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Kristallnacht and North Carolina: Reporting on Nazi Antisemitism in Black and White

by

Robert Drake *

Journalists must therefore lead, particularly on issues where
it's all too easy for prejudice to dominate public discourse.

Laurel Leff¹

On November 9-10, 1938, in what has become known as *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass, Nazi storm troopers, party members, and other citizens looted and burned Jewish property throughout Germany. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Jews were attacked, arrested, and then assessed fines for damages done to their own property. The pretext for these actions occurred when Herschel Grynszpan, a young German-born Polish Jew, shot and mortally wounded the third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath. This important event in the timeline of the Holocaust has often been interpreted as an early sign presaging the death camps. However, regardless of widespread press coverage, it has been charged that contemporaries who might have acted to rescue Jewish refugees may not have clearly understood the meaning of the events surrounding this escalation in the persecution of German Jews.

A number of historians have examined why so few American grassroots movements protested the Nazi antisemitism of the 1930s and the genocide of the 1940s.² Some believe that the lack of response reflected the failure of the American press to

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clearly present the public with the threat to German Jews.³ These critics assume that many Americans would have reacted differently had there been a clear message that German Jews were in serious danger. Other historians argue that, regardless of the nature or extent of media coverage, factors including economic insecurity, nativism, and antisemitism dictated American reactions.⁴ These disagreements concerning the flow of information and public opinion lie at the heart of the debate over the rescue of German Jews during the 1930s.

Deborah Lipstadt, in her important work *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933–1945*, finds that national press coverage of *Kristallnacht* provided misleading rationalizations and incorrect explanations rather than accurate analysis. This lack of clarity by the media, according to Lipstadt, may have confused many Americans. For example, newspaper coverage often depicted the persecutions as acts carried out by angry mobs that defied law and order and were bent on plunging Germany into chaos or even civil war. According to Lipstadt, this misrepresentation led many readers to perceive the Nazi government as weak, unpopular, and unlikely to last. Lipstadt also observes that many journalists presented the cyclical nature of the persecutions, coming for short periods in 1933, 1935, and 1938, as times when radicals within the Nazi Party gained temporary control over more moderate forces within the party including Hitler and Goering—a misleading analysis of these events.⁵

Although access to accurate, clear information acted as a necessary initial step to understanding Nazi antisemitism, it would not necessarily have been enough to change public opinion or fuel an organized attempt to rescue Jews—even if Americans had been so inclined. First, enough people needed to feel sufficiently confident to express their opinion, something that might prove difficult if they thought that their opinions could generate criticism. In *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann observes that public opinion is based upon fear and conformity rather than on information alone. She argues that because people fear being isolated from others, they need to feel sure that others have accepted their position before they will risk

*Portrait of Herschel Grynszpan, November 7, 1938,
taken after his arrest by French authorities for the
assassination of German diplomat Ernst vom Rath.
(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,
courtesy of Morris Rosen.)*

taking a public stance on that issue. Thus, for people to speak out on a controversial subject, they would need to feel that their position will be accepted and not ridiculed by others.⁶

A similar process occurs when newspaper managers and editors monitor the climate of opinion in their community in an effort to predict what is important or off-limits for their readers. Laurel Leff, author of *Buried by the Times: The Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper*, studied this phenomenon, noting that journalists were often "stymied by what they perceived to be the public mood." Furthermore, Leff argues that journalists in the 1930s were well aware of the prevalence of antisemitism in American life. Consequently, to "avoid appearing to take sides in what was considered a controversial issue and to avoid alienating Americans hostile to immigration and to Jews, journalists did nothing."⁷ Adolph Ochs exemplifies this phenomenon. As the Jewish publisher of the *New York Times* from 1896 to 1935, he downplayed his religion to ensure that critics and readers did not perceive the *Times* as a Jewish paper in a city that was the most Jewish and perhaps the most antisemitic in America. During his tenure as publisher, he refused to hire a Jewish managing editor, stating that he preferred to hire an "American." In addition, Ochs seemed obsessed with downplaying anything Jewish. He refused a number of invitations to events honoring American Jews and reportedly asked *Times* writers with "Jewish" names to abbreviate them rather than use their full names. Thus, three popular journalists with the first name "Abraham" became A. M. Rosenthal, A. H. Raskin, and A. H. Wheeler.⁸ Ochs's Jewish successor, Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, while sympathetic toward the plight of German Jews, avoided the perception that the *Times* was a Jewish paper with equal adamancy.⁹

Historians of Jewish life in America Arthur Hertzberg, Henry Feingold, and Leonard Dinnerstein all conclude that antisemitism in the United States reached its height during the 1930s, although Jews were not the only group to face heightened discrimination during the Great Depression.¹⁰ From 1932 to 1940 approximately twelve hundred hate groups existed in the United States, more than at any other time in history. Many of these groups claimed

antisemitism as a central tenet. Evidence of this includes the widespread and routine use of hate speeches, mass meetings and rallies, radio broadcasts, print advertising, vandalism, and incidences of physical violence.¹¹ Among these groups with antisemitic agendas were the Nazi Party USA, the Friends of the New Germany, and the very visible German-American Bund.

*On the morning after Kristallnacht local residents in Darmstadt, Germany,
watch as the Ober Ramstadt synagogue is destroyed by fire.
Photographed by Georg Schmidt, a youth whose
family was opposed to the Nazis.
(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,
courtesy of Trudy Isenberg.)*

For David S. Wyman, author of *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* and *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945*, the climate of opinion in the United States during the 1930s was squarely stacked against any efforts to rescue German Jews.

Three major factors in American life in the late 1930's tended to generate public resistance to immigration of refugees: unemployment, nativistic nationalism, and anti-Semitism. Debate, generally centering on the first two elements, often carried overtones of the third. Indeed, separation of these three factors is nearly impossible. . . . Many people, no more than a generation removed from being immigrants themselves, responded to several years of economic insecurity by wholeheartedly accepting the nativist slogan "America for the Americans."¹²

It is hard to argue with Wyman on any of these counts. Concerns about preserving America's resources and culture for Americans by keeping immigrants out were codified in the immigration restriction laws of the 1920s and elevated to emergency status with the coming of the Great Depression. As a result, in 1930 the U.S. State Department began denying a high proportion of visa applications from Germany and elsewhere, a practice continued through the war with the exception of a brief period in the late 1930s.¹³

Wyman is not the only historian who believes that concerns about antisemitism worked against efforts to rescue more German Jews. Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, in their well-researched book, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945*, argue that concerns that increased immigration would "magnify latent American anti-Semitism" influenced U.S. policy makers when it came time to figure out what to do with Germany's Jews. Relying heavily on public opinion data, high-ranking State Department officials concluded that bringing German Jews to the United States must occur within the limitations of existing immigration policy.¹⁴

Additional research may help resolve conflicts between these historical schools of thought. When it came to press coverage of *Kristallnacht*, for example, North Carolina treated the news of Nazi

antisemitism more thoroughly than did most other places in the country. The state's newspapers generally devoted more space and analysis to defining Nazi antisemitism in comparison to press coverage elsewhere. Articles were more numerous and direct, and offered far fewer misleading explanations. Furthermore, grass-roots movements began to develop as both individuals and church groups condemned racial hatred and persecution of all kinds, not only those occurring in Germany but also those dominating the American South. Thus a case study of the reactions of North Carolinians to *Kristallnacht* raises questions concerning the universality of prevailing historiographic models and suggests the need for similar studies of other states that may have diverged from the norm.

