



# Final Report of the ***Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library***

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*Warning: Contains disturbing content and language*

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May 18, 2022

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**Warning: Contains disturbing content and language**

*The Jews: I am developing a violent and almost uncontrollable phobia against them. Whenever I see one of those predatory noses, or those roving and leering eyes, or those slobbering lips, or those flat feet, or those nasal and whiny voices I tremble with rage and hatred. They are the oppressors: they should be driven barefoot to some remote spot in Texas, ther [sic] to find shelter under the bushes, closed in by electrically charged barbed wire, with imported SA men stationed every ten yards apart, three men to each machine gun emplacement. Target practice will be permitted twice weekly, with explosive bullets to be used on Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, Purim, etc.... They must go!*

— Henry Miller Madden, February 12, 1935

*As a sidelight on the subject, I should say that I was a Resettlement Officer with the International Refugee Organization in Linz in 1948-49. My driver was a young Saxon from Hermannstadt, recently married, and probably a member of the SS during the war. As a 'Volksdeutscher' he was ineligible for IRO benefits, so I sponsored his immigration to the United States. He and his wife arrived penniless in San Francisco on 1 January 1950. Today, in his mid-fifties, he is retired—the owner of a large walnut orchard, warehouses, and apartment houses—and appreciative of his good fortune.*

— Henry Miller Madden, February 18, 1982

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## Introduction and Executive Summary

On September 24, 1980, the California State University Board of Trustees voted to rename the Fresno State campus library after Dr. Henry Miller Madden, the University Librarian from 1949 to 1979. A dedication ceremony was held at the library on October 11, 1981, ten months before Dr. Madden's death in August 1982. Dr. Madden's papers were donated to the library and placed in the Special Collections Research Center where the university's archives are maintained. The collection was closed until 2007. Four decades later, in November 2021, the campus community learned that in the 1930s Madden wrote numerous letters expressing antisemitic beliefs and Nazi sympathies.<sup>1</sup> Fresno State President Saúl Jiménez-Sandoval subsequently announced the formation of the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library. The following summary reflects the key findings of this Task Force based on a thorough review of Madden's extensive personal papers (more than 100,000 letters and documents) and other archival collections.

The **first key finding** is that Henry Madden held antisemitic views and repeatedly made pro-Nazi statements during the mid-1930s. These deeply offensive comments typically appeared in the letters he wrote while studying modern European history as a graduate student at Columbia University in New York City and while traveling abroad in Germany and other parts of Europe.

Madden echoed unfounded stereotypes about Jewish domination of key professions, drew distinctions between supposedly 'good' and 'bad' Jews, and confessed "a violent and uncontrollable phobia" against Jewish people. As he wrote to one friend, "Whenever I see one of those predatory noses, or those roving and leering eyes, or those slobbering lips, or those flat feet, or those nasal and whiny voices I tremble with rage and hatred." Madden told another friend that he was running for an elected position in the Columbia University History Club "on the anti-Semitic [*sic*] ticket." At one point, Madden fantasized about driving Jewish people "barefoot to some remote spot in Texas, ther [*sic*] to find shelter under the bushes, closed in by electrically charged barbed wire, with imported SA men stationed every ten yards apart, three men to each

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<sup>1</sup> The task force has chosen not to hyphenate the terms "antisemitic" and "antisemite" in alignment with the ADL's preferred style: <https://www.adl.org/spelling>

machine gun emplacement. Target practice will be permitted twice weekly, with explosive bullets to be used on Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, Purim, etc.” (See the [Columbia](#) section of the report for more.)

Madden often coupled his antisemitic comments with pro-Nazi statements or actions. In April 1935, he referred to himself as “a Nazi,” and on multiple occasions he closed letters by proclaiming, “Heil Hitler!” Madden informed a friend that whenever he saw Hitler in newsreels, he tried to “to drown out the Bronx cheers and hisses which usually greet his inflammatory orations” with his applause. While touring Germany in the summer of 1936, Madden posed in a photo with other visitors giving a Nazi salute and placing a comb under his nose. The caption on the back read “Adolf Hitler Madden (U.S.A.)” In Saxony, Madden posed under a festival banner and gave a Nazi salute for the camera. From the mid-1930s through 1941, Madden corresponded with official propaganda organs of the National Socialist regime, often requesting copies of explicitly pro-Nazi and pro-Hitler books, pamphlets, and bulletins. (See the [Columbia](#), [Travels in Europe](#), and [Stanford and the War](#) sections for more.)

Madden’s affinity for Nazi Germany also led him to downplay the persecution of and violence against Jews living in Germany and in countries and territories that the Nazis annexed. This was true of his private correspondence and in the public lectures he gave while serving as a lecturer at Stanford University from 1937 to 1942. Although he avoided making pro-Hitler and pro-Nazi statements after he took his position at Stanford, he privately cheered on the German war effort in letters he sent to friends in the United States and Germany. (See the [Columbia](#), [Travels in Europe](#), and [Stanford and the War](#) sections for more.)

A **second key finding** is that Madden’s antisemitism persisted through World War II and during his thirty-year career at Fresno State. In 1948-49, for example, Madden worked for the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in Austria. By this point the Nuremberg Trials had exposed the depth and nature of Nazi crimes against humanity and the Harrison Report had detailed the horrific conditions of displaced persons camps. Yet Madden cast Jews living in an Austrian refugee camp as immoral, filthy, and unfit for modern society. “When they moved out they left the flats in such condition that a self-respecting pig wouldn’t live in them,” he wrote his

mother in 1949. “The word camp is misleading; what the settlement was is very comparable to the Metropolitan Life developments, built just before the war as a permanent housing project. That’s how the poor persecuted chosen people live.” Utterly unsympathetic to the plight of Jewish refugees, Madden suggested that it was German refugees who were truly suffering. They “live in absolute misery,” he concluded. (See the [Postwar Refugee Work](#) section for more.)

His antisemitic remarks during his three decades at Fresno State were not as virulent or as numerous as they had been in the mid-1930s or in this 1949 letter. But this was a change of degree, not of kind. Madden’s antisemitism during these years generally reflected a tendency to avoid the violent attitudes and fantasies of his 1930s letters in favor of casual antisemitism often couched in jocular phrasing that he could disavow as joking if needed. Writing to a friend who was planning to buy a car in Europe and then have it shipped to the United States, for example, Madden advised, “you should bargain with the line and jew [*sic*] them down (excuse the phrase) to the regular freight rate for the car.” Madden clearly understood that this language was offensive, but this knowledge did not stop him from using it. (See the [Postwar Antisemitism and Nazi References](#) section for more.)

A **third key finding** is that Madden never honestly reckoned with or repudiated his one-time support of Hitler or the Nazi regime. There is no conclusive evidence that he continued to harbor pro-Hitler or pro-Nazi sympathies after 1937, though the private expressions of support for the German army in its war against Britain and France as late as 1941 suggest that he may still have. But the archival record does not contain a single statement of regret about his pro-Hitler views, any condemnation of the Third Reich’s crimes, or any expressions of sympathy for the victims of Nazism. On the contrary, in 1982, seven months before his death at the age of 70, Madden wrote in a letter that he had once helped an ethnic German immigrant to the U.S. He casually added that the man was “probably a member of the SS during the war”—a revelation Madden made without betraying self-awareness or remorse. Likewise, the extant archival record does not reveal evidence that Madden took responsibility for, or expressed regret over, either his earlier, more virulent expressions of antisemitism or those of the postwar years. (See the [Postwar Antisemitism and Nazi References](#) section for more.)

