Dangerous Rumors: How German-Americans During WWII Faced Accusations of Disloyalty and Espionage

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High schooler Eberhard Fuhr was arrested in 1943 because the United States perceived him as a security threat. But, how could a seventeen-year-old be a hazard to the nation? This was solely due to Eberhard's German descent when the U.S. was at war with Germany.[1] After the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, nearly 11,507 people of German descent were believed to be disloyal and found themselves detained in internment camps. German-Americans made up the second-largest ethnic group in camps, behind Japanese-Americans. Nevertheless, the German-American experience with suspicion and espionage is understudied.[2] Ethnicity became an indicator of conjecture: propaganda, media sensationalism, and rhetoric in government documents that sanctioned such notions and fed speculation. The presumption of dangerous rumors upon a whole ethnic community resulted in the imprisonment of a faction of the community. The oral histories of German-Americans who suffered ridicule during the era show how people of German descent were subject to mass suspicion because of their ethnicity. My research focuses on how societal conditions created a narrative of suspicion, disloyalty, and espionage.[3]

Historiography

While historical research on WWII is widely available, works on domestic espionage, alleged spies, Nazi sympathizers, and internment camps are less accessible. Scholarship on WWII internments focuses on Japanese experiences, as they were a significant number of the population. Still, others found in

[1] "Fuhr Story," German American Internee Coalition, accessed March 4, 2022, https://gaic.info/fuhr-story/

[2] Engstler, "Creating Germanness," 1. The 11,507 people of German descent interred was minuscule compared to the Japanese, but the confrontation with suspicion and loss of liberty was equivalent.

[3] Timothy J. Holian, *The German-Americans and World War II: An Ethnic Experience* (New York, P.Lang, 1996), 13.

internment camps were deemed threats to national security. The history of German espionage in the U.S. during the 1940s focuses primarily on Operation Pastorius, a plot to sabotage American war efforts and support.[4] Academic discussions on suspicious German-American activities are limited and focus on the detention camps.[5] Also, German-American experiences during WWII are somewhat scant in academia due to the lack of newly written material since the late 1990s.

Ethnicity played a significant role in internment because most Germans did not generally assimilate fully into American culture.[6] Latin-American and German-American testimonies supplement this stance.[7] More recently, scholarship on media during WWI proclaims anti-German sentiments percolated into WWII.[8] Media swayed the American public during peace to influence certain attitudes and create hostility toward groups of people.[9] Most notably, media outlets generated unfavorable opinions towards anyone with links to Axis countries.

While most material on German-Americans arrested for treason or espionage is limited, some works rely on U.S.

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[4] "Nazi Saboteurs and George Dasch," Federal Bureau of Investigation History, accessed March 30, 2022. Operation Pastorious is a famous espionage case that sparked the German spy-fever during WWII. The plot was unraveled in July of 1942, when German sailor George Dasch revealed the plan to the FBI headquarters. Dasch feared their plot to destroy American military efforts was too grand of a scheme, and turned himself and his co-conspirators in.

[5] Engstler, "Creating Germanness," 11-12.

[6] Mary Elizabeth Basile Chopas, "Law, Security, and Ethnic Profiling: Italians in the United States During World War II," *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing* (2013), 15-17.

[7] Both Timothy J. Holian, *German-Americans*, and Max Paul Friedman, "Private Memory, Public Records, and Contested Terrain: Weighing Oral Testimony in the Deportation of Germans in Latin America During World War II," *The Oral History Review* 27, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2000), use oral histories to support their arguments. For the purpose of this research, the oral histories are used to connect the shared experiences across regions to those of German descent.

[8] Stefan Manz and Mark E. Benbow, "Counter-Propaganda and Spy-Fever: Germans in Washington, DC, During WWI," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 40, no. 1 (2020).

[9] Robert Cole, "Anglo-American Anti Fascist Film Propaganda in a Time of Neutrality: The Great Dictator, 1940," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 21, no. 2 (2001).

government records for "enemy aliens" that led to unjustified internments.[10] Manuela Engstler's thesis "Creating Germanness," on internees, argues that although internments were a loss of liberty, German heritage existed within the camps. German American culture flourished even though they were deemed threats to national security.[11] The community at the time did not see their heritage as dangerous and continued practicing customs within the camps. Mary Baron Stofik's master's thesis, "Ellis Island During WWII: The Detainment and Internment of German and Italian Aliens," argued that the Enemy Aliens Act of 1798 allowed the state to detain and convict without holding trials for alleged spies. Revamped, the outdated act set to target another created enemy during another war and time.[12] The United States took draconian measures under the guise of national security. However, like many sources, data on internees who were actual threats to state security is never provided.[13] Nevertheless, connecting different aspects that centered life for German-Americans during WWII from various academic resources can help address how the conditions of disloyalty and espionage were thrust upon this community.