*Germans pass the broken shop window of a Jewish-owned
business in Berlin destroyed during Kristallnacht.
(National Archives and Records Administration,
College Park Bildarchiv Abraham Pisarek,
courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)*

Methodology

This study examines *Kristallnacht* daily press coverage in twenty daily newspapers representing all or part of five states from early November 1938 until between two and five weeks later when each stopped printing regular articles on the subject.¹⁵ Concentration centers on North Carolina periodicals with those in northern California, New Mexico, New York, and Wisconsin providing a comparative framework. Each article was analyzed in relation to content and placement. Paper selection depended on availability in a digital format, diversity of region nationally, and diversity of location within each state, where possible.¹⁶ Whenever available, individual cities were chosen with similarly sized populations to those in North Carolina.¹⁷ Thus, newspapers from small to medium sized cities, rather than large metropolitan areas like New York and Chicago, were utilized.¹⁸ A final factor, diversification in political affiliation or affinity, was ascertained by analyzing the newspapers' reaction to the Republican gains in the 1938 elections announced just days before *Kristallnacht* and discussed during it.

In each case, the dailies utilized one or more national news services for their foreign affairs coverage. The Associated Press (AP) was by far the most common. However, some papers also employed the United Press (UP) or the International News Service (INS). The newspapers received news articles on a daily basis. Then the newspaper management decided whether or not to publish the article, to publish it in part or in its entirety, where it should appear, and what the headline should be. Thus, by assigning an article to the front page, the newspaper's management made a point, emphasized a point of view, and/or determined that this was an issue that their readers would find important. By giving it front-page headline status they showed that they judged it more important than many other articles. The number of articles published on a topic and the existence of follow-up coverage signaled the management's belief that readers wanted or needed to know more about the topic. For example, in November 1942, an article titled "German Death Plot Charged" appeared on page two of a daily newspaper in Arizona.¹⁹ This was the newspaper's first

announcement of the mass murder of Jews in German-occupied territory and its last until the news of the liberation of the concentration camps in late 1944. The use of the word *charged* rather than one like *exposed*, the placement of the article away from the front page, and the lack of any follow-up news articles all sent implicit messages that this problem lacked importance, if not reliability, and/or in the management's judgment, was not of interest among readers. Therefore, the mass murder of European Jews was not effectively placed on the agenda of the newspaper's readers.

North Carolina Newspaper Coverage

On November 8, 1938, the *Greensboro Daily News* reported the shooting of Ernst vom Rath with a front-page article titled, "German Diplomatic Official Wounded; Polish Jewish Refugee Fails in Attempt at Assassination in Paris." The article explained that Grynszpan acted "to avenge Polish Jews driven out of Germany." The *Charlotte Observer* followed on November 9 with a front-page report stating that Grynszpan had appealed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt for help. In response to the violence in Germany on November 9-10, the *Asheville Citizen*, the *Raleigh News & Observer*, and the *Wilmington Morning Star* all chimed in with coverage on November 11. For these North Carolina newspapers, *Kristallnacht* remained the most important news item in the coming weeks.

During the initial phase, the papers portrayed the violence as widespread, but disorganized, mob attacks. Typical November 11 page-one headlines included "Jewish Property Wrecked, Looted By German Mobs; Few Police on Hand as Looters Run Wild" (*Raleigh News & Observer*), "Anti-Jewish Violence Sweeps Germany; Angry Crowds Wreck Number Of Synagogues" (*Charlotte Observer*) and "Nazi Mobs Ignore Orders To Halt Anti-Jew Drive; Wild Orgy Of Looting, Burning Continues Over Germany" (*Asheville Citizen*). As historian Lipstadt observes concerning the press nationally, these newspapers had not yet realized that these were forces supported by the Nazi government.

However, more accurate North Carolina press reports regarding the ongoing persecutions against German Jews began

quickly and lasted well through the first week of December. The headlines and articles were numerous, lengthy, confidently stated, and prominently placed on the front page. On November 12, the *Wilmington Morning Star* clearly linked the violence to the Nazi government with the very large headline, "Nazis Consider Re-Establishment Of Ghetto; Police Stage Secret Raids On Jew Homes; Several Hundred Members Of Race Are Taken Into Custody In Berlin." Examples appearing on the following day include the *Asheville Citizen's* large headline "Nazis Clamp Drastic Decrees On Jews: Thousands Arrested" and the *Raleigh News & Observer's* headline "Nazi Government Takes Violent Action Against Jewry Through Nation: Jews Virtually Barred From Participation in German National Life." Nothing in these explanations of the events in Germany would mislead readers.

The sheer quantity of articles is striking as the North Carolina newspapers averaged 2.88 articles per day on coverage that extended from one to two weeks beyond that of the newspapers surveyed in other states. For example, on November 14, the *Asheville Citizen* printed five articles from various perspectives on the problem. It then included four in each of the following two days, six the next, and then seven each on November 18 and 19. The busiest single day for any of the North Carolina papers came on November 17. The *Charlotte Observer* carried a large headline, "Baptists Berate Persecution of Jews," a three- by two-inch column-wide, front-page photo with the caption, "Jewish shops in Berlin and elsewhere were plundered by looters," and seven articles.

The North Carolina papers also kept their readers updated with serial articles covering subtopics related to the persecutions. One of these addressed the Nazi government's insistence that German Jews pay for all of the damage to their own property. Coverage of this aspect of the persecutions began for the *Wilmington Morning Star* on November 13 and 14 with the sweeping front-page headlines "'Liquidation' of Jews Completed By Germany; 400 Million Special Tax Is Assessed" and "Nazis Levy Heavy Assessments On Rich Jews; Fund To Be Used To Mend Damage Done By Numerous German Window Smashers," respectively. On

*Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times, November 20, 1938.
(Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.)*

November 24, front-page coverage described new financial restrictions on Germany's Jews that included a 20 percent tax on all Jewish wealth in excess of \$2,000. An additional article the following day reported that all such taxes needed to be paid before anyone would be allowed to emigrate. On November 27, a front-page article described how the Nazis established an agency to buy Jewish personal property (like jewelry and art) at the government's "final evaluation" so that German Jews could raise the cash necessary to emigrate or pay their fines and taxes. Finally, on December 7, an article stated that the Nazi regime had taken "a strangle hold" on all remaining Jewish resources and wealth. This decree essentially proclaimed that anything owned by Jews was