These failures are most glaring in light of the fact that after his retirement in 1979, Madden spent countless hours sorting through his collection of personal papers and memorabilia with an eye toward donating them to an archive in order to cement his personal legacy for posterity. This years-long project provided Madden ample opportunity to reflect upon—and express remorse for—his repugnant views. As a historian and a librarian, Madden knew better than anyone that future researchers would see the letters, photos, and memorabilia he had saved. He died fully aware of the contents of his personal papers, in other words, and yet this knowledge did not inspire introspection about his Nazi sympathies, his antisemitism, or any other disturbing aspects of his life and career. Had he felt uncomfortable with anything, he could have said so—he could have written a repudiation of his views, or an apology, or both, and placed the document(s) in his collection. Or he could have done what many individuals have done before donating their papers—he could have destroyed the incriminating documents. Yet Madden did none of these things. (See the [Postwar Antisemitism and Nazi References](#) section for more.)

**A fourth key finding** is that Madden’s racist views at times directly impacted his work at Fresno State. Madden had the habit of making derogatory remarks not just about Jews but also about people of Mexican and Asian descent and African Americans, among others. At times, these prejudices informed his professional work as a librarian. In 1970, for instance, he told a colleague in Berkeley that he did not give much “consideration” to job applicants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and India. Madden’s racial prejudices also reared their head during campus conflicts over ethnic studies in the late 1960s, contributing to a campus climate that was hostile to students of color. (See the [Madden’s Later Views on Race](#) section for more.)

At its core, the commemoration of an individual is an expression of values. By memorializing someone, an institution claims the values that individual embodied as integral to its own mission. In naming the library for Henry Madden in 1980, Fresno State sought to highlight the centrality of the pursuit of knowledge, unencumbered by censorship, to its mission as a university. Indeed, his supporters cited this legacy—which this report documents—as the reason the library should bear his name. At the dedication ceremony formally naming the library in Dr. Madden’s honor, his successor as University Librarian, Lillian (Lillie) Parker, stated that he had dedicated “his tremendous intellect, his achievements as a scholar and a bookman, and his untiring energy to

the development – or rather, creation – of an academic library suited to the vision he had for the future of this university.” She continued by citing supporters who had written letters “appreciative of Henry Madden’s efforts to provide a library that was conveniently arranged, where equipment was in good repair, and where the staff was able and ready to provide a high standard of service.” She also noted that Madden’s supporters “were liberal in their expressions of regard for his ability as an administrator – innovative, industrious, dedicated – as a scholar who readily placed his vast learning at everyone’s disposal – as a bibliophile with consummate taste in matters of books – as an individual who astounds with his depth and breadth of knowledge.”<sup>2</sup>

While these were the reasons publicly given for naming the library in Dr. Madden’s honor, this report demonstrates that the university and Board of Trustees acted on an incomplete picture of who Madden was and of the values that mattered to him. When Dr. Madden died in 1982, his papers were sealed for 25 years as a condition of his gift to the university. The library had already been named for him two years earlier, so there was effectively no way for the Fresno State community, the Board of Trustees, or the community members and political figures who wrote letters in support of the decision to know the depth and extent of his antisemitism, Nazi sympathies, and otherwise racist views prior to his death. The decision to name the library was thus unfortunately made without a full understanding of the man who would be honored.

This report exposes Dr. Henry Madden’s views, their demonstrable impact on his career as a university administrator, and the ongoing effect his legacy has on the community. Fresno State, the Board of Trustees, and the world now have the opportunity to reevaluate this honor in light of the complete body of evidence. Such a reevaluation is vital if Fresno State is to live up to its mission as a diverse, tolerant, and inclusive university campus.

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<sup>2</sup> Lillie Parker, Remarks on the occasion of the naming of the Henry Madden Library, Oct. 11, 1981, Box 13, Henry Miller Madden Papers (hereinafter HMMP), Special Collections Research Center, California State University, Fresno.



## Background

On August 31, 1979, Dr. Henry Miller Madden retired as University Librarian at California State University, Fresno after 30 years of service. He was subsequently granted the titles of University Librarian Emeritus and Adjunct Professor of Bibliography.<sup>3</sup> Before his retirement, a group of campus colleagues and community members launched a campaign to name the campus library in his honor. This gesture was seen as particularly timely as the library would soon be opening a new wing, and Dr. Madden was viewed as a critical factor in the library's expansion. The university subsequently received dozens of letters supporting the naming from Dr. Madden's campus colleagues, community members, and elected officials.

Until 1980, the California State University Board of Trustees maintained a policy that no facility could be named for a living individual. The Trustees changed this policy in the summer of 1980, just as the campaign to name the library was gaining support.<sup>4</sup> On September 24, 1980, the Trustees voted in favor of renaming the facility to the Henry Madden Library, and the following year the library was officially dedicated.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Madden was among the speakers at the dedication ceremony on October 11, 1981.<sup>6</sup> In January 1982, Dr. Madden agreed to donate his personal papers and library to the Henry Madden Library. He subsequently confirmed in correspondence that he was actively sorting his papers in preparation for their deposit in the library, but that the documents would not be relinquished in his lifetime.<sup>7</sup>

On August 27, 1982, Dr. Madden died at Saint Agnes Medical Center in Fresno, almost three years to the day of his retirement.<sup>8</sup> He had no surviving relatives and was cremated and interred

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<sup>3</sup> David E. Clark to Henry Miller Madden (hereinafter HMM), Mar. 20, 1980, Box 3, HMMP; A. Wayne Colver, "Henry Miller Madden, 1912-1982," in *Californien: Henry Madden and the German Travelers in America*, ed. Michael Gorman (Fresno, CA: Friends of the Madden Library, 1991), 10.

<sup>4</sup> Shirley Armbruster, "FSU Library's Name Will Honor Ex-Librarian," *Fresno Bee*, Sept. 24, 1980, pp. B1, B6.

<sup>5</sup> Lillie Parker, "Remarks on the occasion of the naming of Henry Madden Library," Oct. 11, 1981, Box 13, HMMP; "FSU Names Library for Its Former Chief," *Fresno Bee*, Oct. 12, 1981, p. B2.

<sup>6</sup> HMM, "Remarks on the occasion of the naming of Henry Madden Library," Oct. 11, 1981, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>7</sup> HMM to Lillian Parker, Jan. 11, 1982; Lillian Parker memo to library staff, Jan. 12, 1982, Box 13, both in HMMP.

<sup>8</sup> "H.M. Madden Dies; Spurred FSU Library," *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 29, 1982, p. B1.

at Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland.<sup>9</sup> His personal papers and library were subsequently transferred to the university. In accordance with the court order, Madden's personal papers were closed for 25 years until August 27, 2007, after which time they would be made available for public use. In 1998, the library development office conducted a campaign to hire a project archivist; some preliminary work was performed but no final report was issued.<sup>10</sup> In 2007, Dr. Madden's papers were opened to the public. In 2014, special collections staff at the Henry Madden Library began the process of organizing and describing the collection at the folder level. The resulting collection is composed of more than 100,000 documents of varying types and fills 53 boxes.

In 2018, Fresno State faculty member Dr. Bradley W. Hart published a book that included selected quotations from the collection indicating that Dr. Madden held antisemitic views and Nazi sympathies.<sup>11</sup> In late November 2021, Dr. Hart discussed these findings with an upper-division American history class taught by Dr. Lori Clune, prompting a broader campus conversation about Madden and the library named for him. On November 29, 2021, Fresno State President Saúl Jiménez-Sandoval announced the formation of the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library.

## Task Force Members and Structure

President Jiménez-Sandoval appointed the following to the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library:

Michael Lukens, Chair, Executive Director of Government Relations

Amila Becirbegovic, Assistant Professor, German and Ethnic Humanities

Lori Clune, Professor of History

Alea Droker, Fresno State Jewish Studies Association

Thomas J. Ebert, Librarian Emeritus, Associate Vice President for Academic Personnel Emeritus

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<sup>9</sup> "H.M. Madden Dies; Spurred FSU Library," *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 29, 1982, p. B1.

<sup>10</sup> Tammy Lau and Amy Smith Draft Memo to Library Donors, Sept. 16, 1998. Internal files of the Henry Madden Library Development Office.

<sup>11</sup> Bradley W. Hart, *Hitler's American Friends: The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2018).