Media that targeted German heritage during WWI, before U.S. involvement in WWII, and WWII complemented the oral histories adopted. Propaganda posters from WWI used harsh language towards anyone of German descent, calling for direct action from the public to single out and avoid relationships with anything German. WWII propaganda was more subtle toward Germans but left faint clues to reference them. TV and film during WWII sensationalized Nazi Germany and brought upon a fear that German-Americans were seeking to sabotage and bring fascism to the U.S. Media had the power to influence the masses and quickly create hysteria for Germans outside the Nazi sphere. Official records in America only seem to reiterate the same language, providing confirmations of suspicions to civilians.

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[10] Arnold Krammer, *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), 31.
[11] Manuela Engstler, "Creating Germanness," 18.
[12] Mary Barron Stofik, "Ellis Island During WWII: The Detainment and Internment of German and Italian Aliens," *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing* (2007), 2-3, 28.
[13] Krammer, *Undue Process,* 45-81.

Media, Films, and Propaganda

While discussing how German-Americans were targeted and labeled disloyal, popular media, film, and propaganda aided this narrative. Before diving into the causes of WWII's German-American accusations, WWI's use of media and propaganda must be considered. One prime example of media hysteria during WWI in the United States is a *New York Times* article that printed "silly gossip" about a prominent figure in the D.C. German-American community. The article stated acts of treason were to be committed by Christian Heurich, and *The Times* reported on a rumor that Heurich's estate had weapons buried in his yard. The hole in question was just a burial vault for his late wife. *The Times* reporting mere gossip is just one example of anti-German sentiments in America. During WWI, propaganda posters showed that anti-German feelings helped fuel irrationality in the United States. The use of propaganda led to many suspicions of German-Americans during WWI, who was put under investigation, just as Christian Heurich was.[14]

A specific example of propaganda posters using anti-German expressions is "Beat Germany. Support EVERY FLAG that opposes Prussianism."[15] When the United States was neutral, its support for its mother country during WWI was evident, as it adopted the same sentiments. British propaganda posters would quote anti-German organizations with rhetoric such as, "Once a German - Always a German," thus creating hostile environments for German-Americans in the United States.[16] Reinforcing this idea, another propaganda poster from the English Anti-German Union in London, required supporters to boycott German goods,

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[14] Manz and Benbow, "Counter Propaganda and Spy Fever," 40-41.

[15] Adolph Treidler, Artist. Our flags--Beat Germany Support every flag that opposes Prussianism. Edwards & Deutsch Litho. Co. Chicago. United States, 1918. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/00653195/.

[16] David Wilson, Artist. British Empire Union. "Once a German, always a German." W.F.B. ; Printed by the Globe Printing Co., Ltd., Scrutton Street, Finsbury, E.C.2. Great Britain, 1918. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2003675256/.

labor, and "German Influence." [17] These sentiments lingered after WWI and bled into WWII.

The same rumors that affected the German-American communities in WWI were now present, involving a more extensive and growing German population in the United States. However, WWII propaganda posters were more ambiguous than their WWI predecessors. Propaganda posters would quote the importance of "Careless talk" as spies and saboteurs could be listening.[18] While propaganda posters did not explicitly call out the German community, films and news coverage guided the American public to view anyone of German descent as a Nazi spy. Media during WWII created a hysteria that implicated many German-Americans who were loyal U.S. citizens by continuously portraying them as agents and spies operating at home.[19] One such instance of the media's negative portrayal comes from *March of Time,* a newsreel that showed the American public the "Inside Nazi-Germany – 1938." This newsreel concentrated on the German-American Bund, run by the infamous Nazi sympathizer Fritz Kuhn.[20] Coverage from *March of Time* adversely affected the German-American community, leading to the questioning of loyalty during WWII.