*Editorial page cartoon showing the Nazis torpedoing
a lifeboat named "Human Rights,"
Raleigh News & Observer, November 19, 1938.
(Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.)*

ultimately "German," so, by definition, it was inherited by the state. The article identified the process as "full aryanization." Arguably the most important and prominently placed set of articles treated the threat that additional persecutions and decrees posed to the safety and well-being of those Jews remaining in Germany. The *Raleigh News & Observer* reported regularly on the continuing problem with some of the most expressive headlines of the month. With article titles like "Prospect of New Terrors Driving Jews to Suicide; Nazis Plan Field Day at Martyr's Funeral; Jewish Orphans Driven Out," "Dozen Jews Are Killed in Murderous Gantlet of Hitler Black Guards; Nazi Leaders Discuss Plans to Exterminate All Jews in Germany," and "Jews Hear Grim Warning Against Shooting Hitler: Official Nazi Organ Says Mass Killings of Jews Would Be Consequence," the newspaper accurately predicted how far Nazi antisemitism would go.²⁰

Other articles followed President Roosevelt, whose first act was to recall the U.S. ambassador to Germany, Hugh R. Wilson, for consultation on November 14. Thus, papers in North Carolina also reported about the effect of the persecutions on U.S.-German relations. For example, on November 15, the *Charlotte Observer's* most prominent front-page headline read "U.S. Ambassador Ordered Home From Germany" and carried the subtitles, "Hull Aroused By Continued Nazi Attacks Against Jews; Move is Diplomatic Protest On Treatment of Minorities; Not Severing Relations." Following Roosevelt's actions, on November 18, Germany recalled its ambassador to the United States, Hans Diekoff. This again received front-page coverage from the *Charlotte Observer* as well as the other North Carolina papers on November 19. Most papers did not end this thread until late November when Roosevelt met with Ambassador Wilson to discuss the situation.

Additional long-term coverage began on November 16 with reports on efforts to find homes for the refugees. The *Asheville Citizen* published two front-page articles on plans to assist Jews in Germany, one of which came from the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, Joseph Kennedy, that promised a "bold plan to find new homes abroad for many of Germany's 700,000 terrorized Jews." On November 16, 18, and 19, the *Wilmington Morning Star*

reported on resettlement of Germany's Jews that included the headlines "New Plan To Aid Jews Considered; Democracies May Attempt To Remove Remainder of Race Out of Germany," "Britain Pushes Efforts To Find Homes For Jews," and U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull's request for the "Participation Of All Nations In Handling Jewish Problem."

North Carolina press editorials on the persecution of German Jews can be categorized as numerous, direct, and consistent. The papers averaged fifteen editorials on the persecutions for the one-month period following *Kristallnacht*. In addition, all the editorials criticized the Nazi government. In many cases, they openly and directly resorted to sarcasm. For example, the *Greensboro Daily News* began its editorial coverage on November 12 with a piece titled "A Sample of Nazi Culture":

Using the youth's crime as a pretext, German mobs inaugurated a day of terror in Berlin, Vienna, and elsewhere, surpassing anything even the third reich has yet seen. Synagogues were burned, Jewish shops sacked and looted, homes were raided, thousands of Jewish citizens were beaten and abused, and other thousands were hustled off to prison. The Hitlerite "patriots" went about this thievish and bloody business in systematic fashion—with thorough German efficiency . . . the police looked on, making no move to interfere."

Later in the month the paper printed an article titled "Non-Smoking Dictators." This tongue-in-cheek article quoted Julius Streicher, the notorious Nazi antisemite and propagandist, who, like Hitler and Mussolini, did not smoke because it was "the greatest poison" of the German nation. Streicher, according to the Greensboro paper (in the heart of tobacco country), stated, "Jews taught the Germans to smoke in order to destroy the German nation and to make money."²¹

The *Charlotte Observer* also published a number of hard-hitting editorials. The editorial writers expressed their disgust with titles like "Away with Civilization: Back to Barbarism," and "The American Stomach Turned." One unique editorial, "The Dictators Compliment Rotary," stood out in its explanation that Adolf Hitler paid perhaps the greatest tribute to the Rotary in its thirty-

four year history by banishing it from Germany "because occasionally a Jew had been admitted to membership." Details about Hitler's other likely reasons for outlawing the organization included the fact that the group's members were held to high ethical standards in business, ascribed to the ideal of community service, and pledged to try to advance "international understanding, good will, and peace through a world of fellowship." One can imagine many a Rotarian chuckling proudly over this article.²²

Other very direct editorials utilized titles like "Penalizing the Innocent,"²³ "Shaking Down the Minorities,"²⁴ "The Sad Facts,"²⁵ "Horror in the Reich,"²⁶ "Has the Man Become Insane?"²⁷ and "Death and Evil."²⁸ Clearly the authors of these editorials felt anger and sadness at what they must have found difficult to adequately describe, as was the case with the following:

Words are powerless to express American sympathy for the plight of the German Jews. . . . This planet thought it had plumbed the depths of human degradation and suffering during the World War of twenty years ago; but the fighting of those days, however horrible, was good clean sport in comparison to the brutal bullying that the Germans of today are administering to the helpless Jews in their midst.

Asheville Citizen, November 16, 1938

This is frenzy. This is not only anti-Semitic violence, this is evidence of almost national insanity.

Raleigh News & Observer, November 15, 1938

It is difficult for the logical, reasoning mind to comprehend how Adolf Hitler can expect to retain the respect of civilized men and nations in view of the inhuman injustices he persists in inflicting upon the Jews of Germany.

Charlotte Observer, November 17, 1938

The lengths to which Germany's nazi government now goes in the persecution of Jews are almost inconceivable in the Year of Our Lord, 1938. The nazis have turned back the clock hundreds of years!

Greensboro Daily News, November 16, 1938

Taken as a whole, the level of distaste for the Nazi regime is apparent, right down to the use of a lower case 'n' in the word

“nazi.” These were not the words of writers who believed that their readers were rabid antisemites.

Finally, several editorials made the connection between the persecution of Jews in Germany and race relations in the American South—something that the Nazi government itself used occasionally to justify its acts. In fact, some of these editorials presented powerful arguments for the improvement of race relations in the South. One editorial that directly connected persecution in the United States with *Kristallnacht* reads in part:

Here in the United States, and in the south most unfortunately, we have sometimes had demonstrations somewhat like, though on a smaller scale, the one just experienced in Herr Hitler’s empire. Only a few days ago in a southern state, a negro, accused of a crime against a white person, was seized and put to death by white mobsters. The mob then proceeded to terrorize a number of innocent negroes and to set fire to some of their properties.²⁹

A *Raleigh News & Observer* editorial titled, “The Dogs Let Loose,” made the case for ending prejudice in the United States.