Jill Fields, Professor of History and Founding Coordinator, Jewish Studies Program

Micheline Golden, Director of Development, College of Social Sciences and Henry Madden Library

Ray Hall, Chair, Academic Senate and Professor of Physics

Bradley W. Hart, Associate Professor, Media, Communications & Journalism

Del Hornbuckle, Dean, Henry Madden Library

D'Aungillique Jackson, President, Associated Students, Inc.

Jerry H. Mann, Chair, President's Jewish Leadership Council and Attorney-at-Law

Sarah McDaniel, Associate Dean, Henry Madden Library

Steve Negin, Member of President's Jewish Leadership Council, Past President of Temple Beth Israel, Fresno

Judith Reposo, Member of President's Jewish Leadership Council

Malik Simba, Professor Emeritus of History and Africana Studies

Rabbi Rick Winer, Temple Beth Israel, Fresno

The Task Force subsequently appointed a Research and Writing Subcommittee composed of the following members:

Jerry H. Mann (Chair)

Amila Becirbegovic, Assistant Professor, German and Ethnic Humanities

Jill Fields, Professor of History and Founding Coordinator, Jewish Studies

Bradley W. Hart, Associate Professor, Department of Media, Communications & Journalism

Ethan J. Kytle, Professor of History

Sarah McDaniel, Associate Dean, Henry Madden Library

Blain Roberts, Professor of History

## **Task Force Charge**

President Jiménez-Sandoval provided the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library with the following charge:

In light of Fresno State's recent discovery that Henry Madden held deeply antisemitic views and Nazi sympathies as reflected in his own writings and papers, President Saúl Jiménez-Sandoval formed the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library.

In alignment with our commitment to our mission and values and an intent for this to be an inclusive and deliberative process that draws on the voices and perspectives of our internal and external campus community, the Task Force is charged with the following:

- Discover and objectively document the historical record of Henry Madden's statements and actions as they relate to his past leadership roles and affiliations with Fresno State.
- Develop opportunities for open and informed discussion with the internal and external campus community regarding the issue under consideration as it relates to our institutional mission and values. Opportunities to receive diverse perspectives may include: open forums, encouraging individuals to submit their perspectives in writing, and listening sessions with individuals or groups.
- Building on the results of an educational and information-gathering process, articulate the potential impacts of retaining, replacing or contextualizing the name and representation of Henry Madden at Fresno State with supporting evidence and arguments.

## **Process**

The Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library immediately undertook a coordinated effort to meet President Jiménez-Sandoval's charge. Special Collections staff at the Henry Madden Library facilitated access to the entirety of Dr. Madden's papers. Task Force members and the general public were granted access in accordance with campus COVID-19 protocols and public health guidelines.

The Research and Writing Subcommittee and a team of twelve Fresno State undergraduate students subsequently explored every folder in every box in the Madden collection, which consists of more than 100,000 documents, and drew upon hundreds of other documents in preparation of this report. With the assistance of library staff, Dr. Amila Becirbegovic translated documents in German, Czech, Bosnian, Slovene, and Hungarian. Subcommittee members also obtained and examined relevant archival materials from the California State Library, the Hoover



Institution Library & Archives, the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum, the New York Public Library, Stanford University Library Special Collections & University Archives, the University of California Los Angeles Special Collections, the Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, and the National Archives and Records Administration. While not all of these collections are directly referenced in the final report, relevant materials were identified and evaluated to influence its conclusions. The Research and Writing Subcommittee also utilized published sources, including archived editions of the *Fresno Bee*, the *Collegian*, and other relevant publications, to examine Dr. Madden's public actions and reputation.

The Research and Writing Subcommittee wants to acknowledge the contributions of twelve Fresno State history majors who assisted with the research process. Under the supervision of Drs. Ethan Kytle and Blain Roberts, the following students collectively spent 120 hours reading and taking notes on Madden's correspondence:

Taylor Abirached

Luis Padilla

Jovana Gutierrez Camacho

Joshua Raminha

Jakob Conrad

Ricardo Rojas-Villegas

Harris Dolan

Matthew Simpson

Madison Eaton

Evaghn Smith

Gabriel Grieco

Maria Vargas

The Research and Writing Subcommittee was also aware of the need to collect the recollections of living library staff who knew Dr. Madden. The Task Force received specific support from Thomas J. Ebert, a retired librarian who worked with Dr. Madden for more than a decade. During the Spring 2022 semester, oral history interviews were conducted with a number of Madden's colleagues. These librarians were hired between 1958 and 1970 and occupied a variety of positions throughout their careers.<sup>12</sup> Several of the individuals closest to Dr. Madden were deceased, including his successor and executrix Lillian Parker.

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas J. Ebert, interview by Sarah McDaniel, Jan. 18, 2022; Christy V. Hicks, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022; Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 4, 2022; Stephanie Hillman, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 16, 2022; Sandy Gothe, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 2, 2022; Colleen Mitchell, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 23, 2022.

## Findings

The Research and Writing Subcommittee approached its work by first assembling a set of facts supported directly by the Madden collection and other archival material. This set of consensus findings is presented below with appropriate citations.

### Early Life

Henry Miller Madden was born on June 17, 1912 in Oakland, California, to Henry Joseph Madden and Martha Ann Madden, née Miller. His father, who was originally from Australia, died of influenza in 1919.<sup>13</sup> Henry went on to attend Galileo High School (now Galileo Academy of Science and Technology) near Russian Hill in San Francisco from 1925 to 1929 and, following graduation, enrolled at San Mateo Junior College with the intention of transferring to the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>14</sup>

The archival record indicates that the teenage Henry Madden had already developed an affinity for Germany and an interest in German politics. In high school, he read Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, which "opened" up to him "the world of ... German scholarship."<sup>15</sup> He soon met a German exchange student, Arnold Tamm, with whom he developed a friendship that would last for decades. After entering San Mateo Junior College, Madden continued his correspondence relationship with Tamm and sought out new German contacts. On April 24, 1930, he wrote the first of many letters to Heinz Rüdiger, a German of roughly Madden's age who was seeking American correspondents and had apparently posted a request to that effect in a publication. In his introductory letter to Rüdiger, the 17-year-old Madden recounted that "Germany to me has always been a land that is about as ideal as a country could be: I have a deep admiration for all things German." He went on to describe the recent visit of the airship Graf Zeppelin to the Bay Area, "with the rays of a setting August sun touching its sides with golden fire, outlining it in

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<sup>13</sup> "Madden" [death notice] *San Francisco Examiner*, Jan. 17, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> HMM to Rüdiger, Apr. 24, 1930, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>15</sup> HMM to Book, National Public Radio, Feb. 11, 1981, Box 13, HMMP.

perfect beauty against a cloudless blue sky... It circled the city several times, and half a million voices raised themselves in a cry of welcome and wonder.”<sup>16</sup>

The precise chronological origin of Madden’s expressed antisemitism is difficult to pinpoint in the archival record, but his interactions with Heinz Rüdiger as a teenager provide one possible inflection point. Whether Rüdiger influenced Madden’s views or the effect was mutual, their correspondence offers the earliest concrete example of pro-Nazi, pro-Hitler, and antisemitic views we could identify. On September 3, 1931, for instance, Rüdiger sent Madden a letter bemoaning Germany’s economic position and highlighting his sympathy “with the Nazis (Hitlerists).” Rüdiger claimed that “[t]here are no more monarchists in Germany, for they have now all gone to the Fashists [*sic*]” and summarized Adolf Hitler’s political views as follows:

Mainly he intends to reject from our country all those of foreign nationality and race, who damage and prejudice the German economy. That [*sic*] are greatly Jews. So you’ll know that our present Government is a Jewish one, that decides the German people in all ways... One sees so often in the streets, especially in the western part of Berlin, the Jews walking, driving their luxurious cars, boasting the “sir” etc.<sup>17</sup>

Rüdiger recounted a recent violent assault on Berlin’s Jewish community by “one thousand Nazis” who attacked “all those who look like a Jew” and “plundered shops and demolished them.”<sup>18</sup> While these are Rüdiger’s words, not Madden’s, they bear a remarkable similarity to how Madden would later describe his own views of the Jewish community. There is also no record that Madden dissented from Rüdiger’s view.

