically in each occupation zone after the war ended: 1,100 calories in the American zone and 900 calories in the British zone. This of course provided a daunting obstacle for the occupation governments to negotiate.¹⁵

In the following section of his report, Hoover explains how the Hungerwinter exacerbated the already desperate food situation and cautions that his report serves to illustrate the normal conditions surrounding Germans' food consumption:

This terrible winter, with frozen canals and impeded railway traffic, has rendered it impossible to maintain even the present low basis of rationing in many localities. The coal shortage and the consequent lack of heat, even for cooking, has added a multitude of hardships. The conclusions in this report as to the food situation are, however, not based on the effect of this temporary dislocation, but upon the basic conditions, to which the winter has added many difficulties.¹⁶

Hoover first divides the population into two categories: self-suppliers and non-self-suppliers, which he clarifies as farmers and urban population respectively. He then classifies the non-self-suppliers into four age ranges, from infancy to adulthood, and lists the varying degrees of work "normal consumers" undertook. After categorizing the postwar German population, Hoover then assesses the nutritional deficiencies of the 1,550-calorie ration given to each German citizen. For

¹⁵ Herbert Hoover, *The President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria: Report No. 1 – German Agricultural and Food Requirements*, Report (February 28, 1947): 4.

¹⁶ Hoover, 5.

carbohydrates, there was a 16% deficiency. For fats: a 47% deficiency. Protein: a 20% deficiency. Overall caloric intake: a 24% deficiency. Such conditions warranted the U.S. occupation government to take extra measures in nourishing population groups at higher risk of malnutrition and starvation, namely children and pregnant women, by giving them nutritional supplements. One of these children at high risk was the child of Emma Kurfürst: Anton. Anton's health was already at great concern, and his condition worsened with the onset of the Hungerwinter. The limited supply of food coupled with his crippling sickness ultimately resulted in Anton death. While the self-suppliers had a better chance at surviving the famine, the German Lingenhoel family was not among them. The family relied heavily on forms of fuel, namely coal, coke, and wood to heat their living quarters through the blistering winter, as indicated by this excerpt from Antoinette to her aunt Johanna:

The third cold front is reigning over us now: -26° C or ca. -80° F.¹⁷ You can imagine what would happen if someone hasn't a speck of coal or coke and can only heat with wood – electrical heaters are not even allowed to be used, otherwise the power will go out – (...) If only it keeps through the worst times!¹⁸

Antoinette often wrote of how critical it was to have combustible fuel through the winter. In another letter, she wrote “If only we would have the wood home again for next winter already! That will indeed cost a few drops of sweat. But it will come to pass.”¹⁹

The occupation government granted nutritional supplements to assist the groups at risk of starvation and malnutrition, and those were primarily pregnant women and children under six, but that comprised only 9% of the civilian population. Half of children and teenagers, especially ones in poorer families, lived in critical conditions. Such conditions included delayed physical development, stunted height, and even starvation; Hoover cited one nutritional study conducted

¹⁷ Although the writer states that -26° C is -80° F, it is -14° F.

¹⁸ Antoinette Lingenhoel to Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Tyler Stanley (January 25, 1947).

¹⁹ Antoinette Lingenhoel to Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Tyler Stanley (March 28, 1947).

by the military government that showed weight deficiencies in boys and girls afflicted by malnutrition: 5.5 lbs. and 5.1 lbs., respectively. The conditions were less common only for some, particularly those living in districts implementing feeding programs through local schools. These horrid nutritional conditions no doubt resulted in death, and Hoover states that the death rate was highest amongst the elderly due to starvation, namely 40% since the autumn preceding the Hungerwinter. Hamburg alone accounted for 10,000 cases of starvation. A positive point in Hoover's report was that the self-suppliers remained in good nutritional conditions.²⁰

These deplorable conditions were part of a much larger public health crisis that pervaded each occupation zone. In her 2013 book titled, *The Perils of Peace*, British historian Jessica Reinisch vividly captures the public health crisis rampant in occupied Germany. Reinisch examines the postwar devastation in each zone of occupation and its effect on the Germans' health in each area, then she assesses each government's approach to alleviating the public health crises. She begins with the British and American occupation zones, as the two military governments often collaborated in finding common methods to address the hunger problem, then she examines the Soviet and French zones. To supplement their dismal food rations and lower the risk of malnutrition, German citizens resorted to more illicit measures.

Goods on the Black Market and the “Hamsterfahrt”

The food rationing in the Allied zones and the seizure of industry and agriculture in the Soviet zone made German families find illegal means to acquire produce and feed themselves. For those Germans living in the cities, or what was left of them, the black market was the most common way to acquire food beyond what rations provided them. A common practice was buying produce at one price then selling it at an even greater one. With a bulk of the population

²⁰ Hoover, 6-7; Hoover, 7-8.

still in the cities, military and local police presence was high. This posed a greater risk for Germans illegally trading goods, so they embarked. In what they called the Hamsterfahrt,²¹ Germans would travel to the countryside, beyond the reach of local authorities, to exchange contraband for food, clothing, and produce with other Germans. Trading on the black market was legally dangerous, whereas embarking on the Hamsterfahrt was physically dangerous.

It was not uncommon for Germans to find American cigarettes in their CARE packages, as they were highly valuable on the black market. Secrecy was paramount according to Emma Kurfürst in a letter to her aunt Johanna:

[T]here's a possibility that the French will confiscate it and we want to avoid that. A lot of black market operations working with the cigarettes were shut down. Many people are asking for 150 Reichsmark for a pack of cigarettes. And mostly it's the American soldiers' girls, who move city to city with the soldiers and receive ration stamps, and then they sell the stuff the soldier gets, or they exchange goods so that they can live.²²

As this excerpt indicates, apprehension by the Allies would result in the authorities seizing goods from German families already suffering from hunger. This excerpt also indicates that even the German girlfriends of the Allied troops would trade on the black market for their own well-being; their relationships with the soldiers posed an advantage, as it would lower their chances of imprisonment or fines.

The Hamsterfahrt had a different dynamic to it. Young children were often the ones who would embark on the journey, as they would avoid suspicion from the local authorities. Ten-year-old Günther Kammeyer and his older brother Klaus were two of those children. They found adventure in going on the Hamsterfahrt and scavenging for fuel. In one of their adventures, the brothers were walking through the woods carrying two empty buckets when they came upon a

²¹ Translated literally, Hamsterfahrt means “hamster trip,” but in this context, it means “foraging trip.”

²² Emma Kurfürst to Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Cassie Pickens (July 11, 1947).

farmhouse house. A large dog stood guard outside on its chain, and the brothers devised a plan to get past it. Günther would distract the dog and Klaus flank around without it noticing and knock on the door of the house. Once Klaus knocked, an elderly man answered the door. Klaus offered the man 200 M²³ and the man filled one bucket with scrap paper for fuel and the second bucket with food stuffs which included meat and potatoes. The boys managed to get a meal for their family just in time for Christmas.²⁴

The German Lingenhoel family, on the other hand, sent reports of black market busts to the American family members. Along with letters describing their own hardship were stories from the local Allgäu newspaper detailing the penalties Germans received when caught exchanging goods on the black market. One article from *The Allgäu* shows the severe consequences Germans would receive. A woman purchased eight kilograms of butter for 2600 M then resold it for 3320 M and two packs of American cigarettes. That same woman was later caught by the authorities in Sonthofen. After her trial at the regional court, she was sentenced to four months in jail and issued a fine of 2000 M. The same news story reported that a butter supplier, who was a refugee from the former East Prussia, received three months in jail and fine of 1000 M.²⁵

Allies' Perception of Defeated Germans

The United States government before the end of the Second World War was faced with the arduous task of determining how they and the other Allied Powers ought to govern the defeated Germans, but the governing was only part of the problem; what really mattered was the future of Germany, which the U.S cabinet deliberated over incessantly. Perception towards the

²³ This was prior to Germany's switch the Deutschmark.