In the persecution of the Jews in Germany, Americans can view an illustration of what can happen when prejudice against race, creed or religion is once put on its feet and set in motion. The United States . . . is no stranger to racial or religious dislikes and discriminations.³⁰

In “Mob Crimes at Home,” the editorial writer asked readers to “give a little more thought and action in the matter of crime and its prevention at home” so that law and order could prevail over “King Lynch.”³¹ Finally, in a two paragraph editorial, “Lynching Is Here,” the author stated that victims of lynching in the South “deserved at least as much attention from an intelligent, law-abiding and humane public as do similar crimes against humanity, if not law, thousands of miles away.”³²

North Carolina Reacts to Kristallnacht

Letters to the editor in North Carolina strongly opposed the persecutions. In fact, of the dozens of letters published only two were not outwardly critical of events in Germany. One of the latter used the persecutions to remind Jews that they should repent

Raleigh News & Observer,
front page,
November 13, 1938
(Courtesy of North Carolina
Collection, Wilson Library,
University of North Carolina at
Chapel Hill.)

in the name of Jesus Christ so that their "sins may be blotted out." The other, titled "Germany for the Germans," was a nativist rant that advocated resettling all Jews in Palestine and leaving "North America for Americans."³³

The overwhelming majority of the letters to the editor expressed indignation, extolled the virtues of Jews, or took the opportunity to relate the situation in Germany to the treatment of African Americans in the South. The letters-to-the-editor section in the *Charlotte Observer* was perhaps the most interesting and detailed. The editorial staff provided a title that corresponded with at least one of the featured letters of the day in every issue. During coverage of *Kristallnacht*, these included "Assassination Goes With Persecution," "Have the Jews Any Rights Whatever?" "What Do We Owe the Jews?" "Why Are Jews Always Scapegoats?" and "Jehovah Will Long Outlast Hitler." Statements in these letters

included "Adolf Hitler's treatment of the Jewish race is a disgrace to modern civilization" and "Hitler, the very essence of foulness and corruption, is not the first fool to attempt to do away with God."³⁴

These letters disclose a dichotomy in the perceived identity of Jews among the writers. On the one hand, the letters referring to Jesus Christ and Jehovah clearly took a religious perspective that one might expect from inhabitants of America's Bible Belt. On the other hand, portraying Jews as a race seemed to support the argument of both the nativist and the Nazi detractor who stated that Hitler was "a disgrace to modern civilization." Apparently perceptions of Jews as a race or a religious group were not universally accepted nor did they necessarily predict how one felt about Jews. Moreover one could define Jews as a separate race without that categorization justifying persecution.

Many other letters characterize German Jews in a very positive fashion. For example, one letter cited how bravely ninety thousand German Jews fought in World War I, while another stated, "If Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest is correct, surely the Jews must be a superior people, for no nation on earth has ever undergone such ages of oppression and cruelty." The most interesting and hard-hitting letter had as its title, "Carrying Aryanism to Logical Limits." The author challenged Nazis to take their zeal to its "logical extremes" by doing without all Jewish medical discoveries. Citing the February 15, 1934, issue of the *New York State Journal of Medicine*, the letter states that the Nazis would not be able to accept treatment for syphilis, heart disease, toothache pain, typhus, diabetes, or even the common headache.³⁵

Finally, several letters, reflecting editorials noted above, reminded North Carolinians that racism was no stranger at home. Although some condemned racial prejudice in general terms, a number directly compared treatment of German Jews and the system of Jim Crow and lynching in the South. Some of these letters thoughtfully expressed the need for improved race relations in the region.

America is forging ahead to provide a haven for Jews in their hour of need and in harsh terms openly voices disapproval to

such racial antagonism. However, can we as American citizens remain patriotically blind to our own original and traditional grievances? The Southern Negro faces a situation closely akin to the racial injustice imposed upon the German Jew. Negroes are also barred from public concerts, schools, executive offices, and State laws demand segregation on public conveyances. As a citizen, he is isolated and limited in his freedom to participate in civic affairs. . . . He must assume his responsibility to support tax-paid institutions of higher learning, yet there is a remote possibility that he or any member of his race will ever attend.³⁶

Finally, one letter with the title "Is America Setting the Standard?" suggested that President Franklin D. Roosevelt could not criticize Hitler effectively until southern racial policies changed:

Wouldn't it be a happy, effective, and influential thing if he [FDR] could hold up to Hitler, as an example of how minorities should be treated, the record of the United States, the greatest democracy in all the world . . . yet we have consistently and persistently denied the negro . . . the rights guaranteed him by our Federal constitution . . . Before Uncle Sam can seriously and effectively reprimand Hitler for persecuting the Jews, he must clean his skirts of racial hatred, racial discrimination, and racial injustices as are practiced against the negro of America.³⁷

Church groups also reacted publicly to the persecutions. On November 17, all North Carolina dailies reported that the North Carolina State Baptist Convention adopted two resolutions condemning Germany's treatment of Jews. Each of the papers ran articles that emphasized the convention resolutions regarding the persecution of Jews in Germany and included forcefully worded front-page headlines. Examples include "NC Baptists Condemn Nazi Drive on Jews,"³⁸ "Baptists Condemn Nazi Persecution of Jews,"³⁹ and "Baptists Berate Persecution of Jews."⁴⁰ In addition, the *Raleigh News & Observer* carried a front-page article titled "Nazi Persecution of Jews Assailed by Baptists Here." Each of these articles quoted Resolution IV, "German Persecutions," that went beyond condemning Nazi Germany by advocating that the U.S. provide a haven for the refugees:

1. That the North Carolina Baptist Convention . . . does hereby condemn and deplore, the present policy of the German Government which it pursues in relentless and inhuman persecution both of Christians and Jews on purely religious and racial grounds.
2. That we believe the government of the United States, without any general repeal or revision of its immigration laws, should somehow find it possible so to modify the application of these laws as to offer asylum to these persecuted and outraged people regardless of the immigration quotas fixed by statute.⁴¹

The articles also utilized two other resolutions that called on Christians and their governments to care for the millions of refugees that needed assistance in Germany, China, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the Sudetenland.⁴²

On November 21, the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adopted similar resolutions. However, this received less coverage than the Baptist actions, with short articles appearing in three of the five papers (two of which appeared on page one). According to the articles, the conference resolutions denounced the "barbarous cruelties" imposed on Jews in Germany and elsewhere. They also called for the "extension of Christian sympathy" to those in need and pledged to support efforts to relieve their plight.⁴³

Thus the leadership of the two largest religious denominations in the state gave forceful and clear statements condemning Nazi persecution and advocating specific American government policies. Furthermore, their policy statements received almost complete coverage in the area press.