In 1931, the same year he received this letter from Rüdiger, Madden transferred to Stanford University, where he majored in history. The archival record suggests that his time there was mostly uneventful, though he further developed his interest in Central and Eastern European history. He also initiated an association with the Hoover War Library (now the Hoover Institution Library & Archives), which, under the leadership of former President Herbert Hoover,

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<sup>16</sup> HMM to Rüdiger, April 24, 1930. **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.** Spelling corrected for clarity.

<sup>17</sup> Heinz Rüdiger to HMM, Sept. 3, 1931, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>18</sup> Rüdiger to HMM, Sept. 3, 1931, Box 4, HMMP.

was aggressively collecting and studying materials related to World War I and the European territorial settlements established in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. This work was closely related to Madden's research interests, and he cultivated a friendship with the War Library's chair, Dr. Ralph Haswell Lutz, who would become a major figure in Madden's career and directly facilitate his obtaining a position at Fresno State. Lutz had completed his PhD at the University of Heidelberg and was known for his writing on German history in addition to his work at the War Library. In 1938 Adolf Hitler's government awarded Lutz the Order of the German Eagle (*Verdienstorden vom Deutschen Adler*), the highest honorific the Third Reich bestowed upon foreigners, ostensibly for his "impartial treatment of all phases of History."<sup>19</sup> The announcement prompted an outcry from the Stanford community, with alumni and faculty writing to Lutz and urging him to reject the award as a means of opposing Hitler's government. Lutz retained the award and kept his position despite the controversy.<sup>20</sup> He would later become the key to Madden's arrival at Fresno State.

## Columbia

In 1933 Madden graduated from Stanford. At this same time, he became more fascinated by European politics. Adolf Hitler had become Chancellor of Germany in January 1933, likely confirming Madden's and Heinz Rüdiger's views of the proper course for the country. That April, Madden wrote to the Nazi Party's New York representative, Oscar Schilling, to request "leaflets concerning the conditions in Germany."<sup>21</sup> The materials were subsequently sent to him at Stanford. Rüdiger also sent Madden additional materials about "our new leader Adolf Hitler, his ideas and plans and about the true course in our country at present."<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, Madden continued to work toward his goal of becoming an academic expert on Germany. He initially enrolled in graduate work at Stanford but, in 1934, transferred to

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<sup>19</sup> Letter from R.G. Hübner to Lutz, Dec. 21, 1938, Ralph Haswell Lutz Papers, Box 11, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

<sup>20</sup> See Letters and clippings regarding Professor Lutz' acceptance of a German merit cross (*Verdienstkreuz*) of the Order of the German Eagle, conferred upon him and other Americans by the Leader and Chancellor of the German Reich, Adolf Hitler 1938, Ralph Haswell Lutz Papers, Box 11, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from NSDAP Ortsgruppe [*Regional Group*] New York Secretary Oscar Schilling to Madden, Apr. 14, 1933, Box 4, HMMP – "We are sending you enclosed some leaflets concerning conditions in Germany."

<sup>22</sup> Heinz Rüdiger to HMM, Aug. 6, 1933, Box 4, HMMP.



Columbia University to begin a doctorate under the supervision of Carlton J.H. Hayes, a renowned European historian and future U.S. ambassador to Spain. Madden's dissertation was a biography of Hungarian naturalist János Xántus, who appears to have held a particular fascination for Madden because he had traveled and worked in California. The dissertation would be published as a book in 1949 and contained no obvious reflection of Madden's political or racial views.<sup>23</sup> This stark separation between Madden's public and academic persona and his personal views and outpourings would be a theme of his career and life.

The first overt evidence of Madden's antisemitism emerged while he was in New York. Writing to his mother on September 25, 1934, just a few days after arriving in the city, Madden described his initial impressions, reserving particular ire for New York City's demographics:

I spent a good 20 minutes walking, looking all the time for an honest gentile face, and I don't think I saw one. And such Jews! Noisy, dirty, smelly, ugly – Jews such as you have never seen before, absolutely different from S.F. Jews. They seem to have a stranglehold on everything.<sup>24</sup>

This supposed distinction between Jewish people from the West Coast and those he encountered in New York would become another recurring theme in Madden's writing. He himself attributed his views in part to his growing number of interactions with the Jewish community. On New Year's Day 1935, for instance, he wrote again to his mother to express his disdain for the city's Jews, this time prompted by his recent acquisition of a government job that required him to canvas certain neighborhoods of the city:

Yesterday I worked all day at the Government [*sic*] job, and it is really a most disheartening task, for the section I had to cover was occupied almost entirely by suspicious Jewish families, who, of course, were just getting up at eleven o'clock, dressed in smelly pyjamas [*sic*], with squalling children, etc. They treated me as if I were trying to get subscriptions for a magazine, so now I have a taste of what door-to-door peddling is like. I had to go to 80 places before I could get the necessary 11 cases. Oh well, the hours mount up, and if they are nasty I can be equally nasty, for it is just a matter of going along the street until the 11 cases are

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<sup>23</sup> HMM, *Xántus: Hungarian Naturalist in the Pioneer West* (Palo Alto: Books of the West, 1949).

<sup>24</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Sept. 25, 1934, Box 4, HMMP.

had. Heil Hitler!

Madden continued by expressing his approval for a family friend's "prohibition of even Jewish visitors from their place on Long Island, for once they get in the place is doomed." He again reiterated his view that "New York Jews are in an altogether different class from the more polite Jews of California."<sup>25</sup>

A month later, Madden wrote to a friend in California about his increasingly violent fantasies about the country's Jews in language that would undoubtedly have shocked the conscience of most Americans even at the time. Proclaiming that he was "so god-damned sick and tired of seeing Jews, Hearing [*sic*] Jews, and smelling Jews," Madden continued:

The Jews: I am developing a violent and almost uncontrollable phobia against them. Whenever I see one of those predatory noses, or those roving and leering eyes, or those slobbering lips, or those flat feet, or those nasal and whiny voices I tremble with rage and hatred. They are the oppressors: they should be driven barefoot to some remote spot in Texas, ther [*sic*] to find shelter under the bushes, closed in by electrically charged barbed wire, with imported SA men stationed every ten yards apart, three men to each machine gun emplacement. Target practice will be permitted twice weekly, with explosive bullets to be used on Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, Purim, etc. And yet isn't it strange that all my friends, all my good friends, have been Jews?; make an exception for Mann, as an initial error. Whom do I like more than Oppie? [Ramsey Oppenheim, a friend from Stanford] Whom do I hate more than Jews? They have oppressed my mother, stolen her savings from her, chained her with interest servitude, made a Via Dolorosa of her life. They must go!<sup>26</sup>

The shocking fantasy of importing Nazi stormtroopers to commit genocide against the country's Jewish population reveals the intensity of his animus. And again, New York's Jewish population was an object of particular hatred for him. In December 1935, he described New York to Heinz Rüdiger, the German friend who he knew shared his antisemitic views, as "really a second Jerusalem here; there are over 2,000,000 Jews here, more than three times as many as in ganz Deutschland [all of Germany]... As must have been the case in Germany, they monopolise [*sic*]

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<sup>25</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Jan. 1, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>26</sup> HMM to "Edward," Feb. 12, 1935, p. 2-3, Box 4, HMMP.

all the profession [*sic*] in New York; they control finance; they own the press; they dictate all the amusements.”<sup>27</sup>