²⁴ Gordian Maugg, *Hungerwinter: Überleben nach dem Krieg*, 2011.

²⁵ *Das Allgäu* (October 4, 1947).

German populace greatly influenced the fate of Germany and the Allies' system of governance over the defeated country.

President Franklin Roosevelt before his death in April 1945 requested certain members of his cabinet formulate their own plans for governing postwar Germany and submit them to the Oval Office for review. The most consequential of these proposed plans was U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau's. The Morgenthau Plan proposed that the Allies strip Germany of all its capabilities of building and mobilizing an army; that way, they could eradicate its military aggression once and for all and reduce it to subsistent agrarian state. In detail, the plan called for a complete dismantling of Germany's coal and steel industry, which lay in the Ruhr Valley, and the partition of Germany into four separate states. Morgenthau acknowledged Germany's military aggression in both world wars, and he believed that creating an international buffer zone in the Rhineland would further deter any possibility of Germany building a national military.

After proposing his plan to President Roosevelt, Morgenthau went even further in selling his plan by writing the book *Germany is Our Problem*, in which he establishes a rationale for his plan while targeting a wide American readership. Morgenthau cautions about partition but at the same time justifies it, for partition in historical contexts often meant an outside power holding dominion over the partitioned territory. Morgenthau instead proposes that Germany be partitioned into two independent states, which deviates from partitioning to settle territorial disputes and colonial boundaries.²⁶

Roosevelt himself espoused sentiments against the Germans like that of Morgenthau's. He was determined to establish a military occupation in such a way that it made clear to the

²⁶ Henry Morgenthau, *Germany is Our Problem* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945), 156.

Germans that they had been beaten. Morgenthau so enthralled President Roosevelt with his occupation plan that the president invited him to the Second Québec Conference with Britain, making him the only U.S. cabinet member part of the delegation. At the conference, the British and Americans both agreed on implementing the Morgenthau Plan after they defeated the Nazis.²⁷

Despite warm reception by the Allies, other members of the U.S. cabinet were not satisfied with the Morgenthau Plan. Secretary of State Cordell Hull frequently referred to the Morgenthau Plan as “drastic” in his memoirs of the preliminary meetings just before the Allied occupation. Hull was quite alarmed at Morgenthau’s punitive course of action and Roosevelt’s acceptance of the plan, writing “[t]he President himself leaned to the idea that the German people as a whole should be given a lesson they would remember.” Hull even recalls the President’s own words regarding how the Allies ought to approach the food situation in Germany:

It is of the utmost importance that every person in Germany should realize that this time Germany is a defeated nation. I do not want them to starve to death, but, as an example, if they need food to keep body and soul together beyond what they have, they should be fed three meals a day with soup from Army soup kitchens. That will keep them perfectly healthy, and they will remember that experience all their lives. The fact that they are a defeated nation, collectively and individually, must be so impressed upon them that they will hesitate to start any new war.²⁸

The Morgenthau Plan’s warm reception by the President and the British illustrates both parties’ overall perception towards the German people. Punishing the former Nazi regime stemmed from a shared notion that Germans were aggressive by their very nature. Like the Great War before this, German militarism was the sole cause of World War II and the Holocaust, and the Allies made sure the occupying forces held the same viewpoint upon entrance to the defeated

²⁷ Cordell Hull, *Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 1602.

²⁸ Hull, 1603-20.

Germany. Before embarking to Germany to stand guard over the occupied zone, American soldiers were to watch a film entitled *Your Job in Germany*, in which the narrator cautions the soldier against fraternizing with the common citizen, for Germans had held on to an aggressive militaristic attitude from Bismarck to Wilhelm II to Hitler. Whether or not that was true, the fact that such propaganda was made shows that the United States wanted her servicemen to look upon the Germans with unwavering suspicions and no sympathy for their defeat, despite whatever squalid living conditions citizens may have endured. Fortunately for Germany and for Hull, the Allies would not implement the Morgenthau Plan in full at Potsdam, but it influenced their final decision to partition Germany into four zones of occupation.

The American executive and military suddenly had an epiphany: even though it was crucial to remind Germans they were defeated, it would be catastrophic to punish them through military occupation. Doing so would turn Germans against the U.S. as an occupying force and as a world power. A 1947 military propaganda poster showed a German man approaching a road sign, at which stood an American soldier. The title of the poster read “Germany Is At The Crossroads. Is Your Example Guiding Them Along The Right Road?” One road led to “An Outcast Nation,” a nation resentful of the West and democratic values, a nation that would once again persecute minorities, and a nation whose economy would give way to a stronger black market. The other road led to “A Prosperous Nation,” a nation respecting the rights of others, a nation rehabilitated with peace, and a fair and honest nation. Perhaps this sudden change of attitude towards the German populace was an early attempt to sell democracy to the German people. It would be better for Germans to suffer briefly so U.S. could extend their hand to them, leading them away from the clutches of the Soviet Union.²⁹

²⁹ Office of Military Government, United States, *Germany Is At The Crossroads*, 1947.

The U.S. and British military governments made relief efforts more difficult on the part of international humanitarian organizations. An obvious source of relief would have come from the German Red Cross, but due to its cooptation by the Nazi regime, the Allies disbanded it as part of their denazification efforts. Travel sanctions also hindered relief efforts from the International Red Cross. It almost seemed as if Germans' only choice was to go with Roosevelt's idea of eating from Army soup kitchens, but in December 1945, the United States authorized relief and humanitarian agencies to collect food and supplies for shipment to Germany.

The U.S. government's perception of the defeated German people greatly influenced the distribution of food rations among the German populace. Occupied Germany's food supply relied on imports from the Allies' military occupational governments, but that would oftentimes not be enough to sufficiently nourish a German family. Germans may not have received the measly three soups a day as Roosevelt proposed, but their meals were still minuscule. Even with assistance from the Allies, caloric intake was dangerously low among individual Germans. In the American and British zones, the average German consumed 1,000 to 1,500 calories a day, which is miniscule compared to the amount citizens of the Allies were eating at home.

The Soviets' perception of Germans was more of resentment. Just like their British and American allies, they were deeply anti-fascistic, but this was due more to their deeply rooted communist ideology. They too wanted to remind Germans that they had been defeated and compel ordinary Germans to atone for the crimes their country had committed, since the Soviet Union paid the highest human cost in war casualties. This was all part of the reparations plan spearheaded by the Soviets at the Potsdam Conference. The Soviets began implementing a system of forced labor upon the Germans once the tide turned and the Red Army moved

westward, and this system lasted long after the war's end. Those Germans sent to the camps were ultimately displaced from their homes, or at least what was left of them.