During the late 1930s and 1940s, Hollywood produced several films that helped create suspicions in the German-American community. Charlie Chaplin's, *The Great Dictator,* although attempting to send a message warning against the perils of fascism, assisted the hysteria. Chaplin's film was released in 1940, during the U.S.' neutrality in WWII. However, the film helped sway the public towards Ally's causes, creating an "enemy

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[17] John T. Spaulding, Artist. Sir Joseph Causton & Sons, Ltd. "Every Patriotic Briton Should Join the Anti-German Union." 1915, Europe, Prints and Drawings: Prints and Posters, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/285128.

[18] Fougasse, Artist, "Poster, 'Careless talk...You never know who's listening!" 1940; London. Museum of New Zealand. https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/719238

[19] Holian, *German-Americans*, 72.

[20] Holian, *German-Americans*, 73-74. The German-American Bund was seen as the extension of the Nazi party in America. The portrayal of the Bund caused tension within the German-American communities, which also led to the extreme polarization of the German ethnicity.

other." [21] The film, released during U.S. neutrality, also caused tensions between the Axis powers. Chaplin later mentioned that if he had known about the true horrors of WWII, he would not have released the film. It was released as a comedy, and there was nothing funny about WWII looking back.[22] Other films' portrayals of German-Americans and German spies did not fly under the radar in the United States. Warner Brothers Studios released the film *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, which caused anxiety in the German-American community. In the picture, FBI agents were investigating Nazi underground activities of espionage. The film's protagonist appears to be an average person but is a Nazi agent. The film generated fear amongst the American public that anyone of German background had the potential to be a spy and enemy of the state.[23] Propaganda and media coverage helped create the assumption that the German-American community was ridden with saboteurs and agents with malintent. The media's sensationalist coverage and film adaptations constructed a breeding ground for German-American internments.

FBI Lists and Government Documents

On February 19, 1942, Executive Order 9066, issued by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war on Japan, allowed the evacuation of persons of interest near military zones and relocation into other "accommodations." [24] Similarly, in 1798, the United States passed laws labeled The Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws enabled the federal government to arrest, detain and deport alien enemies during times of war.[25] Executive Order

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[21] Cole, "Anglo-American Anti Fascist Film Propaganda," 137, 140.
[22] Cole, "Anglo-American Anti Fascist Film Propaganda," 143, 145.
[23] Holian, *German-Americans,* 78. The film also vindicated German-American nationals as a threat, convincing the American population that Germans were a threat to national security. The film even caused Fritz Kuhn , the leader of the German-American Bund, to take Warner Brothers Studios to court for defamation. Kuhn argued that the German-American Bund was indirectly and negatively portrayed in the film. However, the case was dismissed.
[24] Executive Order 9066, February 19, 1942, General Records of the United States Government, National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066
[25] "Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)," National Archives, accessed April 3, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/alien-and-sedition-acts

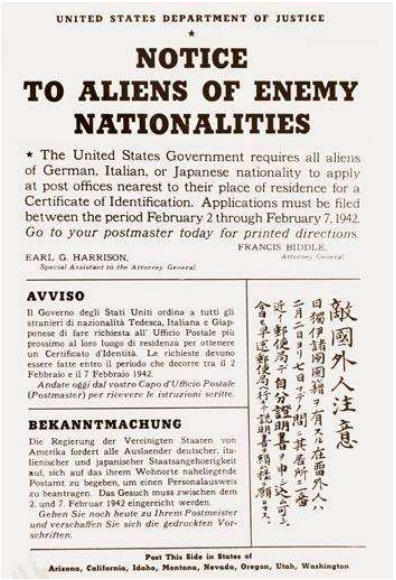
9066, just like the Alien and Sedition Acts, was cryptic in its language as to who the people of interest were. The ambiguity was purposeful, as the order and acts could label anyone an enemy and determine who would be interned. However, other government documents were not as subtle.

The U.S. Department of Justice released its flyer in Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington that singled out Japanese, Italian, and German-American communities. The flyer instructed enemy aliens to register at post offices from February 2nd to February 7, 1942, for identification before Executive Order 9066. Registration of enemy aliens helped create lists of possible saboteurs, which led to internments of not only those of Japanese descent, but also German and Italian.[26] The flyer was authorized and signed by Attorney General Francis Biddle. Yet, in an FBI memorandum, Biddle shares different sentiments about gathering information on "enemies." The FBI memorandum mentions lists of suspects of sabotage and espionage. But, in the memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI head, Biddle refers to lists as "inherently unreliable" and "impractical, unwise and dangerous." [27] Biddle was aware that the lists had implications on the entire communities of Japanese, Italian, and Germans, which would result in innocents being interned and stripped of their liberties.