Madden’s antisemitism can be seen in his interactions at Columbia as well. In October 1935 he told a friend that he was running for an elected position in the campus History Club “on the anti-Semitic [*sic*] ticket” and predicted that he would win.<sup>28</sup> Whether he in fact obtained the position is unclear, but either way his affiliation with the group would be limited. In March 1936 he told his mother he was resigning from the club after a lecture by a Jewish speaker who attracted “all the Hebrews within five miles.” Madden was also particularly offended by the circulation of a petition at the event asking Columbia to rescind its decision to send a delegate to the celebration of the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the University of Heidelberg. As a result, he reported being “so disgusted that I vowed I’d never be seen at the history club again, and I intend to keep it.”<sup>29</sup>

Given Madden’s growing prejudice, it is perhaps unsurprising that his affinities for Hitler and the Third Reich appear to have increased during this period as well. In April 1935, he referred to himself as “a Nazi” in at least one letter to a friend and gloated about the fact that he had received a Columbia scholarship endowed by Jacob Schiff, a Jewish-American businessman.<sup>30</sup> While this was perhaps an inside joke he knew a confidant would enjoy, it suggests that Madden enjoyed a reputation as an unapologetic supporter of Hitler. That same month, he told an American friend living in Germany that he was taking his admiration for Hitler into the public sphere. “Whenever I see him [Hitler] in the newsreels,” Madden explained, “I do my best with my applause to drown out the Bronx cheers and hisses which usually greet his inflammatory orations. Heil Hitler! Heil Deutschland!”<sup>31</sup> Seven months later, Madden told Heinz Rüdiger that he was planning to attend a meeting of the Friends of the New Germany, a group that he positively commented on as “as Nazi group in disguise,” remarking that “all that is missing is the

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<sup>27</sup> Letter from HMM to “Heinz” [Rüdiger], Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>28</sup> HMM to “Beellie,” Oct. 28, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>29</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Mar. 6, 1936, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>30</sup> Letter from HMM to “Murray,” Apr. 19, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>31</sup> HMM to Joseph Ponti, Apr. 3, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

presence of Herr Dokter Göbbels.” Friends of the New Germany was the precursor group of the German American Bund, one of the most public pro-Nazi organizations of the era with chapters across the country. In the same letter, he bemoaned the recent conviction of Bruno Richard Hauptmann for the kidnapping and murder of Charles Lindbergh, Jr., the infant son of the famous aviator. Madden’s view was that the conviction was “another indication of anti-German spirit. The prosecutor, Wilentz, is a Jew, and all the Jews have a gleeful time in thinking that they are electrocuting Hitler, at least in effigy. That Hauptmann is innocent, goes without saying.”<sup>32</sup>

By late 1935, the Roosevelt Administration and the American Olympic Committee (AOC) were feeling the effects of a public pressure campaign to boycott the upcoming 1936 Berlin Games as a means of showing international concern for the regime’s discriminatory actions against its Jewish population. The AOC’s president, Avery Brundage, opposed the idea of boycotting the games and argued that politics should be kept separate from sports.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly, Madden agreed with Brundage and supported American participation in the games. He also blamed Jews for instigating the campaign. In December 1935, he described the campaigners in particularly demeaning terms to his mother and included a racist remark about Black New Yorkers in the process:

When I was down at the public library, where I’ve been working quite a bit the last few days... I saw three Jewesses standing at the corner of the library (5<sup>th</sup> avenue and 42<sup>nd</sup> street, the busiest crossing in the city), wearing sandwich board signs, reading, “Keep the Olympics from Nazi Germany”, handing about petitions for the throng to sign. And honest to God all the Jews and niggers in New York were there, signing as fast as they could. One of the damned Jews couldn’t even speak English; she just kept chanting, “Against Heetler, against Heetler”. But the games will be held, don’t worry; all the athletes want to go; it’s only the Jews and some Catholics who are beating the air.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Letter from HMM to “Heinz” [Rüdiger], Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>33</sup> “The Movement to Boycott the Berlin Olympics of 1936,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-movement-to-boycott-the-berlin-olympics-of-1936>.

<sup>34</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Dec. 4, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.



Similarly, in a letter to his old friend Arnold Tamm, Madden attributed the boycott movement to Jewish Americans:

Unless you have been to New York, you cannot imagine how bitterly Hitler is hated by every Jew. They have naturally bent every effort to prevent American participation in the games, but I know that every athlete who would have a chance of going is decidedly in favor of American participation. They do not want to be cheated of the chance to visit Germany and to compete with other athletes from all over the world.<sup>35</sup>

This assertion was patently false; in reality the boycott campaign had supporters from a wide swath of American society, including the Irish-American Jeremiah Mahoney, President of the Amateur Athletic Union.<sup>36</sup> In the end, however, the United States took part in the Berlin Games, providing Hitler's government with a much-needed propaganda coup. "At least they [the Jews] did not succeed in keeping American athletes out of the Olympic Games, and they are due for more disappointments in the future, Gott sei dank [Thank God]!" Madden rejoiced to Rüdiger.<sup>37</sup>

By the end of 1935, Madden's antisemitism appears to have become not only a personal obsession but also a key aspect of his identity. A fellow student bluntly recognized this fact, telling Madden in 1935 that "[i]t seems to me, you yourself are something of a Jew-baiter."<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Madden's letters to friends on both sides of the Atlantic frequently contained unapologetic admiration for Hitler and hatred for American Jews in particular. This latter point devolved more than once into dark fantasies he shared with audiences he presumably assumed shared his views. In December 1935, for instance, he wrote to a friend identified only as Bruce who had recently passed the California bar and began his missive with a fantasy:

Yesterday I passed the law library, and looked in through the opposing windows. "Jesus Christ", I exclaimed, "has it come at last? Has the judeocracy come? For lo, seeest thou not there the complete brooding head of the Levant, the face which shows the centuries of craft, the undying hope of supremacy?"

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<sup>35</sup> Christmas letter from HMM to Arnold Tamm, undated, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>36</sup> "The Movement to Boycott the Berlin Olympics of 1936."

<sup>37</sup> Letter from HMM to "Heinz" [Rüdiger], Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>38</sup> Joe Ponti to HMM, Nov. 30, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

And so it was. The building was the same; the bewildered teachers were the same Aryans, but the judeocracy had arrived. The six-pointed star over the door was the more visible for its mere spiritual presence. “Eloi, eloi”, I said, and went and jumped under a subway train. And that was the end of an idealist.<sup>39</sup>

It is likely this particular imagining was intended to be an ironic joke to an old friend, yet at the same time it betrays both Madden’s deep prejudice and his recognition that his correspondents would not be surprised by these views. Further, it is telling that Madden retained this letter — and the others quoted in this report — until his death decades later. While his intent in doing so cannot be known with certainty, it suggests that even years later he still either relished the joke or saw nothing wrong with these sentiments.

Madden departed New York for an extended period of study in Europe in the summer of 1936. While funding for the stay came from the Institute of International Education at the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest, he was open about the fact that he hoped to spend time in the “New Germany.” In late 1935, he told Arnold Tamm that visiting Germany would “make one of my dearest dreams come true.”<sup>40</sup> He would now take the opportunity to do so. After his departure from New York, a fellow Columbia graduate student, William Oswald Shanahan, sent him a photo of three men, inscribing the back, “In memory of the departure of the first member of the Columbia University N.S.D.A.P. [Nazi Party] Sieg Heil.”<sup>41</sup>

## **Travels in Europe**

On June 30, 1936, Madden wrote to his mother after departing Berlin. He had been too busy since arriving ten days before to write, he told her, and had also met his longtime pen-pal Heinz Rüdiger. He now shared his impressions of the city and the Third Reich:

Germany really appears to be prosperous – building a new subway in Berlin, new buildings, no begging in the streets, no bums and tramps as in U.S. And the Jews aren’t hanging from the lamp-posts, either. It is quite true that Germans are gradually taking over the businesses formerly controlled by Jews, but there is

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<sup>39</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Dec. 8, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>40</sup> HMM to Arnold Tamm, n.d. [likely Dec. 1935], Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>41</sup> Photo in Box 45, HMMP.

no bodily persecution.<sup>42</sup>

He went on to report that:

Honestly, the people's faces shine when they think that Hitler has made things secure – no political unrest, no fear of revolution, opportunities to save and know your savings won't disappear, opportunity to get married and have children without fear of losing your job. Unemployment is rapidly disappearing, and the whole morale of Germany (the most important thing) has changed from one of despondency and misery to one of happiness and confidence. Everyone seems much happier than the average American, even though they earn less.<sup>43</sup>

The letter closed with “Heil Hitler!”