Those Germans forced into labor came not only from greater Germany, but also so from minority communities in eastern Europe from Poland to the Baltic States to Romania. In analyzing the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe following World War II, Piotr Pykel notes that along with a policy of depriving ethnic Germans of their citizenship and assigning collective guilt to the population, “[t]he Czechoslovak press conducted a mass propaganda attack against the Germans, recalling the crimes committed during the occupation. Anti-German sentiments were also strengthened by the presence of the Red Army. The actions of Soviet soldiers against German civilians were legitimated by denazification, which was identified with de-Germanization.” Romania was a different situation for ethnic Germans. Centuries before World War II, Germans had lived in Romania comprising fragmented communities in the central and western regions of the country. Following the Allied victory, the Romanian government, at the behest of the Soviet Union, sent 100,000 Germans to work in the forced labor camps established by the Soviet Union; this applied to all ethnic Germans regardless of their political affiliation (active communist Germans were subject to the deportation). For men, the affected age group ranged from as young as 17 to as old as 45. For women, the affected age group was 18 to 30.³⁰

Germans’ Perception of the Allies

Germans’ perception of the occupation forces began with widespread resentment, which applied to all four of the Allied powers. Regarding the hunger situation, Germans first blamed the Allies for their plight. This sentiment existed prior to the invasion with incessant Nazi

³⁰ Piotr Pykel, “The Expulsion of the Germans from Czechoslovakia,” *The Expulsion of the ‘German’ Communities from Eastern Europe at the End of the Second World War*, ed. Steffen Prauser and Arfon Rees (2004), 17.

propaganda warning German citizens that Allies sought only to starve them. One can argue that German hunger began during the war. As the hunger years began, Germans shifted their focus away from collective guilt and individual responsibility for crimes committed by Nazis and more towards the food situation to find ways to alleviate their suffering.³¹

German resentment of the U.S. occupation stemmed partly from antisemitism, which was more prevalent during wartime. Henry Morgenthau was often the object of German hatred due to his plan to strip Germany completely of its industry and thereby, at least in the eyes of ordinary Germans, starve the population. Within the first few years of the Hungerwinter, Jewish displaced persons became targets of German hatred. Germans believed that the Allies were allowed displaced persons to take resources from German families for their own benefit, echoing the anti-Semitism that existed while Adolf Hitler was in power. Germans held similar sentiment towards Soviet occupying forces, believing them to be greedy Slavs who treated their occupied lands the same way they treated their own. This resentment translated into ideas that Soviets, like the Jewish displaced persons, were attempting to starve Germans.³²

Hitchcock cites a 1945 article from the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*: "...it fills us with immense gratitude, and the sense that humanity still has a place in this world, when we hear that the allied occupation governments have adopted the German cause as their own." Based on Hitchcock's excerpt, it appeared that the American's abandonment of non-fraternization worked. Germans grew more appreciative of the American occupying forces after the military government abandoned its policy of non-fraternization.³³

³¹ Weinreb, 57.

³² Weinreb, 59.

³³ Hitchcock, 208.

It can be argued that abandoning non-fraternization not only made the Germans see the Americans as adopting their own cause, but also vice versa. Ending non-fraternization built a sense of camaraderie amongst the German people that resulted in an elected government strongly bonded to the United States under the chancellorship of Konrad Adenauer beginning in 1949. It was through Adenauer's foreign policy that West Germany showed itself as an ardent ally of the United States. Anti-communism best characterizes the foreign policy of Adenauer, and this ideology allowed Germany to make itself a crucial and strategic ally for the United States, as it was geographically where two worlds met.

Ordinary Germans at first held a bleaker outlook of their circumstances. The ravaged country coupled with an occupation force unsympathetic to their plight only made for a population with very low hopes for a speedy recovery. Albert Heitzer, the brother-in-law of Adam Lingenhoel, expressed his sorrow in a letter to the Lingenhoels of Waynesboro:

After World War I we had had it so well and then this Hitler, the Austrian, came around and hypnotized the German people on his enchanting pedestal. I can value, that I wasn't a member of the party, otherwise we would have had to give up the apartment to someone else, like our son for example. Now he has moved in with us again. A lot of families are jumping to have to move out of their houses...It really isn't worth living in Germany anymore.³⁴

Despite the dreary outlook Heitzer drew of Germany leading up to and following the war, he was still thankful for American presence: "Without American help I think all of Germany would go hungry. Firstly, our land has been cut 1/8 its size and many millions more of identified immigrants. Building cities and no materials. Heating and no coal. The most beautiful forests are serving as firewood. I am indeed happy that we aren't in a big city." Heitzer concludes his letter by saying "What is still to come, we do not know."³⁵

³⁴ Albert Heitzer to Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel, tr. Vanessa Simpson (December 26, 1946).

³⁵ Heitzer, 1946.

Heitzer's letter indicates that while considering American non-fraternization, ordinary Germans welcomed aid no matter how minuscule. Maintaining a substandard nutrition was still better than starvation. It was necessary to diminish the beauty of the unscathed German forests, for failing to do so could mean frostbite or death by hypothermia. For some it was worth leaving Germany for places like France, the UK, and the United States. While they were born and raised Germany, the country no longer offered a livelihood or a future for them.

German's perceptions of the American occupying force never seemed to be resentful or indifferent. Instead, Germans saw the Americans as a helping hand despite their initial policy of non-fraternization. Germans who were not members of the Nazi Party saw their condition as something they never asked for. As indicated in his rhetoric, Heitzer does not refer to the dictator as "Führer" but instead as "this Hitler." This indicates not only a disdain for the Nazi Party but also a bewilderment at how quickly it rose to power (with an Austrian at the helm) and deprived German citizens of a viable future through its aggressive racial policies and militaristic ambitions. No German who so vehemently opposed the Nazi Party asked for the Allied invasion to destroy their livelihoods or for the party itself to call for self-destruction.

Role of American Humanitarian Organizations

While the United States government and military approached occupation with high suspicions of ordinary Germans, ordinary Americans saw themselves as having a duty to bring war-ravaged Europe out of poverty and to assist Europeans who lost their homes and livelihoods from the war by sending food, clothing, and even animals through humanitarian organizations. There were four American organizations that greatly shaped the German experience following the war: Heifer International, Meals for Millions, CARE, and UNRRA.

Founded in 1944 by Ohio farmer Dan West, Heifer International sought to relieve Europeans of their impoverished conditions by sending livestock to Germany from various ports throughout the United States and Western Hemisphere. West's idea of donating livestock to struggling communities stemmed from his appreciation for the proverb of teaching a man to fish, but his need to serve humanity altogether came from his upbringing in the Church of the Brethren. Heifer International itself was a partial amalgamation of the Church of the Brethren and the Brethren Volunteer Service, which allowed parishioners to volunteer in shipping and caring for the animals destined to help European families. These volunteers called themselves Seagoing Cowboys. The Cowboys bound for Europe first brought the livestock to Bremen, a northern German port city under U.S. occupation, where they would later travel by land to their specified destinations. Livestock shipments focused first on lands formerly held by the Nazis, which mostly included Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The first livestock shipments destined for Germany arrived via Switzerland on March 28, 1949 in Bad Vilbel, a town of U.S.-occupied Hessen, after which time dozens more followed.³⁶

Meals for Millions was another charity instrumental in the feeding of Europeans following World War II. Its founder, Clifford Clinton, grew up in China as the child of Christian missionaries. Amidst the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, Clinton witnessed rampant poverty and squalor while assisting his parents at an orphanage for blind children. Clinton pledged that he would dedicate his life to helping the poor and hungry once the opportunity presented itself to him, and that moment finally came in 1946. Clinton formulated along with biochemist Henry Borsook multi-purpose food (MPF), a meal high in protein and low in cost. The gentlemen brought their endeavor before government agencies and other relief organizations, but they

³⁶ Heifer International, *Heifer Project Shipping Record* (1950): 3.

ultimately decided to form their own non-profit organization to which citizens could donate three cents and send MPF to countries stricken by famine and malnutrition, which began with postwar Europe.