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[26] Notice to Aliens of Enemy Nationalities," California State Government and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II, California State Archives on Calisphere, https://calisphere.org/item/c06d5a888b4873a35a6f2cf0a40f9e20/

[27] Francis Biddle, Attorney General to Hugh B. Cox, Assistant AG and J.E. Hoover, FBI, memorandum, 16 July 1943, FBI Reports, U.S. Department of Justice, German American Internee Coalition, https://gaic.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/16-Jul-1943-ltr-Biddle_Custod_detention-list.pdf.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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NOTICE TO ALIENS OF ENEMY NATIONALITIES

★ The United States Government requires all aliens of German, Italian, or Japanese nationality to apply at post offices nearest to their place of residence for a Certificate of Identification. Applications must be filed between the period February 2 through February 7, 1942. *Go to your postmaster today for printed directions.*

FRANCIS BIDDLE,
Attorney General.

EARL G. HARRISON,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

AVVISO

Il Governo degli Stati Uniti ordina a tutti gli stranieri di nazionalità Tedesca, Italiana e Giapponese di fare richiesta all' Ufficio Postale più prossimo al loro luogo di residenza per ottenere un Certificato d'Identità. Le richieste devono essere fatte entro il periodo che decorre tra il 2 Febbraio e il 7 Febbraio 1942.

Andate oggi dal vostro Capo d'Ufficio Postale (Postmaster) per ricevere le istruzioni scritte.

BEKANNTMACHUNG

Die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika fordert alle Auslaender deutscher, italienischer und japanischer Staatsangehoerigkeit auf, sich auf das ihrem Wohnorte naheliegende Postamt zu begeben, um einen Personalausweis zu beantragen. Das Gesuch muss zwischen dem 2. und 7. Februar 1942 eingereicht werden.

Gehen Sie noch heute zu Ihrem Postmeister und verschaffen Sie sich die gedruckten Vorschriften.

敵國外人注意

日獨伊語國國籍ヲ有スル在留外人ハ二月二日ヨリ七日マデノ間ニ其居所ニ最モ近キ郵便局ニ行キ身分證明書ノ申込ヲ爲スベシ。

Post This Side in States of
Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington

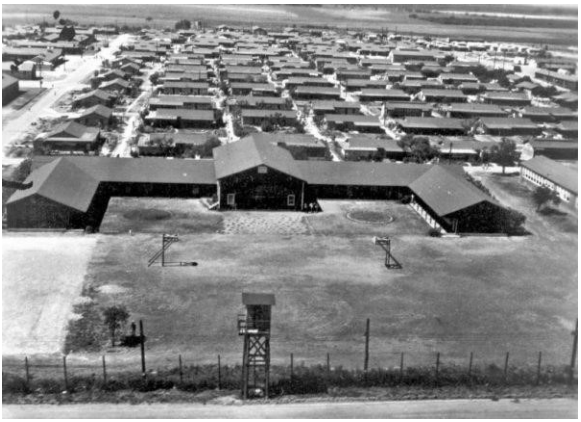
Notice to "Aliens of Enemy Nationalities" poster published in English, German, Italian, and Japanese languages by the Department of Justice requiring non-citizens of these ethnicities to apply for identification during WWII.

German-American Internments: Oral Histories

Suspicions of Nazi saboteurs led to internment in the United States and Latin America. Protecting itself from internal espionage, the U.S. allowed the detention of Japanese, German, and Italian populations. Internments were carried out without merit and resulted from rumors and wartime hysteria against the "enemy." Many German-American families had analogous journeys in how they were labeled enemies and interned during WWII. Eberhard Fuhr's anecdote is typically familiar. Eberhard was the son of two German immigrants who had come to the U.S. with sponsorship from American friends and family. Fuhr's parents were arrested by the FBI and never given a fair trial. Never informed of their crime nor who their accusers were, the Fuhr family was ordered into internment. Fuhr, only seventeen then, was humiliatingly arrested at his high school. While imprisoned, Fuhr received the daily newspaper that announced his arrest and detention before the hearing verdict. The public decision had already sealed his fate. The Fuhr family lost their home, friends, and all connections in Ohio.[28]