Needless to say, this letter hardly reflected the objective reality of life in the Third Reich. There had been devastating physical, economic, and political violence against Jews by 1936, including laws that had excluded Jews from certain professions and the promulgation of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws that stripped Jews of their citizenship and forbade sexual relations and marriage between Jews and non-Jews.<sup>44</sup> As an astute follower of German current events, Madden would have been aware of these developments. Yet his letter minimized Nazi brutality, while at the same time downplaying the toll of other Nazi criminal policies, including those that allowed Germans to, as Madden put it, take over “businesses formerly controlled by Jews.”

Throughout the summer of 1936, Madden traveled across Central Europe, visiting Berlin, Munich (with a side trip to nearby Berchtesgaden, Hitler's mountain residence), Potsdam, Freiburg, Karlsruhe, and Vienna, among other cities. In Freiburg, he posed in a photo with other visitors giving a Nazi salute and placing a comb under his nose. The caption on the back read “Adolf Hitler Madden (U.S.A.)”<sup>45</sup> In the town of Bischofswerda, in Saxony, Madden posed

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<sup>42</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, June 30, 1936, p. 2-4, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>43</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, June 30, 1936.

<sup>44</sup> Armin Nolzen, “The Nazi Party and its Violence Against the Jews, 1933-1939: Violence as a Historiographical Concept,” Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/academic/nazi-party-and-violence-against-jews.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Box 45, HMMP.

under a festival banner and gave a Nazi salute for the camera.<sup>46</sup> He contrasted his experiences in Germany with Vienna, which he told his mother was “a very Jewish city” where “[a]mong the things you can’t help seeing are the New York Jews, who certainly travel here in quantities but are conspicuously missing in Germany.”<sup>47</sup>

As the summer drew to a close, Madden arrived in Budapest to take up his fellowship and return to his studies. Decades later he recounted that “Admiral Horthy reigned over a land which had more color and joie de vivre (albeit with less fair distribution of the world's goods) than the gray Budapest which I last visited in 1966.”<sup>48</sup> While Madden apparently enjoyed the atmosphere in late 1930s Budapest, it was hardly a city that extended its freedoms to all its citizens. Admiral Miklos Horthy, the country’s leader referred to in Madden’s letter, was an avowed antisemite who later joined his country to Hitler’s war in Eastern Europe. He would also be responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews.<sup>49</sup> While these events were still in the future, Madden could not have been ignorant of the regime’s antisemitic orientation. The 1920 Hungarian *Numerus Clausus* law had placed a strict quota on the number of Jewish students allowed to study in the country’s higher education institutions, including the Royal Hungarian University that hosted Madden. Historians today consider it to be one of the first instances of 20<sup>th</sup> century antisemitic legislation.<sup>50</sup>

Madden himself was personally aware of at least one act of antisemitic violence. In November 1936, one of Madden’s Jewish American colleagues at the Royal Hungarian University was attacked by a mob of students acting out the “custom” of an annual “anti-Semitic [sic] riot” that presumably took place with the consent of the university administration. According to Madden, the American student was physically threatened by “a mob of about 100” and narrowly escaped

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<sup>46</sup> Box 45, HMMP.

<sup>47</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Aug. 31, 1936, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from HMM to January 11, 1982 to Patrick Poole, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>49</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Museum Condemns Attempts to Rehabilitate Hungarian Fascist Leader” June 28, 2017, <https://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-condemns-attempts-to-rehabilitate-hungarian-fascist-leader>.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Tibor Nagy, “The Numerus Clausus in Inter-war Hungary,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 35, no. 1(2005): 13-22.



physical harm by showing his passport and speaking only English. In the days that followed, he faced additional harassment from antisemitic roommates and unsuccessfully requested a change in living facilities. Despite referring to this student as “a friend,” Madden’s only observation about the violence and ongoing harassment in a letter to his mother was that the student “had a disagreeable experience” and “isn’t too contented.”<sup>51</sup> Madden later reported that the student had been expelled from the collegium as the result of his continued protests.<sup>52</sup>

As Madden’s year in Europe drew to a close, his friends circle increasingly recognized his antisemitic views and Nazi sympathies, and some began voicing their objections. “I might add that your heavy humor about the Jews on lamp-posts found little appreciation either in myself or in others to whom I showed the [post]card,” a correspondent objected to Madden in December 1936. “If there had been no Jew-baiting and beating your comments might have been funny, but unfortunately that is not the case.”<sup>53</sup> Another writer was even more blunt in 1937, telling Madden provocatively: “Did I surmise you were a Fascist! Or a ‘National Socialist’!”<sup>54</sup>

## Stanford and the War

Madden returned to the United States in the summer of 1937, having not yet completed his PhD dissertation. During his last six months in Europe, he had pursued teaching positions at Columbia, Yale, and UCLA, among other schools. Ultimately, Madden’s Stanford mentor Ralph H. Lutz helped him land a job at his alma mater. That September Madden joined the Stanford faculty as an Instructor in History, the lowest rank at an American university, as he explained to an overseas colleague. Madden was assigned to the university’s large History of Western Civilization course. His return to Palo Alto enabled him to move back in with his mother—they shared a small, two-bedroom house—and helped facilitate his mother’s retirement.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Nov. 12, 1936, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>52</sup> HMM to Joe Ponti, Nov. 29, 1936, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>53</sup> W to [HMM], around Dec. 19, 1936, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>54</sup> Lewis Bissell Magee to Henry, Feb. 6, 1937, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>55</sup> HMM to Ralph Lutz, Feb. 15, 1937; Lutz to HMM, May 4, 1937; HMM to Dr. Schick, Oct. 26, 1937, all in Box 5, HMMP.

For the next five academic years, Madden was part of a team of instructors who taught the Western Civilization survey, a three-class sequence required for the entire first-year class at Stanford. Madden's responsibilities included teaching two small sections of the course, tutoring a handful of independent study students, collaborating on the course syllabus, and prepping and delivering occasional lectures for the roughly 700 freshman and women who matriculated each year.<sup>56</sup>

Stanford's Western Civilization instructors divided up responsibility for the topics covered in the course. As a European historian who had recently toured Central Europe, Madden took the lead on the unit dealing with modern Germany. As he wrote one of his Columbia professors in April 1938, "I have been preparing a lecture for the general weekly meeting of the entire freshman class on 'Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism.'" Madden delivered that lecture the following month and at least twice more, in 1939 and 1942. In addition, he wrote a pamphlet on European history since 1925. Intended to serve as a supplement to the required Western Civilization textbook, which he judged "inadequate" on the subject of modern Europe, Madden's *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925* was one of the three required readings on post-World War I governments and recent international relations on the 1937-38 Western Civilization syllabus. At the behest of David Harris, one of the lead Western Civilization faculty, Madden also wrote the introduction to this section of the 1938-39 syllabus, providing a brief overview of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.<sup>57</sup>

In his first year back at Stanford, Madden began corresponding with Dr. Richard Mönning of the Terramare Office, a publisher of Nazi propaganda.<sup>58</sup> A branch of the extensive German Ministry