Arthur Ringland was the founder of the Cooperation for American Remittances to Europe (CARE). In a 1975 interview with the Harry S. Truman Library, Ringland described CARE's inception and how the organization operated in its developmental stages:

“[T]he President's War Relief Control Board gave the impetus and the guidance to the creation and organization of CARE. I might remark that President Truman bought the first CARE package. Those packages, I should explain, were surplus Army ten-and-one. They would feed ten men for one day, and there was a great surplus available when the war concluded. We obtained a great quantity of those, and it just remained to set up a body that could take over the supplies and assure their delivery. We brought together 22 voluntary agencies into one body.”³⁷

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) played a more prominent role in the relief efforts for postwar Europe. Formed in 1943, it operated for three years before it became part of the United Nations Organization. UNRRA acted as a medium between local humanitarian organizations and Europeans devastated by the war and its aftermath. Grassroots relief efforts existed throughout the United States, and community leaders often coordinated with local business and services organizations to bring such efforts into fruition.

Ordinary Germans found relief most commonly through the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe program from the United States. Founded in 1945, the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe allowed individual American citizens to sponsor families in post-war Europe by sending them CARE packages which contained various sorts of produce and fabrics. Purchasing a CARE package for a European family cost \$10 per package, or over \$100

³⁷ Arthur Ringland, interviewed by Richard D. McKinzie, Washington D.C., July 14, 1975.

adjusted for 2017 inflation. Some packages even included American chocolate and cigarettes, items which had greater value outside the German home, particularly on the black market. The American Lingenhoel family, namely Adam and Johanna, would send CARE packages on weekly basis to their extended family living in towns throughout U.S.-occupied Bavaria.

In Europe the most critical humanitarian organization was Caritas Internationalis. The Catholic confederation began in 1897 with the mission to make a better world for the poor and oppressed. In the postwar years, Caritas was responsible for reuniting displaced families and coordinating aid received from international organizations and distributing it to the German populace. Johanna Lingenhoel's niece, Frieda of Marstetten-Aitrach³⁸, detailed the role Caritas played in recovering a lost CARE package sent from the United States:

As to the CARE package by way of the Memmingen butcher shop, I have often inquired about it and Mama asked and wrote 3 or 4 times to the customs office in Memmingen, and it always says it is not there yet, and then suddenly it says that the Caritas took over because so many were stolen. Due to that, it came back again, and I could have used it so indispensably...³⁹

This excerpt indicates that CARE packages were often delivered by proxy from local businesses, and Caritas was responsible for ensuring that the businesses send the packages to their intended recipients.

Waynesboro's Role in the Relief Efforts

After Truman allowed relief agencies to ship to Germany, Waynesboro almost immediately jumped on the bandwagon. Citizens were mobilizing to gather food and clothing to send to war-torn Europe. Local businesses ran advertisements in the *Waynesboro News Virginian* to raise awareness and mobilize food drives. One such advertisement ran "Freedom from Want

³⁸ Marstetten-Aitrach lies about 45 kilometers northwest of Kempten (Allgäu) and 11 kilometers southwest of Memmingen, the city mentioned in the excerpt.

³⁹ Freida to Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Emily Willoughby (April 21, 1947).

Begins with Sharing Food with the Hungry.” Next to the headline was a picture featuring a woman and three children standing amidst ruins of what was presumably Europe after the Allied invasion. Below the picture read “Give TODAY to the Emergency Food Collection⁴⁰” and next to it was a table listing various food items the Emergency Food Collection needed. Denizens of Waynesboro could contribute to the Emergency Food Collection either through cash or canned goods, and their contribution would ship to Europe via UNRRA. This was only the beginning of Waynesboro’s relief effort.

Through the local schools, the community leaders William B. Alwood III and Harry M. Parker organized a clothing drive “for the relief of war-worn people in the countries under the protective wing of UNRRA.” They called it the Waynesboro Victory Clothing Collection, and the goal was to collect 10,000 garments. Under the sponsorship of the Junior Red Cross, the drive encouraged students attending Waynesboro schools to bring from home their unwanted clothes and their teachers would collect them for the school chairmen to deliver to the collecting station. The local Boy Scouts even assisted in the drive:

People of Waynesboro are asked to bundle all of their old clothes and those which they can spare to those less fortunate in foreign nations securely and place them on the front porch or in some prominent place in front of the house. Scouts accompanied by trucks loaned by local companies, will pick up the bundles, but will not knock at each house to inquire for clothing...All scouts will meet at the Scout Hut, 11th St. at 8 a. m. to begin the collection.⁴¹

It is difficult to determine if the clothes collected through this drive went to ordinary German citizens, as UNRRA was primarily responsible for distributing food and clothes collected in the United States. This of course was only one of several ways residents of Waynesboro could help in the relief effort. CARE likewise played another large role in Waynesboro, and through that

⁴⁰ The Emergency Food Collection was a Waynesboro relief agency; it no longer exists today.

⁴¹ *Waynesboro News Virginian*, January 24, 1946: 1.

agency, residents Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel would send aid to their family in American-occupied Bavaria.

Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel were one of the many American citizens that sponsored families in war-torn Germany. Through their contributions, their distant family members had at the very least some degree of relief from the crippling famine greatly exacerbated by the sub-freezing temperatures and ruined infrastructure. The letters addressed to the Waynesboro Lingenhoels often listed the contents of the CARE packages shipped to them, and they often included food items and clothes. Antoinette Lingenhoel of Kottern, Germany wrote to her sister in law Johanna the following:

We gratefully kept both your cards like the letter from February 4th and Package #9 also arrived today in its entirety, which included the following: one jacket, two blue-grey dresses, one red dress, a little suit and four pairs of socks, as well as a can of spaghetti with meat and sauce, a can of beef tongues, two cans of noodle soup and one can of tobacco. Please accept our most heartfelt thanks! We sent the clothes on to my cousin this evening and she will surely write you and thank you herself. We are giving up the groceries for Easter. A package with groceries came not long ago from Eugen. We are so happy about everything because the supplies are worsening. Soon you will have to send a package every day.⁴²

Denazification

If there is one word that best illustrates the motives behind denazification, it is retribution. Like the Morgenthau Plan, and FDR's embrace of it, denazification sought to punish those Germans responsible for waging a destructive war on a global scale and orchestrating a genocide against Europe's minorities. After delivering justice unto these criminals, the Allies

⁴² Antoinette Lingenhoel to Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Tyler Stanley (March 28, 1947).

would see to it that their ideas would never again corrupt Europe's long-held traditions of individual freedoms and liberal democracy.

The process began with an international military tribunal at Nuremberg in 1945, at which high-ranking Nazi officers were convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity due to their involvement in the Holocaust. Under the terms of the Potsdam Conference, each Allied power took their own means of trying and convicting any Nazi official at the state or local level in their respective zones of occupation. The Morgenthau Plan called for impressment of Germans into forced labor camps so the defeated nation could properly atone for its crimes and military aggression. All Allies implemented forced labor to varying degrees of severity, and the Soviet Union made sure the German soldiers were under the harshest conditions possible when they paid off their war debt in manual labor. German POWs in the American zone and in the United States itself also underwent forced labor, but conditions were far less severe.

The Law of Liberation enacted by United States' Office of Military Government (OMG) called for sweeping trials and convictions of Nazis from major offenders to minor collaborators. While the principle of denazification resonated well with Germans at first, the Law of Liberation polarized public opinion towards the American occupying government and its efforts to convict Nazis, as some believed it was too harsh when it convicted members with circumstantial roles in the government and too harsh when it imposed light sentences, or in some cases acquitted, major offenders in the party. This sudden decline in support of denazification motivated OMG to change its tactic from punishment to education, and the American occupation carried out this policy revision by emphasizing cultural diplomacy, namely by promoting American ideals in German-language newspapers and bringing American films to German theaters, and decreasing the caseloads of the Spruchkammern, which then gave priority to major criminals in the party.