[28] "Fuhr Story," German American Internee Coalition, accessed March 4, 2022, https://gaic.info/fuhr-story/

Like many other German-American families, the Fuhrs were interned in Crystal City, Texas. Crystal City Internment Camp was known as the "family" internment center. Arthur Jacobs' account as a child who faced suspicion, internment, and repatriation during WWII shares similarities with Fuhr. Jacobs' parents emigrated from Germany and made a life for themselves in the U.S. The Jacobs considered themselves Americans and even supported the war effort. Jacobs' father was arrested twice, although he never stated for what. Jacobs is sure it was due to his immigration status. Three character witnesses allowed his father to be, but he was arrested again in 1944 without a warrant and held at Ellis Island INS detention center. Although the war was nearly over; Jacobs believes the U.S. sought "exchange bait." Jacobs' mother voluntarily interned the family, so they could be together, as she could not make ends meet. The family was interned in Crystal City and repatriated to Germany after the war. Arthur and his brother pleaded to return to the U.S. where they were born and successfully convinced occupying soldiers they did not belong there.[29]



Crystal City Internee Camp in Texas detained entire families of Japanese and German descent from the United States and Latin American countries. Interned families were assumed to be provided favorable treatment due to the camp's design.

[29] Arthur Jacobs, "Arthur Jacobs World War II Oral History Interview," Interviewed by William McWhorter on April 12, 2010. (Austin: Texas

Likewise, citizens in Latin America found themselves deported and interned in the U.S. for their ethnic background. Some Latin-Americans of German descent had prominent social standings and capital interests, which caused subjugation to suspicion. Gerardo Bohnenberger and Hugo Droege from Guatemala provide similar accounts, referencing their social statuses and how they led to internment. When Bohnenberger was arrested, he asked the officer why he was being detained and received the response, "We are waging commercial war… What good would it do to have deported your father and leave you behind? You would have taken over the business."[30] Bohnenberger's father owned the largest hardware store in the second-largest city in Guatemala. Bohnenberger recalls finding his and his father's name listed as chiefs of the Nazi party in Guatemala. It upset him because his family was anti-Nazi, and were even excluded from a German football club for opposing Nazism. Hugo Droege's land and capital in the coffee business also sparked interest in supposed disloyalty. Hugo left Weimar Germany for Guatemala, eventually acquiring land for his coffee farm. The Guatemalan security forces captured him to be interned in the U.S. Arguably, Droege was repatriated against his will to Nazi Germany for the POW exchange arrangement. He survived the war and returned to Guatemala four years later to find his land confiscated. Droege upsettingly shared, "Only the ones with money got taken." Both Bohnenberger and Droege's oral histories share how economic prominence led to false accusations, internments, and property seizure. By cutting off German capital connections in Latin America, countries and opposition would economically benefit by removing the supposed enemies.[31]

Historical Commission, 2010), 5-7, 9, 20, 22. "Exchange bait", was the term used when American POWs captured in Europe were exchanged for German POWs, who most of the time were just internees. The oral histories used in this research share commonalities in their stories that refer to "exchange baits".

[30] Friedman, "Private Memory, Public Record and Contested Terrain", 5.

[31] Friedman, "Private Memory, Public Record and Contested Terrain", 6, 8. During WWII, Germany the primary and/or secondary competitor to the U.S. in every Latin American country in the world market. By removing German competitors in Latin America, the U.S. could gain economic control and remove enemy presence nearby.

Similarly, Heidi Gurcke Donald was only three years old and recalled her parents going through similar journeys. Heidi held multiple citizenship: American citizenship through her mother, Costa Rican citizenship through birth, and German citizenship through her father. Her parents had their accounts frozen from their coffee farms due to American blacklists from the FBI. When the Gurcke family was deported from Costa Rica to the U.S., their passports were taken. This tactic was used to hold people entering as "enemy aliens" and strip them of any rights. Likewise, the same applies to the previous stories of Latin American internments, Heidi's father also lost his property, business, and bank account funds. After the war, the Gurcke family wanted to return home to Costa Rica, but it was impossible as they were still considered "enemies at large," not allowing for travel outside the U.S.[32]