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<sup>56</sup> Robert Wilbur to HMM, Sept. 24, 1937; HMM to Dr. Schick, Oct. 26, 1937; HMM to Ricard Mönning, Jan 28, 1939; HMM to Heinz Rüdiger, n.d. [July 19, 1941], all in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>57</sup> HMM to Austin P. Evans, April 9, 1938, Box 6, HMMP; HIST 12 (History of Western Civilization) syllabus, Stanford University, Spring Quarter, 1937-38, pp. 17-18, Box 17, HMMP; HIST 12 (History of Western Civilization) syllabus, Stanford University, Spring Quarter, 1938-39, pp. 31-32, Box 17, HMMP; HIST 12 (History of Western Civilization) syllabus, Stanford University, Spring Quarter, 1941-42, p. 20, Box 17, HMMP; HMM, *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University, 1938); David Harris to HMM, n.d. [1938-39], Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>58</sup> Arthur L. Smith, *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1965), 30; David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 30; Christopher M.

for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (GMPEP), Terramare focused on publishing materials for non-German audiences.<sup>59</sup> Madden told Mönnig he was seeking to acquire Terramare publications for his own edification as well as to assign in the Western Civilization survey.<sup>60</sup> Stanford's Department of History, Madden wrote Mönnig on January 28, 1939, "desires to present to the students an authoritative statement of the basic beliefs of the National-Socialist government of Germany." He asked Mönnig to send him 100 copies of two pamphlets—the *National Socialist Party Programme* and a 1937 speech by Adolf Hitler entitled *On National Socialism and World Relations*—to be deposited in the Department of History library for use in the course.<sup>61</sup> Mönnig seems to have complied with this request in a timely fashion because these two pamphlets appear on that spring's Western Civilization syllabus, under a section entitled "Fascism, National Socialism, and Recent International Relations."

In the three accounts of Nazi Germany that Madden produced during his return to Stanford—his pamphlet, syllabus introduction, and lecture—he was not as openly celebratory of the Führer or his regime as he had been in his 1935-37 private correspondence. Madden's lecture, for one, discussed Hitler's "hysteria" and "inverted personality," chalking both characteristics up to family inbreeding. Displaying a remarkable lack of self-reflection, Madden took the German dictator to task for the lies that undergirded Jewish scapegoating as well. "With that peculiar disregard for facts which is so characteristic of anti-Semitism [*sic*]," Madden maintained, Hitler "held the Jews responsible for the social misery of which he personally had so ample a share."<sup>62</sup> He did not mention the fact that he himself shared many of the same views.

Madden also discussed some of the troubling developments in Nazi Germany. His lecture called Hitler's dictatorship "certainly the greatest blow to democracy" in recent history. It "has been considered by the democratic world as the most ruthless and indefensible abridgement of human

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Kimmich, *German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945: A Guide to Current Research and Resources* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 16.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, *Deutschtum of Nazi Germany*, 30; Welch, *Third Reich*, 28-31.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Mönnig to HMM, Jan. 27, 1938, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>61</sup> HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 28, 1939, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>62</sup> HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 3, 5.

liberty, particularly because it rules a land which has always been considered the home of spiritual freedom, the soil from which Martin Luther sprang.”<sup>63</sup> Madden’s syllabus, in turn, reinforced the notion that Nazi Germany was a land that tolerated neither freedom of expression nor political dissent. The Nazi party “has permitted no opposition to its ideological system,...teaching and creative artistic work must be done in the Nazi fashion,” and “[l]iberals unwilling to subject themselves to this intellectual regimentation have fled in large numbers.”<sup>64</sup> In his *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925* pamphlet, Madden focused on the crackdown on civil liberties against Germany’s Jewish population in particular: “Jews were banned from the stage, the cinema, the press, the civil service, [and] the teaching profession.”<sup>65</sup>

At the same time, however, all three documents betray Madden’s abiding habits of highlighting Nazi Germany’s economic success, justifying some of its antisemitic grievances, and sanitizing the regime’s most repulsive policies. Hitler’s ascent, Madden claimed in *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925*, wrought “a tremendous revolution” in “economic matters.”<sup>66</sup> He favorably compared Nazi economic policies to Roosevelt’s New Deal policies, just as he had in a 1936 letter to his mother. His 1938 lecture similarly insisted that Hitler’s “government has forced business to continue at a high level of productivity, and has itself undertaken the task of caring for those who cannot be employed by private industry in various schemes of public improvement similar to the WPA [Works Progress Administration].” The results of Nazi economic policy, Madden argued, were plain to see: “[I]t is evident to any traveller [*sic*] in Germany that the material achievements of the Hitler regime is practically wiping out unemployment,” thus making the Nazis “many converts among the mass of workers who were either unemployed, or in danger of unemployment, in the chaotic years before 1933.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> HMM, “Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism,” 1.

<sup>64</sup> HIST 12 (History of Western Civilization) syllabus (1938-39), 32.

<sup>65</sup> HMM, *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925*, 10.

<sup>66</sup> The public works projects and increased government spending Madden attributed to Hitler’s government were, in fact, initiated before the National Socialists came to power, though Hitler took credit for the changes. Thomas Childers, *The Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 204-05.

<sup>67</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, June 30, 1936, p. 2-4, Box 6, HMMP; HMM, *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925*, 9-10; HMM, “Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism,” 18-20.

Madden was more equivocal about Nazi racial doctrine, but his willingness to legitimate certain elements of it are nonetheless revealing. As we have seen, Madden was critical of Hitler's "disregard of facts" about Jews early in his lecture. Yet toward the end of it Madden was more than willing to echo unfounded stereotypes about Jewish domination of key professions in Germany—stereotypes that also appeared in his earlier correspondence. "Undoubtedly much of the anti-Semitism [*sic*] which is a necessary corollary of" Nazi racial doctrine, he declared, "is founded upon economic grievances, such as the very high percentage of Jews in the professions of law and medicine." Madden, however, didn't think that these grievances provided the "justification" for German "persecution of the Jews"—that justification, he argued, was "based upon the Nazi doctrine of racial solidarity."<sup>68</sup> Madden, in other words, attempted to draw a distinction between what, to his mind, were legitimate grievances against Jews and the Nazi doctrine of racial solidarity that he believed fueled Jewish oppression.

What should we make of this? At the very least, it exposes a pattern in Madden's thought that can be traced back to his days in New York City and overseas. Since the mid-1930s, Madden had regularly circulated antisemitic caricatures and tropes while also occasionally expressing mild misgivings about Jewish persecution.<sup>69</sup> In this lecture, Madden seems to suggest that the Nazis were perfectly right to harbor prejudices against Jews, just as he himself did. But it also appears he believed the Nazis went too far when they allowed the idea of racial solidarity, which Madden never seems to have fully supported, to rationalize antisemitic policies and practices.

Yet it is Madden's omissions in this lecture that are even more revealing. It bears emphasizing that Madden was a university instructor, an unusually influential position. Rather than fulfilling his obligation to champion truth before his impressionable students, Madden obfuscated. Though he made passing mention of Nazi "brutality," Madden completely neglected to mention or analyze the specific acts of violence that Nazis employed both during Hitler's rise to power and afterward. None of these documents touch on the concentration camps, violent attacks against

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<sup>68</sup> HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 18.

<sup>69</sup> See HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Nov. 12, 1936, and "Donald" to HMM, Oct. 12, 1936, both in Box 5, HMMP.



Communists, Socialists, and other political opponents, or the cold-blooded murder of countless Jews living in Germany and in countries and territories that the Nazi annexed, including Austria. Madden neglected major events including the 1935 Nuremberg Laws and the violence of *Kristallnacht* as well.<sup>70</sup> In addition, he went out of his way to highlight Hitler's supposed "belief in legalism" and desire to come to power through peaceful, constitutional means, rather than violent, extralegal ones. An uncritical listener to Madden's lecture might well leave convinced that the Third Reich was a perhaps illiberal, but otherwise peaceful state on the road to economic revival.