OMG's shift from denazification to re-orientation stemmed from a need to educate German citizens rather than punish them, a need to prioritize trials of Nazi criminals over collaborators, and a need to retain able Germans' access to the post-war workforce despite their alleged Nazi affiliations.⁴³

In the American zone, regional German courts were responsible for trying and convicting former Nazis who worked at the state and local levels. Germans referred to these as “Spruchkammersitzungen” or verdict sessions. In these court hearings, German judges would evaluate evidence that both indicted and defended accused Nazi collaborators. While these trials determined the fates of the accused, they also shaped the alleged collaborators’ perceptions of themselves as well as how their communities thought of them. Despite such high stakes, citizens attended the Spruchkammersitzungen to find some sort of amusement amid the dire living conditions. Swedish journalist Stig Dagerman described these regional trials as forms of amusement for ordinary Germans searching for some form of entertainment following the destruction of their cities and towns:

The man with the rustling sandwich paper, who with unfailing interest watches case after case rolling past before his seldom wearying eyes, is one of the regulars in the naked courts in half-bombed palaces of justice which lack even a relic of the sadistic elegance with which justice otherwise loves to surround itself. It would be wrong to thin that the man with the sandwiches is drawn to the court to savor the tardy triumph of definitive justice. He is more likely to be a theatre enthusiast who has come here to satisfy his craving for the stage.⁴⁴

This passage from Dagerman’s *German Autumn* illustrates that those who were interested in the denazification trials were not interested so much in seeing the courts bring collaborators to justice. They were captivated by, as Dagerman describes, “the rapid shifts from past to present,

⁴³ Alexandra Levy, “Promoting Democracy and Denazification: American Policy and German Public Opinion,” *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 26 (2015): 623, 628.

⁴⁴ Dagerman, 73-74.

the endless questioning of witnesses where not one tiny action on the part of the accused in the course of the relevant twelve years is considered too trivial to be passed over, the performance can seem like an example of applied existentialism.” The reason why Germans viewed these trials as entertainment was because it was free. Going to the cinema for a brief escape cost money and spending even a couple Marks on a ticket was too valuable, considering it would be better spent on whatever food was accessible. To put it in an American’s perspective, imagine watching the film *Judgement at Nuremberg* in real life at the local courthouse.⁴⁵

Dagerman masterfully illustrates the denazification proceedings. He offers a case in the city Frankfurt am Main “[beginning] with a humble schoolteacher and ending with a corrupt Nazi official.” The gentleman in question worked at his local school but joined the SA when he reached the cusp of his professional career.⁴⁶ Dagerman took careful note of the way in which the accused answers the judges’ questions. He observed the man answering each question “like a Sunday school pupil...tell[ing] the court about his childhood, which was poor and dismal, and about his lifelong dream to be a schoolteacher.” The gentleman testified that he joined the SA after discussing his reservations with his father. His reluctance to join was not compelling enough to sway the court’s opinion in his favor, so the judges turned to witnesses’ testimonies. Those testifying on behalf of the accused “[declared] that he [was] innocent...that they have never heard him reveal a Nazi turn of mind...that [they] have seen him behaving in a friendly manner towards Jews.” In relation to the witnesses describing the accused’s behavior towards Jews, Dagerman claims that every German on trial had such witnesses and paid them 100 Marks each for their testimonies. What swayed the court towards acquittal was the fact that the schoolteacher participated in church activities; he conducted a church choir for year during a

⁴⁵ Dagerman, 74-75.

⁴⁶ *Sturmabteilung*—an early paramilitary wing of the Nazi party later superseded by the Schutzstaffel (SS).

period when any type of church involvement outside the German Christians⁴⁷ could be compromising behavior. Such evidence was so compelling for a sitting judge that they intervened for the accused and thereby concluded the case.⁴⁸

Dagerman briefly details two cases involving Herr Müller and Herr Sinne. Herr Müller worked as a representative for a failing Nazi government-sponsored trade union. While Herr Müller had acted kindly towards local Jewish families, listened to foreign radio stations, and never agitated racial tensions in Germany, he actively chose to wear the Nazi uniform despite it only being the uniform of a trade union worker. The court sentenced Herr Müller a fine of 2,000 RM as reparations. Herr Sinne's case was far different from Herr Müller's and the unnamed schoolteacher's; he was a Nazi activist and section leader for Frankfurt. According to witness testimonies, Herr Sinne once proclaimed as section leader, "My section will be free of Jews." Testimonies claimed that he went further in his party behavior by threatening to report any local shopkeeper that sold to Jewish customers and reminded a male tenant that he "should not have Jews on his balcony," when he once observed the two from his apartment window. Herr Sinne and his attorney denied the testimonies against him, and the court postponed the rest of the case pending testimonies from the local shopkeepers. Dagerman does not provide an ending for Herr Sinne's case, as he left Germany before the court reached the final verdict.⁴⁹

Dagerman concludes his chapter on denazification trials with one final case: Herr Walter. The court summoned Herr Walter to his hearing due to a charge of Nazi involvement placed upon him by a coworker named Herr Bauer. He was a horse-dealer, who Dagerman describes as "fat and slow-witted...who does not look as if he has gone hungry for one moment in this land of

⁴⁷ The state-sponsored ecclesiastical body that combined Nazi ideology and anti-Semitism with Protestantism.

⁴⁸ Dagerman, 76-77.

⁴⁹ Dagerman, 77-81.

hunger.” Herr Bauer charged Herr Walter of collaboration with the Nazis after the latter discovered that the former illegally delivered oats to an American major whose name was undisclosed to the court. The judges dismissed the case due to lack of evidence indicting Herr Walter.⁵⁰

In another part of the American occupation zone, denazification courts in Bavaria summoned Wolfgang Demmelmaier and Antoinette Lingenhoel on charges of Nazi collaboration. Demmelmaier was to appear before the court in his hometown of Dingolfing and Lingenhoel was to appear before the court in Kempten. The two members of the Lingenhoel family have rather compelling stories that illustrate their reluctance to participate in the Nazi regime, but they have differing outcomes.

The Case of Wolfgang Demmelmaier

Wolfgang Demmelmaier was in a very privileged position in Germany’s interwar period. His family was wealthy since the end of the First World War, and he eventually found himself acting as a bank director and regional economic consultant in his home city of Dingolfing in Lower Bavaria. Citizens held a deep respect for him due to his long career of public service. Apart from serving as bank director, he was an avid hunter; the German Hunting Association appointed him regional master huntsman in the year 1935. What solidified Demmelmaier’s respect from the community was his unwavering opposition to the Nazi Party before and after its ascension to power. His anti-Nazi sentiments were so deeply embedded in his personal and professional life that prior to 1933, he issued an ultimatum to his subordinates that he would fire them should they join the Nazi Party.

⁵⁰ Dagerman, 81-82.

This posed a dangerous risk for Wolfgang, especially from 1933 onward. According to his verdict hearing in 1947, Demmelmaier testified before the court that he withstood a physical assault from a national socialist zealot while conversing with a friend in a local coffee shop. The Nazi overheard Demmelmaier claiming that the regime would drive Germany into ruins by the war's end, and this prompted the zealot to beat Demmelmaier to the ground before being restrained by bystanders. Suspicions towards Demmelmaier worsened because he was a practicing Catholic, whom the Nazi regime persecuted along with other political and religious dissidents as indicated by Dagerman's account of the nameless schoolteacher. The court's verdict indicated that Demmelmaier's political and religious beliefs posed a great risk for him, as the Nazis would have surely sent him to Dachau had his beliefs directly interfered with his duties.