Internment, expropriation of capital, and social demotion were not limited to Latin Americans of German descent. Prominent figures in the German-American community also were labeled as enemy suspects due to their stature in society. Kurt Molzahn, a German-born pastor practicing in Philadelphia, found himself in a similar predicament. The plot implicated Molzahn, who was to pass information to other saboteurs. Molzahn claimed he knew none of the spies yet found himself involved in their conspiracy against the U.S. in the newspaper.[33] Although the only one of the five conspirators to plead "not guilty," Molzahn was charged with espionage and was sentenced on June 11, 1942. However, Molzahn was released on June 1, 1945.[34] President Harry Truman also issued a pardon in 1945, but the public did not

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[32] Heidi Gurcke Donald, "Heidi Gurcke Donald World War II Oral History Interview," Interviewed by William McWhorter on February 13, 2009, (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 2009), 4, 8, 9, 21, 36.

[33] Kurt E.B. Molzahn, *Prisoner of War,* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962), 23-25.

[34] "Vonsiatsky Espionage," Federal Bureau of Investigation History, accessed March 30, 2022. https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/vonsiatsky-espionage. Molzahn's co-conspirators were Count Vonsiatsky, Wilhelm Kunze, Otto Willumeit, and Wolfgang Ebell. All of these men held high status, which sensationalized the case further. Molzahn was accused for using his congregation as a "post office" for the conspirators and was sentenced to serve ten years.

receive records or reasoning. Molzahn's autobiography connects how the implications of being German during WWII was seen as culpable of harboring enemy interests.[35]

Counter-Arguments

Although autobiographies and oral histories share accounts of unjust accusations and imprisonments, they must be taken with a grain of salt. Oral histories and autobiographies can be selective and subjective. However, to counter such charges, one must also consider that the government's lists and records of subversives should be viewed as biased forms of record keeping. Government documents should not be the end-all of truth in documenting German-American experiences and loyalties during WWII.[36] As mentioned above, government documents and state-sanctioned propaganda exhibit these biases. Crystal City internment camp's video depicts families being able to stay together with "normal" living conditions. The video's rhetoric stated that internees "volunteered" to be interned, disregarding their status. No favorable condition could equate to the truth that they were imprisoned and unable to speak to the outside world without censure.[37]

Conclusion

The topic of German-American subjugation to U.S. spy fever during WWII is overlooked. Suspicion of the German community in the U.S. started during WWI and bled into WWII, using leftover hysteria to push an espionage narrative. During WWII, many factors led to these suspicions. Most notably, the United States media sensationalized German-Americans' association with Nazi Germany and domestic saboteurs.

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[35] Molzahn, *Prisoner of War,* 240. Molzahn was released due to a heart condition before 10 years had been served. He also received a pardon the same year, the reasoning behind the pardon is still unavailable to the public.
[36] Friedman, "Private Memory, Public Record and Contested Terrain," 4.
[37] Texas Archive of the Moving Image, "Alien Enemy Detention Facility, Crystal City, Texas." Accessed March 4, 2022, https://texasarchive.org/2006_00010. Although Crystal City tried to accommodate detainees so that they would have as normal of a life, letters received from outside the camp were redacted and censured. It served as a reminder to detainees that they were still under suspicion.

Propaganda posters that were vague and indirectly portrayed Germans abroad with national security breaches, newsreels reiterating accusations that only fanned the flames, and rhetoric found in government documents and declarations only sustained the hysteria. The grand assumptions eventually sanctioned the detention of enemy aliens. Although Japanese-Americans were the largest group detained in U.S. internment camps, German-Americans were the second-largest, and their existence in these camps is much less known.

Providing a more inclusive and accurate history of WWII internment camps is needed. German-Americans faced ridicule and loss of liberty during WWII, but did not receive the same recognition as their Japanese counterparts. Plausibly, it is their ethnic background that created ties with the world's greatest enemy at the time, Adolf Hitler. The use of ethnicity to target and identify supposed adversaries during WWII created unwarranted internal hostility. Modern American perspectives still construct enemies from U.S. opponents in war. Prime examples in modernity include anyone of West Asian descent following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Chinese and Asians after the arrival of COVID-19 in America, and anyone or anything Russian. Creating enemies out of groups is dangerous and leads to injustices that can never be remedied. German-American oral histories support this argument with detailed accounts, especially the young adults and children, who did not threaten national security. Unfortunately, their stories still apply in modernity, only securing the argument that this history still needs recognition.