However, the coverage of the North Carolina State Baptist Convention was not complete. It failed to include wording condemning the state of race relations in the American South. Here, Resolution I, "Concerning Race Relations," broadly condemned racial injustice everywhere. However, it particularly singled out

the treatment of African Americans in the South and Jews in Germany:

We recognize and deeply regret human weakness and frailty which express themselves in universal racial antipathies and friction. Racial frictions are by no means limited to the South; nor to the relations of the White man and the Negro. The most flagrant antipathy at the present time is found in the universal prejudice against the Jew and the terrible persecution now inflicted upon the Jews in Germany, Poland and other countries. We rejoice that the gospel of our Lord is adequate remedy for racial hate, and we believe that only as this gospel is preached and accepted by all nations can we hope to see racial hatred disappear and to see all races living together in peace.⁴⁴

In every case, the newspapers omitted the strong wording in Resolution I, which referred to southern race relations. Neither the Baptists' antilynching resolution nor the language in the Methodist convention's resolution that called for racial "tolerance," "good will," and "universal brotherhood" gained publication in the newspapers.⁴⁵ The omissions are both startling and surprising since the resolutions mirrored sentiments in various editorials and letters to the editor that were published. Unfortunately, the reasons for the newspapers' decisions in this regard cannot be determined.

The Middle Ground:

Comparisons and Contrasts with Coverage in Other States

Difference between North Carolina and the northern California, New Mexico, and New York newspaper coverage starts with how often they presented the issue of the persecution of German Jews to their readers (Wisconsin will follow because its newspaper coverage diverged dramatically from the norm). While the North Carolina papers averaged 2.88 articles per day, the three newspapers chosen from northern California, the *Hayward Review*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and the *San Mateo Times*, averaged 1.82 articles per day during regular coverage of the persecutions. The New Mexico papers, the *Albuquerque Journal*, the *Clovis News-Journal*, and the *Gallup Independent*, published 1.5 articles per day, while coverage in the five New York papers, the *Albany Times-Union*,

Glens Falls Post Star, *Oswego Palladium-Times*, *Saratoga Saratogian*, and *Watertown Daily Times*, averaged 1.43 articles per day. In addition, regular articles appeared in most North Carolina dailies until December 9, while regular coverage in all but one of the papers in these other states ended by November 29.⁴⁶

San Mateo (CA) Times, front page, November 18, 1938.
(Courtesy of Robert Drake.)

Newspapers from northern California, New Mexico, and New York primarily focused their reporting on the effects of *Kristallnacht* on foreign relations. For example, in New York, the *Oswego Palladium-Times*' headline, "Britain Voices Indignation At Anti-Jew Drive; German Violence Impedes Chamberlain's Plan for Negotiations With Hitler";⁴⁷ the *Glens Falls Post Star*'s "Appease-

ment Plan Not Affected by Nazi-Anti-Semitic Drive; Chamberlain Hints in Face of Gathering British Opposition";⁴⁸ the *Albany Times-Union's* "President 'Shocked' by Nazi Purge, Pledges Nation to Vast defense Program Guarding All Americas";⁴⁹ and the *Saratoga Saratogian's* "Nazis Challenge Entire World At Envoy's Funeral"⁵⁰ all express some relationship to foreign affairs. Similarly the northern California and New Mexico papers' typical headlines pronounced: "London, Berlin Near Break Over Jewish Purge; Colony Demanded; Public Anger on Persecutions Halts Peace Plan; Joint Power Protest Proposed,"⁵¹ "War Clouds Settle Over Europe Again; Berlin Envoy Returns; Will Confer With FDR Over Nazi Situation,"⁵² and "Jewish 'Purge' Will Not Halt Peace Attempts."⁵³

Editorials in these papers were also not nearly as numerous. While the North Carolina papers averaged fifteen editorials each during the month after *Kristallnacht*, the northern California, New Mexico, and New York papers averaged fewer than five. As did their mainstream coverage, many of the editorials tended to focus on the impact of the persecutions on foreign relations. A November 22 editorial in the *Glens Falls Post Star* provides a good example. Its author reasoned that Hitler did not speak at the funeral of Ernst vom Rath because he wanted to minimize the fallout from international opinion. The editorial concluded that Hitler was "in the main a cool and intelligent interpreter of political currents, who knows enough to pull his punches when the occasion calls for patience." The article depicted Hitler "as a moderating force, on the side of Marshall Goering, who has violently disapproved from the first the immoderation of the Jewish attacks."⁵⁴ These types of explanations obviously deflected the issue away from Nazi antisemitism by placing them in the context of international relations and by spinning the yarn that Hitler opposed overt acts of antisemitism.

Of the three northern California newspapers, only the *Oakland Tribune* included any editorials that did not focus entirely on foreign relations, although even these made some reference to diplomacy.

Protests and denunciations directed at the sadistic persecutions of Jews and Catholics in Germany reveal how stunning the shock has been to the outside world. . . . Already the Nazi revels in barbarism have halted the moves for peace and understanding between Britain and Germany.⁵⁵

*Gallup (NM) Independent, front page, November 17, 1938,
showing the funeral procession of the "martyred" Ernst vom Rath.
(Courtesy of Robert Drake.)*

While the New Mexico editorials were more numerous and at times more revealing of Nazi antisemitism, they also typically misled or concentrated on foreign relations. With editorial titles like "Caution the First Requisite in Dealing with Germany"⁵⁶ and "World Refugee Situation Demands Careful Study,"⁵⁷ the newspapers seemed to suggest that readers should control their emotions and refrain from rushing to rescue. The *Gallup Independent* also included a photo of a young and attractive Leni Riefenstahl that had the title "Hitler's Friend, Leni Arrives." The caption, clearly depicting Hitler as a "regular guy," stated:

The glamorous Leni Riefenstahl says she merely "works" for Adolf Hitler. But continental gossips have long talked of a

romance between *Der Fuehrer* and the German movie star, pictured as she arrived in the United States. Purpose of her trip is to show movies of the 1936 Olympics.⁵⁸

Newspapers with a letters-to-the-editor section were few. However, the *Oakland Tribune* and the *Albany Times Union* each had a section associated with the editorial page.⁵⁹ In the *Oakland Tribune*, the discussion over Nazi Germany and the persecution of German Jews proved to be nothing short of a battleground. Just as the news of the persecutions reached page one of the paper on November 10, a letter to editor titled, "Heils Hitler," contended that Hitler and Mussolini were "self-learned men with brains." The writer particularly took a positive view of Hitler when he stated that the German leader was "not sleeping, but busy at work building up a country run down in the last war." Furthermore, the letter's author may have been tacitly comparing the situation in Germany to the United States with comments like:

Everybody is working and Germany is prospering, making money. Hitler knows how to take care of people. . . . Hitler is avoiding war if he can help it to save humanity from murder and terror.

A letter appearing two days later titled "Unemployables" insisted that most of those who were "unemployable" and on relief roles were "largely aliens dumped on us while we were blinded by 'Melting Pot' propaganda." In another letter taking a strongly isolationist position, the writer proclaimed that he was not "an 'American internationalist,' i.e. a Jew" as he attacked a previous pro-German letter that ridiculed the United States for asking other nations to stop rearming for war. A letter from "Eighteen Seventy" overtly stated that "it might be wisdom and beneficial to make a thorough impartial investigation into the real reasons of the Jewish persecutions."⁶⁰ This kind of back and forth banter continued throughout the survey period. While some of these letters were not specifically directed at the Jewish refugee situation and the persecution of Jews in Germany, many of them carried decidedly pro-Hitler, restrictionist, isolationist, and antisemitic overtones.