Unfortunately for Demmelmaier, events did not work out in his favor. Germany was a one-party state, and the Nazis had passed laws mandating citizens register with the Nazi Party while outlawing all other political parties, that is if any other parties hadn't already disbanded.⁵¹ As the Nazi regime tightened its grip on state control, it established an administrative system that created regions under control of the Gauleiter.⁵² Hans Schemm was Gauleiter of Bayerische Ostmark, which included Demmelmaier's town Dingolfing. While the citizens of Dingolfing deeply admired Demmelmaier, the upper echelons of the Nazi party deeply admired Schemm; even Hitler himself did so. In 1935, Schemm died tragically in a plane crash which led to the passage of the Hans-Schemm Act. The law mandated all public servants in the Gaue register with the Nazi Party. This posed a serious dilemma for Demmelmaier. Either he could hold fast to

⁵¹ Opponents of the Nazi Party went into exile, faced imprisonment, or were executed as enemies of the state; among those who went into exile was future chancellor Willy Brandt, and among those imprisoned was future East German General Secretary Erich Honecker.

⁵² Regional leader.

his principles and thereby make himself an opponent of the party and the state or sacrifice them to maintain a stable future for his family.

Demmelmaier knew that his first duty was to his family, so the only choice he could make was the latter. His life meant more than his beliefs and political persuasions, so he ultimately registered with the Nazi Party and continued to work as a bank director. His position made him a de facto economic consultant for Nazi Party officials in his region. His registration as a Nazi was only nominal. This of course deepened suspicion towards Demmelmaier from party officials. As detailed in his verdict, the court notes that Demmelmaier retained his anti-Nazi views after his unwilling registration with the party.

Such circumstances did not exclude Wolfgang from trial when the denazification process came to postwar Germany. His participation in the Nazi regime led him to stand trial as a Mitläufer⁵³ despite doing what his job long required him to do. He was by no means a criminal, but he was a willing participant nonetheless. He was ultimately convicted for collaborating with the Nazi regime but spared incarceration. Instead, he was to pay 2,000 RM in reparations, just like Herr Müller, but he would also be forced to pay an extra 100 RM each day pass the deadline. There was, however, one glaring circumstance that the court took into account following its final sentencing of Demmelmaier: Demmelmaier had spent a year and a half in an Allied internment camp, which cost him 14,000 RM in salary losses. The court decided not to impose the reparation payments despite its ruling that Demmelmaier had financially supported the Nazi government through his position.

Demmelmaier did not protest his conviction. In fact, he did quite the opposite; he acquired a copy of the sentencing papers and had his wife mail it to the Lingenhoels in

⁵³ MIT-loyf-er, collaborator.

Waynesboro. In the attached letter, he and his wife deeply expressed their gratitude for the sentence and understood its fairness:

Wolfgang's trial and subsequent conviction were only one instance of the nationwide process of denazification. Oftentimes historians view the Nuremberg Trials of 1945 as the time of reckoning for the Nazi war criminals responsible for building the apparatuses that carried out the atrocities of the Holocaust, but denazification went far beyond convicting high-ranking Nazi officials of war crimes and dismantling the former Nazi institutions. Denazification was a nationwide political and cultural readjustment effort. As Dagerman illustrated in the cases he witnessed, each German citizen had differing circumstances for their involvement with the Nazis, and their indictments were only necessary to find the active supporters.

The fact that Germans were mandated to become members of the Nazi Party made denazification even more complicated. It was much easier to look at the upper echelons of the Nazi regime and clearly see that many involved were guilty of crimes against humanity, thus making it easier to implicate and convict them of said crimes, but blame began to fade as the area of focus shifted downwards. While the high-ranking Nazi officials were mostly genuine supporters and friends of Adolf Hitler, such was not the case for members of the middle and lower classes. Those working in the middle class were predominantly in positions of public service: teachers, judges, police officers, university deans, and of course bank directors. It was nonsensical to simply dismiss all the former Nazis who held these positions, as it would be much more difficult for German society to function without them. So, the only logical solution would be to keep the former Nazis in their positions.

Like Wolfgang's dilemma in registering as a Nazi, trying lower party officials and ordinary members proved equally conflicting. While working for the U.S. Military Government,

Army captain Samuel Hutchinson Beer reported that it was challenging to differentiate a card-carrying Nazi from an unwilling collaborator. He knew the necessity of a uniform rule in identifying and prosecuting Nazis, but he grew wary of exceptional cases: “Active Nazi anyone who joined part before May 1937. Okay as a rule, but how about exceptions? E.g. the engineer of electrical light plant in Ansbach.”⁵⁴ Beer concluded that this means of assigning guilt was fruitless: “Review procedure didn’t work... We could not discriminate between degrees of guilt. Recently changed.” Beer does not specify in his report exactly how the U.S. Military Government changed the rule in determining guilt among Nazi party members. The aim was to make blame upon the Nazis as collective as possible, but willingness and guilt became more difficult to ascertain as the military government tried collaborators at the regional and local levels.

Such questions were strongly relevant to Wolfgang’s case. He of course was not directly responsible for the formulation of the Holocaust as Adolf Eichmann would have been, but his position as a regional bank director calls into question his role in possibly financing operations for concentration camps and the Wehrmacht. The 2,000 M fine imposed upon Wolfgang shows that the U.S. military court found him responsible for some involvement in assisting the Nazi regime despite his initial hesitance to join the Nazi Party when membership became mandatory. Historians have coined the term “desk murderer” or “Little Eichmanns” to describe party officials in this type of role. Although they may not have pulled the trigger on the rifle, or poured the Zyklon B into the gas chamber, their involvement through bureaucracy was enough for the military courts to hold them responsible for the deaths of innocent lives taken by the regime.

⁵⁴ A subdivision of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was located in the Bavarian town of Ansbach.

The Defense of Antoinette Lingenhoel

Wolfgang was not the only family member awaiting judgement for their involvement with the Nazi Party. Antoinette Lingenhoel stood as a candidate for membership to the Nazi Party, and this alone prompted Allied officials to put her on trial as a collaborator like her brother-in-law Wolfgang. Thankfully, there was an unlikely witness to vouch for Antoinette just as there were character witnesses to vouch for Wolfgang. In the Allgäu region lies a town called Oberstdorf, 8 km south of Kempten just on the border of Switzerland. A Dutch noblewoman by the name of Agathe Henriëtte Maria Trip de Beaufort founded a youth hostel called High Light in the Bavarian spa town. As a member of the Beaufort noble family, Henriëtte used her family's wealth, her husband's salary, and her aunt's inheritance to fund the hostel's construction. Construction ended in 1924 and the hostel began operating the same year, but tragedy struck Beaufort in 1928 when her husband Herman Laman Trip passed away. Following her husband's death and the rise of the Nazi Party, Beaufort spent more of her time at High Light. Foreseeing the Nazi persecution of Jews, Beaufort began to admit Jewish children to the hostel under false identities and subsequently transport them across the border into Switzerland.

Antoinette Lingenhoel worked in Kottern, a borough of Kempten and a subdivision of the Dachau concentration camp. There she encountered several political dissidents and Dutch prisoners of war. In a testimony to the denazification court, Henriëtte wrote the following of Antoinette:

I got to know Miss Antoinette Lingenhoel during the war years when my compatriots sat imprisoned in the Kottern concentration camp, an affiliate of Dachau. In those years I did not know anyone who served the interests of my countrymen with the same courage and perseverance. Miss Lingenhoel was undoubtedly convinced of the cruelty by the way they were treated and the necessity to help them. This is also evident from the fact that she continually jeopardized her own life. At various times she secretly transported packages and mail for the prisoners; moreover, she let the innocent, persecuted Dutch people

know that there were still courageous, upstanding Germans in confused Nazi Germany. I later discussed exactly this point many times with these prisoners. Even the ones who felt the greatest estrangement towards Germany would go to great lengths to visit Miss Lingenhoel and keep in touch with her. I myself will shortly travel to Holland and will visit many of these prisoners or their bereaved. We will then speak of Miss Lingenhoel with high esteem, as a figure who dared to act in an anti-national socialist manner in a national socialist Germany, on behalf of poor prisoners.⁵⁵

Antoinette sent this a copy of the testimony in a letter addressed to her godparents Adam and Johanna. In the letter, she says the following about her circumstances and the testimony: "...I am including here a photocopy of some writing that a Dutchwoman sent me unsolicited, when she discovered that I, too, would be tried by a denazification court. It is just so that you see what sort of a major criminal I was, because I was a Party candidate." There are three things to note in this sentence alone. First, Antoinette's language does not seem to indicate that she knew of Henriëtte's prestige. As far as her knowledge went, Henriëtte was just another woman attempting to help the Dutch prisoners at Kottern. Second, the letter was unsolicited. This shows that pending her trial, Antoinette did not attempt to implore the court for mercy or find any witnesses of her own that would attest for her character or responsibilities at Kottern. Instead, Henriëtte took the initiative herself in defending Antoinette by writing her testimony. Third, Antoinette refers to herself as "a major criminal" and "a Party candidate." The reason why is unclear, though it is possible she was being ironic. Either she truly did see herself as a criminal just by working in Kottern, or the Allies made Antoinette see herself as one. Unlike Wolfgang, Antoinette's verdict remains unclear; however, one can speculate that Henriëtte's letter to the court played an integral role in determining the court's final decision.

⁵⁵ Antoinette Lingenhoel to Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Cassie Pickens (September 10, 1946).

Justifying Collaboration

The willing participation of “desk murderers” in the Nazi regime has generated controversy amongst historians and sociologists following the Allied occupation. Perhaps the most famous account of the trial of a “desk murderer” was Hannah Arendt’s 1963 book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Arendt notes in her book that Eichmann while on trial responded to questions in such a way that he portrayed himself as an unthinking bureaucrat devoid of any agency as a member of the Nazi Party. “I was just following orders” is generally the most standard answer of Nazi who saw themselves as cogs in the machine rather than perpetrators of the Holocaust. Arendt’s portrayal of Eichmann as a mindless bureaucrat sparked ire from contemporary historians such as Deborah Lipstadt, who holds that Eichmann was insidiously anti-Semitic from his formulation of the Final Solution through his 1962 trial and execution in Ramla, Israel. Another development Arendt notes in Eichmann’s case was that he considered himself a “joiner,” meaning that he sought to join whichever organizations he could to grant himself a sense of belonging and duty to his country. The same may apply to the nameless schoolteacher referenced by Dagerman and Demmelmaier himself. Joining an organization like the Nazi Party meant keeping one’s self alive in both a metaphorical and literal sense.

Despite Wolfgang’s conviction, it is safe to infer that he was not at all anti-Semitic. Given his testimony and corroboration by his associates in the bank and the hunting club, he absolutely could not have been a desk murderer. He was vehemently against the Nazi Party and their regime, and the court noted that his role as a bank director and economic consultant did not contribute to the regime’s violent suppression of minorities and dissidents. He after all was a

dissident himself. Though the court issued the fine of 2,000 RM, it ultimately commuted Demmelmaier's sentence:

In determining the position and damages required from the affected, given that he has [financially] supported National Socialism through his Party membership and the posts held, even if not significantly, it should be taken into consideration that the anti-Nazi affected party already had to spend 1 ½ years in an internment camp (about 14,000 RM of salary loss) and through these circumstances alone has already extensively atoned for his formal membership in the Party.⁵⁶

He was merely an unfortunate part of a much larger machine, and that was enough for the Allies to assign guilt to him as a bank director: "Accordingly, despite the functions performed [as seen] on paper, the affected only nominally participated in National Socialism and was hence classified, in fair consideration of his individual liability and his actual stance, as a 'Mitläufer' of the group." Circumstance alone led to Demmelmaier's reluctant registration with the Nazi party and his trial and conviction following the Allied occupation.

Despite Demmelmaier's circumstances in reluctantly joining the Nazi Party and spending a year and half in an Allied internment camp, he and his wife Betty expressed gratitude for the Allied government understanding his condition and sparing him and his family any more suffering. In a letter addressed to Johanna Lingenhoel, Betty Demmelmaier expressed great relief simply knowing her husband's verdict: "It pleases us to no end knowing that your brother in law is now "acquitted," because we know all too well what a great psychological burden it is to constantly be in a state of uncertainty about one's fate." Wolfgang sent a letter the day after Betty sent hers. In it he expressed his own gratitude towards the verdict and the psychological effects it bore him:

I do not complain about my fate and bear no hate for anyone. The great bitterness and injustice that has befallen us in the past two years will be undone through the great love and help that has come over the ocean from you dears. It is so

⁵⁶ Dingolfing Regional Court, " , File reference: D/1095, translated by Cassie Pickens (June 19, 1947).

comforting and encouraging to not be forsaken by feelings and awareness, that a new joie de vivre has awoken in all of us.

It was after the ruling that Wolfgang rejoiced and found solace after waiting for so long in post-war purgatory. He endured long moral suffering for his unwilling collaboration with the party, physical suffering for holding to his conscience in the face of a zealot, and psychological suffering after the Allies placed him into internment for a year and a half, costing him an entire year's salary which left his wife and children relying on the kindness of their family in the United States.

Uncertainty fueled the family's fear, and this uncertainty was twofold. The family feared the possibility of the Allied courts convicting Wolfgang simply for his nominal involvement with the Nazis, which they did, and they also feared hunger and deprivation taking a toll on their health and possibly their lives like the rest of the German populace. From the outset, the Allies sought to punish ordinary Germans for allowing the violent Nazi regime to corrupt Western democracy, upset the balance of power in Europe, and spread its cancerous racist and oppressive ideology across the continent. Thankfully, this outlook based on non-fraternization came to an end. Ordinary Germans in the American occupation zone suffered hunger and judgement to atone for their collective guilt. For Wolfgang, the acquittal and the CARE packages from his cousin Adam was his absolution.

Conclusion

Adam and Johanna Lingenhoels remained in Waynesboro for several decades before retiring to Riviera Beach, Florida in 1971. Johanna died two years later after retiring with her husband. Lindy's Inn was still operating after their move. It converted from mixed use to solely residential use. As a residential space, it was an apartment complex before a fire damaged a substantial portion of the house in May 1975. The city ultimately demolished it in February the

following year. As of 2018, a small restaurant sits at “Lindy’s corner” with a sizeable parking lot beside it.

The youth hostel at Oberstdorf remained in operation. In 1958, Henriëtte sold the hostel to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The church changed the name of High Light Youth Hostel to the High Light Evangelical Kneipp-Sanitarium. As of 2018, the building serves as a clinic for women undergoing rehabilitation or any form of physical recovery. After the war Henriëtte went on to write biographies of various figures in Dutch history, among whom included William of Orange and Rembrandt. She died in 1982 at the age of 91. The Henriëtte de Beaufort Prize, a triennial literary award recognizing achievement in historical biographies, is named in her honor. Otherwise, little is known about the following generations of the Lingenhoel family.