However, nearly as many letters openly addressed the persecutions and took a sympathetic and supportive position. In fact, any of these letters could have appeared in the North Carolina papers. For example, in response to the letter written by Eighteen Seventy, "Nineteen Two" wrote:

Is there ever any justification for the persecution of any race, color or creed. I judge from the anonymous signature of Eighteen Seventy that this is his year of birth, that would make him 68. Supposing it was decided to persecute all over 65 because they are a burden nine times out of ten to the community anyway. How would he complain. [*sic*]

Another thoughtful letter with the title "Brutality" added:

Brutality never stops where it starts, it must expand to justify its existence and always uses its force on the helpless. The individual brute finds it very easy to start using his brutal force on his wife and children. National brutality finds it easiest to abuse those most helpless in its domains. The Jew comes in very often to start on, but it never stops there. Great . . . is the individual and the nation who have accepted the true basis of life and society that "all men are created equal," and act accordingly.

In "To Pay Sometime," "The Man from Mars" wrote:

German "culture" phooey! The power-drunk lunatics now in the saddle in that unfortunate land are reverting to the savageries of their forebears. . . . If the laws of Nature have not been repealed, the brutal Nazis will in due time pay for their orgy of cruelty.⁶¹

Two additional letters related the persecutions in Germany with injustices in the United States.

Why is it that sane men and women fall for the stupid and outrageous propaganda that is overwhelming the world. . . . Pray that the day may not come when I would consider myself above my fellowmen, be he black or white, be he Democrat or even Republican.

While I wish to compliment you on your editorial in which you pointed out that Jewish outrages were committed with Hitler's consent I would like to also point out that we have had in this county identically the same brutal treatment of minority groups, and the press as a whole has either apologized for or upheld this

(to put it mildly). . . . Let's clean up our own cesspool, then perhaps our condemnation of nazism will have more weight.

The extremely small letters-to-the-editor section of the *Albany Times Union* normally contained only two very short letters that concerned local events or announcements. While three letters mention Hitler or Nazi Germany, two placed these references in the context of speculation on Germany's territorial ambitions and one called for readers to join in the boycott on German goods—although it did not mention that this was in response to antisemitism in that country. However, there were two pages filled with letters that voiced individual and/or group support and approval for a front-page editorial by publisher William Randolph Hearst that condemned Nazi antisemitism. Examples of these include:

Your historic message to the American people to unite for another crusade for liberty, tolerance and justice came like a cool zephyr on this earth of hell. Millions of Jews and true Christians as well applaud your truly humanitarian stand in the noble fight against the present brutal and animal instincts of blind passion, intolerance and the gradual destruction of civilization.

Your fine editorial of last weekend against intolerance and injustice deserves warmest congratulations. Every true American must thrill with pride.⁶²

Finally, the California, New Mexico, and New York newspapers reported on a number of incidents where local groups protested or held some kind of vigil on behalf of German Jews. The northern California newspapers stood out somewhat in this respect as front-page articles appeared with the titles "Bay Pastors Score Race Persecutions,"⁶³ "Prayer for Jews in S.M. [San Mateo] Church,"⁶⁴ and "Dynamic Speaker Addresses Rotary" that cited a Dr. Rieger who delivered a Thanksgiving address that listed many of the strengths that Jews possessed and modeled for others.⁶⁵ While all ten regional newspapers published at least one of these announcement-like articles, six contained more than one. Thus, public reactions to the persecutions in the form of letters to the editor and public condemnations and supportive prayer meetings occurred there just as they did in North Carolina.

A More Limited Response

With towns and cities with names like Germantown, Berlin, and Rhinelander, and a governor in 1938 with the last name Heil, Wisconsin reveled in its German American culture. It was also a place where the four newspapers under study, the *Appleton Post-Crescent*, the *La Crosse Tribune*, the *Rhinelander Daily News*, and the *Sheboygan Press*, averaged the fewest numbers of articles per day (1.23) on the Nazi persecution of Jews. The coverage also ended nearly two weeks sooner than in the other states.

Like most of the other newspapers, the Wisconsin papers focused on the effects that *Kristallnacht* had on foreign affairs rather than the danger to German Jews or the nature of Nazi antisemitism. The vast majority of the articles limited the threat to German Jews to vandalism (where property was damaged) or economic distress (when they were fined for the assassination of vom Rath). For example, the headlines of the *La Crosse Tribune* declared "German Mobs Plunder, Burn Jewish Shops" and "U.S. Protests Destruction of Property" but failed to describe the physical attacks on Jews. On November 17, the paper also jumped to the conclusion that the problem had been solved with the headline "Britain To Try Jew Refugee Plan: Hebrews May Be Saved By Kennedy Idea; Problem Being Treated As One of Urgency."⁶⁶ The latter referred to U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain Joseph Kennedy's plan to resettle German Jews in the colonies lost by Germany in the aftermath of World War I.

Almost half of the articles in the Wisconsin papers concerned the problem of where the refugees should go once they emigrate from Germany. While it was unusual to see articles in the other papers concerning overt opposition to increasing immigration into the United States, several articles of this nature appeared in Wisconsin. The restrictionist position appeared in "Immigration Quota Change Opposed"⁶⁷ and "Borah Opposed to Quick Revision of Immigration Laws"⁶⁸ referring to well-known isolationist, Idaho Senator William Borah's opposition to changing U.S. immigration policy to accommodate more German Jews. Other articles included statements like, "Administration officials said . . . they anticipated a bitter struggle between members of Congress

*Front page, Rhinelander Daily News, November 21, 1938.
(Courtesy of Robert Drake.)*

wishing to relax immigration barriers for these refugees and members desiring to retain or strengthen them."⁶⁹

Also in Wisconsin, Nazi antisemitism was often disconnected from leaders in the German government. For example, a *Sheboygan Press* headline read "Retaliatory Acts Over Death of Official Finally Halted by Order of Goebbels,"⁷⁰ while the *Rhineland Daily News* reported "Goering Bans Further Acts Against Jews."⁷¹ Numerous other articles describe how Nazi actions were moderated in response to the boycott of German goods in the United States and elsewhere. Here, the *Appleton Post-Crescent* reported, "Goering Ban on Street Attacks On Jews Indicates Boycotts are Cutting Reich's Foreign Trade."⁷² The *Rhineland Daily News* stated "Germany Feels Pinch of Boycott,"⁷³ and the *La Crosse Tribune* observed "Boycotts Being Felt By Nazi Foreign Trade."⁷⁴ In each of these cases wording within the article had Goering calling for an end to the persecutions because of its effect on trade. For example, the text of the *Appleton Post-Crescent* article cited above is clear in this respect:

A new order by Field Marshall Herman Wilhelm Goering banning further street action against Jews was interpreted today to indicate that foreign boycotts were having a telling effect on Germany's foreign trade. . . . Sources close to Goering said his order undoubtedly was in the interest of foreign trade, upon which the Nov. 10 shop wrecking by angry crowds had a boomerang effect.