While Hitler and the Nazi government are partially at fault for the destruction of German infrastructure responsible for the production and transportation of food, the occupying powers bore a greater responsibility for the Germans suffering malnutrition and famine. It was the Allies’ responsibility to adequately supply food and raw materials to alleviate Germany’s crippling famine. The Allied power most at fault for Germans’ suffering is undoubtedly the Soviet Union. While the U.S., UK, and France were initially economical in their efforts to feed the German population, they later sponsored humanitarian aid through international organizations. The Soviets on the other hand sought to punish Germany for its betrayal during the war and its hatred of Slavic peoples, and they carried out their punishment most notably through forced labor, affecting ethnic Germans living outside of greater Germany, and gradual collectivization of industry and agriculture, exacerbating the struggle to produce and distribute food for ordinary Germans.

Fortunately for citizens in western Germany, the hunger situation during the Allied occupation was only temporary. The aid and relief from humanitarian organizations can be interpreted as precursor to the Marshall Plan, which provided Germany a catalyst for economic development after the occupation. Historians refer to this period as the *Wirtschaftswunder*⁵⁷, signifying an unprecedented economic boom that transformed West Germany from a country ravaged by the war and into the economic powerhouse of continental Europe. With a booming industrial sector, companies manufactured consumer goods from automobiles to refrigerators which allowed Germans to equip themselves with material goods lifting them from the deprivation they experienced in the preceding decade.

The issue of collaboration remains a highly controversial one in contemporary Germany. According to a 2016 report, West German courts convicted approximately 6,650 former Nazis, which was a minuscule portion of the entire Nazi party base. The courts required a high burden of proof to warrant a harsh jail sentence, especially if the accused acted on their own volition or displayed cruel behavior to alleged enemies of the party. In the years leading up to the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the West German government coopted former members of the Nazi Party, and most of them obtained positions in the West German Justice and Interior Ministries. From its founding until 1973, the Justice Ministry contained ninety former Nazis out of one-hundred seventy lawyers and judges. In the case of the Interior Ministry, 54% of its staffers were former Nazis, and 8% of them previously worked in the Nazi Interior Ministry. The desperate need to rebuild political institutions was only part of the reasoning behind hiring ex-Nazis to government positions. Allied occupation governments were also at odds with each other, especially with the onset of the Cold War, so West Germany saw it fitting to employ ex-Nazi sympathizers rather

⁵⁷ Economic miracle.

than communist ones to safeguard its political establishment from any sort of communist subversion. Former Allied powers even brought ex-Nazis into high-ranking positions in their own bureaucracies following the war. Perhaps the most noteworthy case is Wernher von Braun, an aerospace engineer who helped the Nazis develop the V-2 rocket and later the Explorer 1 space satellite for the United States.⁵⁸

There is a different story that exists for Germans in the Eastern Bloc. Just as West Germany coopted ex-Nazis to its government, so too did the East, albeit at a much smaller number. This is surprising given the fact that anti-fascist sentiments were more profound and antagonistic in the Eastern Bloc. The population of ethnic Germans living in Romania decreased significantly after the war and onward. In 1941, with the onset of WWII in Eastern Europe, Romania had an ethnic German population of approximately 241,000. As of 2003, the population of ethnic Germans lies at approximately 14,000. Voluntary emigration primarily accounts for this exponential population decrease, as the ethnic Germans sought to return to the more prosperous West Germany in the aftermath of both World War II and the Cold War.

Perhaps what is most noteworthy of this story is the connection that brought people together from both sides of the Atlantic. The letters written back forth between the German and American family members was illustrative of this phenomenon, as they provided firsthand accounts of the postwar desperation and hardship. This also applies to the humanitarian efforts spurred across the United States, even in the city of Waynesboro. Americans showed their sense of duty to humanity by organizing and participating in efforts to relieve ordinary Germans (and Europeans in general) out of hunger. This connection at the micro level precipitated a critical

⁵⁸ Christopher Woody, "Germany's post-World War II government was riddled with former Nazis," *Business Insider*, October 10, 2016, accessed February 21, 2018, <http://www.businessinsider.com/former-nazi-officials-in-germany-post-world-war-ii-government-2016-10>.

friendship between the United States and Germany, which would endure through the end of the Cold War.

Place in Historiography of Postwar Germany

The only question that remains following this research is this story's place in the historiography of postwar Germany, particularly regarding collaboration with the Nazi regime. The issue remains a hotly debated one among historians of Germany and the Holocaust as well as political scientists, most notably between Christopher Browning and Daniel Goldhagen. One a historian and the other a political scientist, both men raise exhaustively researched and assessed ordinary Germans' willingness to participate in the Holocaust. Browning's 1992 book titled *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion and the Final Solution in Poland* analyzes the factors contributing to German civilians participating in the Holocaust, which from psychological and sociological behaviors illustrated through Stanley Milgram's 1961 experiment on obedience to authority and Philip Zimbardo's 1971 Stanford Prison experiment on perceived power. Browning asserts that ordinary Germans who participated in the Holocaust were reluctant to do so, as disobedience could have resulted in ostracization, imprisonment, or execution in the most extreme circumstances.

Opposing Browning's thesis is Daniel Goldhagen, who in his 1996 book titled *Hitler's Willing Executioners* draws from centuries of German newspapers, pamphlets, and treatises to illustrate a unique strand of anti-Semitism that permeated German society and came to a head upon the Nazis' consolidation of power in 1933. Goldhagen characterizes this German brand of anti-Semitism as "eliminationism," which equates minority groups to parasites impurifying a nation and must therefore be exterminated.⁵⁹ This eliminationist anti-Semitism, Goldhagen

⁵⁹ Comparing Germany's perpetration of the Holocaust with France's Dreyfus Affair or imperial Russia's pogroms illustrates the scale, severity, and ramifications of Goldhagen's eliminationist anti-Semitism.

argues, was prevalent throughout Nazi Germany and conditioned German citizens to actively and enthusiastically commit acts of violence against the Jewish community and other minority groups, or at the very least be indifferent to said violence. Goldhagen's only point of agreement with Browning's thesis is that Germans had a choice in participating in the Nazi regime, but they were more willing to do so than what Browning asserts.

While research from both scholars focus on the atrocities committed by ordinary Germans, the questions they raise about collaboration can apply to the more benign roles ordinary Germans played in Nazi government and society. The cases of both Wolfgang Demmelmaier and Antoinette Lingenhoel support Browning's thesis that Germans demonstrated reluctance to participate in the Nazi regime, and the latter even resisted the regime itself in the riskiest and subtlest possible way through assisting Dutch POWs.

Another point to address in the historiography is American responsibility for Germans' suffering, most notably addressed by historian Richard Dominic Wiggers. While he is correct to hold the U.S. and UK accountable, they are not completely at fault for the Germans' plight. The fact that Hitler called for the destruction of agricultural and industrial infrastructure already put ordinary Germans in dire circumstances which the Allies could not immediately fix upon occupying the country. Furthermore, the blistering winter weather inhibited any ability for the Allies to efficiently transport food and rations to the numerous localities, as indicated by Albert Heitzer's letter to Adam and Johanna:

We had 4 cold waves at this point and another one is coming the 24th of February. Rosa is always freezing, because coal is in short supply. There is plenty in the Ruhr. But the transport was cancelled due to the cold, frozen rivers, and defected locomotives and cars.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Albert Heitzer to Adam and Johanna Lingenhoel, translated by Tyler Stanley (November 24, 1947).

All Allies approached the occupation with indifference, and animosity in the case of the Soviet Union, but the indifference was only temporary, at least on part of the western occupation forces. After realizing that indifference would not help to build future relations with Germany, the western Allies actively supported relief efforts to lift Germans out of hunger, and a bulk of that support came from ordinary citizens and the organization they founded.

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