The article implied that antisemitism among important Nazi leaders had practical limits and thus may have lacked depth of belief and enthusiasm of purpose. Unlike the sixteen newspapers from the other states, none of the Wisconsin papers published an article that reported the existence of local events like prayer sessions or mass meetings in support of German Jews. Either local efforts to support German Jews did not materialize or the newspapers purposely failed to report them.

Fewer than three editorials per newspaper appeared on the subject for the months of November and December and half of these primarily concerned foreign affairs. One editorial, while acknowledging the necessity of Jewish resettlement, never cited the

United States as a potential place that this might occur.⁷⁵ Another, appearing in the *Sheboygan Press*, cautioned that while people in the United States might sympathize with German Jews, "it is not for us to interfere in any foreign country's affairs." A day later an editorial in this same newspaper called the "reported" persecutions "reprisals" when calling upon the United States government to get the "facts and not rely upon newspaper accounts." It went so far as to explain that recalling the American ambassador to Germany was merely to report "the true situation" (making one wonder why this could not have been done without leaving Germany).⁷⁶ Still another, although more subtle, article, described the experience of a young Oregon girl who was visiting Berlin during *Kristallnacht*. She cited local shopkeepers as saying that the Nazis were not "real" Germans—the implication being that most Germans were not antisemites. Ultimately only one editorial in the four Wisconsin daily newspapers, titled "Hit Prejudice Hard," seemed to understand the true nature and extent of Nazi antisemitism:

Since we live in a world that has come to accept the mass murder of women and children in time of war as a matter of course, a return to the barbaric pogroms of medieval Europe can hardly seem surprising. Yet if we grow callous about these things we lose our defense against them. Only by making ourselves feel the horror of these abominations can we keep alive the hope for a restoration of civilization.⁷⁷

Conclusion

By focusing on more than international relations, news reporting on the persecutions in the North Carolina newspapers provided a more detailed picture of Nazi antisemitism. While some of this had to do with the fact that the North Carolina papers picked up many more news service articles, they also provided clearer and more descriptive titles, more prominent placements, and more follow up articles. Evidence that readers and newspaper editors in North Carolina better understood Nazi antisemitism, and felt secure enough to attack it, appeared in newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, and the resolutions of two statewide

"The Tortoise and the 'Herr'—1938,"

Wilmington Morning Star, November 20, 1938.

The cartoon also appeared in the Albuquerque Journal on the next day.

(Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library,

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.)

church conferences representing over six hundred thousand North Carolinians. As such, sufficient information for North Carolinians to form personal opinions joined with a comfort level that encouraged people to speak up in support of German Jews.

One explanation for the reason why North Carolinians may have been more sympathetic to Jews is offered by Lee Shai Weissbach's book *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History*. Weissbach argues that living in a small community reshaped life for many Jews and "was one of the most powerful environmental factors that could influence American Jewish life." Weissbach also identified 1927 North Carolina as the state that had the most sparsely populated and decentralized Jewish population of the day.⁷⁸ In addition, historian Leonard Rogoff argues in *Down Home: Jewish Life in North Carolina* that the small-town atmosphere and the lack of a central urban Jewish community served as important factors in how Jewish life evolved in the state. Thus, without any city having a thousand or more Jewish residents, in North Carolina "communal constraints and rabbinic authority" did not impede its small-town influence and thus tended to encourage more developed community relationships across religious boundaries.⁷⁹

However, many readers in small, medium, and relatively large Jewish communities in northern California, New Mexico, and New York also protested against the persecutions. For even though newspaper coverage in these three states was not as detailed as North Carolina's, in every newspaper there was evidence of public reaction against Nazi actions in Germany. This was not the case in Wisconsin. By minimizing the number of reports, reminding readers that the U.S. immigration laws should not be challenged, offering misleading headlines to articles, and writing editorials that questioned reports sympathizing with the plight of German Jews, these Wisconsin newspapers promoted a different agenda. As such, it is evident that there were powerful cultural and social conditions in Wisconsin that were not present elsewhere in this study.

Thus, the coverage in Wisconsin offers an example unlike any found in Lipstadt's work. It was a place that seemed to do its best not only to downplay the plight of German Jews but also to reframe it, something that could only be done to suit the newspaper managers' agenda and/or be in line with newspaper managers' perceptions of their readers' beliefs and biases. As

such, regardless of how the message of the persecution of German Jews was presented to these Wisconsin newspaper managers and readers, it is unlikely that they would have organized to rescue Jews anywhere, let alone in a place thousands of miles away.

For many of these same reasons, David Wyman's conclusion that the American public was too antisemitic to push for a more aggressive and timely rescue agenda could be viewed as a bit too reductionist, especially since only the Wisconsin papers promoted a restrictionist, and at times, antisemitic agenda. Along these lines, the assumption made by the State Department that bringing more Jews into the country would create more antisemitism should also be questioned. After all, antisemitism in the United States was not the monolithic national monster that many may have thought it was. Strong differences existed between places like North Carolina and Wisconsin.

In the end, reporting on *Kristallnacht* within each location was strikingly consistent in terms of the number of articles per newspaper, the choice of articles and their presentation, the tone and focus of editorials, and the coverage of local events that expressed sympathy for German Jews. This documents a degree of uniformity in how these newspaper writers and editors perceived their readers' biases and belief systems. As such, there is little evidence that any of these papers challenged their readers' beliefs by speaking with a stronger voice than their neighbor newspapers. This supports Laurel Leff's contention that journalists "too readily allow fears of public backlash to inhibit their actions."⁸⁰ The news coverage clearly matched the audience.

NOTES

¹ Laurel Leff, "A Distinction Journalists Like to Ignore," *Nieman Reports* 60 (Summer 2006): 86.

² Deborah Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (New York, 1986); David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York, 1984); Robert W. Ross, *So It Was True: The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews* (Minneapolis, MN, 1980).

³ See, for example, Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*.

⁴ See, for example, Wyman, *Abandonment of the Jews*.

⁵ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, 110–111.

⁶ Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*, 2nd ed., (Chicago, 1993), 37–57.

⁷ Leff, "Distinction Journalists Like to Ignore."

⁸ Richard F. Shepard, *The Paper's Paper: A Reporter's Journey through the Archives of the New York Times* (New York, 1996), 276.

⁹ Laurel Leff, *Buried by the Times: The Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper* (New York, 2006), 29–48.

¹⁰ Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History* (New York, 1989), 279; Henry Feingold, *The Jewish People in America: A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920–1945* (Baltimore and London, 1992), 251–255; Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York, 1994), 128.

¹¹ William O'Neill, "American Jewry: The Pivotal Years," *Dimensions* 10 (1996): 9–14.

¹² David S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* (New York, 1985), 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 3–14.

¹⁴ Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington, IN, and Indianapolis, 1987) 58–59.

¹⁵ The North Carolina newspapers utilized for this study were the *Asheville Citizen*, the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Greensboro Daily News*, the *Raleigh News & Observer*, and the *Wilmington Morning Star*.

¹⁶ The intention here was to have a concentrated area in the Northeast, Midwest, Northwest, and Southwest to go along with North Carolina in the Southeast.

¹⁷ Albany, NY, and Oakland, CA, are on the high side in both total population and number of Jewish residents (especially Albany for number of Jewish residents and Oakland for total population). This is justified in that neither were the important centers of Jewish life in the state or region, and both city's newspapers had the advantage of offering a letters-to-the-editor section.

¹⁸ This data comes from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, and a 1937 report on Jewish population that appeared in the 1940–1941 *American Jewish Year Book*, published by the Jewish Publication Society, referred to in the table as AJYB. See H. S. Linfield “Jewish Communities of the United States: Number and Distribution of Jews of the United States in Urban Places and in Rural Territory” *American Jewish Year Book 5701 1940–1941*, (Philadelphia, 1940) 215–266. The percentage was arrived at by dividing the 1937 data by the 1940 census data.

	U.S. Census for 1940	1937 AJYB Data	Total Con- gregations (AJYB)	% of Jews
NORTH CAROLINA	3,571,623	7,333		0.21
Asheville	51,310	950	2	1.9
Charlotte	100,899	720	1	.7
Greensboro	59,319	535	1	.9
Raleigh	46,897	334	2	.7
Wilmington	33,407	330	2	1.0
CALIFORNIA	6,907,387	157,471		2.30
Hayward	6735	50	0	.7
Oakland	302,163	7415	4	2.5
San Mateo	19,403	265	0	.14
NEW MEXICO	531,818	1179		0.22
Albuquerque	35,449	450	2	1.3
Clovis	11,144	(< 10)	0	na
Gallup	8343	28	0	.3
NEW YORK	13,479,142	2,206,328		16.37
Albany	130,577	9400	6	7.2
Glens Falls	23,085	630	2	2.7
Oswego	22,062	120	1	.5
Saratoga	16,918	450	1	2.7
Watertown	33,385	460	1	1.4
WISCONSIN	3,137,587	39,917		1.27
Appleton	28,436	510	2	1.8
LaCrosse	42,707	200	1	.5
Rhineland	8,501	30	0	.4
Sheboygan	40,638	1,000	3	2.5

¹⁹ *Arizona Daily Star*, November 25, 1942.

²⁰ *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 17, 23, 30, 1938.

²¹ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 12, 1938; December 3, 1938.

²² *Charlotte Observer*, November 14, 16, 17, 1938.

²³ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 21, 1938.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1938.

²⁵ *Asheville Citizen*, November 27, 1938.

²⁶ *Charlotte Observer*, November 14, 1938.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1938.

²⁸ *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 18, 1938.

²⁹ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 12, 1938.

³⁰ *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 25, 1938.

³¹ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 29, 1938.

³² *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 24, 1938.

³³ *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 26, 29, 1938.

³⁴ *Charlotte Observer*, November 12, 19, 21, 26, 30, 1938; November 12, 30, 1938.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 18, 19, 1938.

³⁶ "Hitler as Imitator," *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 23, 1938.

³⁷ *Charlotte Observer*, November 22, 1938.

³⁸ *Wilmington Morning Star*, November 17, 1938.

³⁹ *Asheville Citizen*, November 17, 1938.

⁴⁰ *Charlotte Observer*, November 17, 1938.

⁴¹ Annual of the Session, North Carolina Baptist State Convention 1938, North Carolina State Baptist Convention Archive, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC.

⁴² *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 17, 1938.

⁴³ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 22, 1938.

⁴⁴ Report on Committee on Social Service and Civic Righteousness, North Carolina Baptist State Convention 1938, North Carolina State Baptist Convention Archive, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC.

⁴⁵ The North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal, South: *Journal of Proceedings* (November 17–21, 1938): 37–40, General Commission on Archives and History, the United Methodist Church. Charlotte, NC.

⁴⁶ "Regular coverage" is defined here as at least once every two days.

⁴⁷ *Oswego Palladium-Times*, November 12, 1938.

⁴⁸ *Glens Falls Post Star*, November 15, 1938.

⁴⁹ *Albany Times Union*, November 16, 1938.

⁵⁰ *Saratoga Saratogian*, November 17, 1938.

⁵¹ *Oakland Tribune*, November 14, 1938.

⁵² *Gallup Independent*, November 10, 1938.

⁵³ *Albuquerque Journal*, November 15, 1938.

⁵⁴ *Greensboro Daily News*, November 22, 1938.

⁵⁵ *Oakland Tribune*, November 15, 1938.

⁵⁶ *Gallup Independent*, November 22, 1938; *Clovis News-Journal*, November 23, 1938.

⁵⁷ *Clovis News-Journal*, November 11, 1938.

⁵⁸ *Gallup Independent*, November 17, 1938.

⁵⁹ Outside of North Carolina, where three of the five newspapers had a letters-to-the editor section, the *Oakland Tribune* and the *Albany Times Union* were the only two that had such a section.

⁶⁰ *Oakland Tribune*, November 12, 11, 24, 1938.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, November 29, 21, 22, 1938.

⁶² These letters were in response to the editorial titled, "Let America Lead the Way" by William Randolph Hearst that appeared on November 13, 1938 in the *Albany Times Union* and presumably all the Hearst papers. November 20, 1938.

⁶³ *Oakland Tribune*, November 14, 1938.

⁶⁴ *San Mateo Times*, November 21, 1938.

⁶⁵ *Hayward Review*, November 22, 1938.

⁶⁶ *La Crosse Tribune*, November 10, 16, 17, 1938.

⁶⁷ *Rhineland Daily News*, November 19, 1938.

⁶⁸ *Appleton Post-Crescent*, November 19, 1938.

⁶⁹ *La Crosse Tribune*, November 17, 1938.

⁷⁰ *Sheboygan Press*, November 10, 1938.

⁷¹ *Rhineland Daily News*, November 25, 1938.

⁷² *Appleton Post-Crescent*, November 25, 1938.

⁷³ *Rhineland Daily News*, November 25, 1938.

⁷⁴ *La Crosse Tribune*, November 25, 1938; November 21, 1938.

⁷⁵ *Rhineland Daily News*, November 25, 1938.

⁷⁶ *Sheboygan Press*, November 14, 15, 1938.

⁷⁷ *La Crosse Tribune*, November 17, 1938.

⁷⁸ Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America* (New Haven, 2005) 8–9, 30.

⁷⁹ Leonard Rogoff, *Down Home: Jewish Life in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2010).

⁸⁰ Leff, "Distinction Journalists Like to Ignore," 86.