Of course, this was far from the truth. In both his pamphlet and lecture, Madden portrayed the Nazi response to the Reichstag fire, which took place in the run-up to the pivotal March 5, 1933, election, as little more than clever, if "startling," opportunism. But Madden failed to tell his audience about the Nazi campaign of terror that followed—a campaign in which Nazi stormtroopers and other party members rounded up thousands of Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, and others, across the country. Many were sent to concentration camps.<sup>71</sup> Madden himself would have known better, as the Nazi record of violence was well chronicled by eyewitnesses and diplomats. It was also well-documented in the American and foreign press. As historian Stephen H. Norwood has written, "By the spring 1934, the American reading public had access to books in which prominent journalists, politicians, and Jewish leaders described Nazi Germany as barbaric and detailed Nazi atrocities."<sup>72</sup>

Indeed, hundreds of American newspapers published editorials about *Kristallnacht*, the November 1938 pogrom in which 7,500 Jewish stores were destroyed, 267 synagogues burned,

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<sup>70</sup> Although *Kristallnacht* took place after Madden gave his lecture the first time, he failed to include the antisemitic violence in the revised versions he delivered in the spring of 1939 and 1942. At the same time, however, Madden updated his later lectures to include other recent events, such as the annexation of the Sudetenland. Madden, we should note, did briefly address the Nuremberg Laws in his 1938 pamphlet. HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 21; HMM, *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925*, 10.

<sup>71</sup> HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 15-16; HMM, *National and International Developments in Europe Since 1925*, 9-10; Childers, *Third Reich*, 240-47.

<sup>72</sup> Stephen H. Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 10.

and 91 Jews murdered. Tens of thousands more were sent to concentration camps.<sup>73</sup> As a result, President Franklin D. Roosevelt withdrew the American ambassador from Berlin and expelled his German counterpart from Washington. *Kristallnacht* and similar outbursts of Nazi violence dominated the news in the 1930s and would have been of great interest to this self-proclaimed European affairs expert. Madden's clippings, in fact, illustrate this very point. On the back side of a 1934 article about Stanford's graduation that Madden cut out and saved for decades is a story about violence and terror within Nazi ranks.<sup>74</sup> It is, in short, impossible to claim that Madden was unaware of the violence that was an essential component of National Socialism. Yet his accounts of Nazi Germany at Stanford treated violence as an almost incidental feature of the regime.<sup>75</sup>

Madden's lectures also downplayed Hitler's increasingly-belligerent foreign policy. Although he counted himself a pacifist, Madden did not see the Nazi's violation of the Treaty of Versailles, reintroduction of military conscription, and construction of what he called "the best equipped and best-trained military force in Europe" as rooted in warlike foreign policy. Instead, he framed these moves as militant posturing that aimed at the unification of "all Germans within the Reich" without resorting to violence.<sup>76</sup> As Madden claimed decades later, "In 1936, surrounded by uniforms and swastika banners, I said publicly that this was all a bluff and that there would be no war."<sup>77</sup> History would prove Madden wrong. But Hitler did not put his powerful army into use until the September 1939 invasion of Poland that precipitated World War II. During the previous year, Madden had repeatedly pointed out that Germany's "spectacular" foreign policy successes

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<sup>73</sup> Childers, *Third Reich*, 426, 365.

<sup>74</sup> This story recounted a "terrorist campaign" by supporters of Ernst Röhm, one of roughly seventy Nazi Brownshirts (SA) whom Hitler had murdered in the Night of the Long Knives in the summer of 1934. According to the story, Röhm's followers sought payback for the bloody purge by threatening and attacking Nazi officials and SS members, among others. "Correspondent Reports Terror Reign by Roehm [*sic*] Friends," newspaper clipping, n.d. [1934], Box 26, HMMP.

<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, Madden's claim in his syllabus introduction that the "National Socialists won followers in tremendous numbers because, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, propaganda, uniformed forces, and *even violence* [emphasis added] acquainted the populace with the militant program of the party." HIST 12 (History of Western Civilization) syllabus (1938-39), 32.

<sup>76</sup> HMM to "Mr. Steif," Jan. 11, 1941, Box 5, HMMP; HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 21.

<sup>77</sup> HMM, "An American Bibliographer in Berlin," Roxburghe Club, Jan. 16, 1979, Box 21, HMMP. **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid..**

had been won without armed conflict. Indeed, in the second version of his lecture given in early 1939, he underlined the fact that Hitler peaceably annexed both Austria and the Sudetenland into the Third Reich, which he interpreted as a success for Hitler's foreign policy.<sup>78</sup> As late as May 1939, Madden clung to the belief that Hitler might achieve his goal of redrawing the borders of Europe without going to war.

All told, Madden's Stanford-era lecture, pamphlet, and syllabus introduction indicate a more measured—or, at least, guarded—stance toward Hitler's Germany than was evident in his private correspondence from a few years earlier. Yet there is no doubt that he continued to minimize the Nazis' most reprehensible practices and policies. His portrait of Hitler's Germany was hardly an unbiased account, much less the thorough, contextualized study that one would expect from a modern European historian. Whether his modified stance reflected newfound doubts about Hitler and National Socialism or was merely an attempt to disguise his true feelings cannot be conclusively determined from the existing record. His views were also far from the mainstream of public opinion. In November 1938, just weeks after *Kristallnacht*, a Gallup poll found that 94% of Americans disapproved of "the Nazi treatment of Jews in Germany."<sup>79</sup> In October 1939, a poll found that just 2% of Americans wanted to see Germany win the war, while 84% preferred an Allied victory.<sup>80</sup> The vast majority of Madden's fellow Americans, in other words, did not share his views about and interpretations of the Third Reich and the international crisis. It is certainly clear, however, that by this point Madden knew that openly praising Hitler and the Third Reich would have flown in the face of overwhelming public opinion and might well have endangered his position at Stanford.

Judging from the surviving record, Madden seems to have been more guarded about these topics in his personal letters in this period, too—a pattern that would persist for the rest of his life.<sup>81</sup> In private, he avoided making pro-Hitler and pro-Nazi statements. Indeed, he rarely discussed

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<sup>78</sup> HMM, "Adolf Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism," 21.

<sup>79</sup> *Gallup Book, Vol. I*, 128.

<sup>80</sup> *Gallup Book, Vol. I*, 186.

<sup>81</sup> Most of Madden's pro-Nazi statements from the mid-1930s were made privately, but on at least one occasion he applauded Hitler in public. See HMM to Joseph Ponti, Apr. 3, 1935, Box 4, HMMP.

National Socialism or its leader at all in his correspondence. Meanwhile, overtly antisemitic remarks, so frequent in his mid-1930s letters, also declined during his time back at Stanford. (This evaluation reflects the extant letters by Madden in the Madden Collection, which are not as numerous for these years as they are for other time periods. It is certainly possible that he discussed these matters in correspondence not preserved in the collection. The change may also reflect the fact that Madden now lived with his mother – one of his most frequent correspondents while he was in New York City and abroad and one he knew shared his antisemitic views – and thus he no longer committed his day-to-day thoughts to her in writing.<sup>82</sup>)

Several of Madden’s correspondents did share their thoughts on Nazi Germany with him, but most of them were critical.<sup>83</sup> Madden’s graduate school friend William Oswald Shanahan – the man who had referred to Madden as a member of the “Columbia University N.S.D.A.P.” – kept up his antisemitic rants into the 1940s. But he too shied away from overt praise for Hitler or his government, focusing instead on expressing his enduring love for Germany and fears that it might be destroyed in another war.<sup>84</sup> After the 1939 German invasion of Poland, Shanahan worried about the Third Reich’s future. “For you and me this war will be a double tragedy,” he wrote Madden, “our memories of happy days in Germany, our hopes, our fears—all dashed to pieces.” Like so many of Hitler’s American friends in the late 1930s, Shanahan declared that he was for “strict neutrality” and asked Madden for “at least one communication” on the subject.<sup>85</sup> It goes without saying that empathy for the victims of Nazi aggression and conquest was nowhere to be found in these letters.

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<sup>82</sup> The HMMP includes far more letters written by Madden between 1934 and 1937 as well as from the postwar era, when he often carbon copied his correspondence.

<sup>83</sup> See “Bela” [Edwin Brown Allen?] to HMM, May 15, 1938; “Bela” to HMM, Sept. 8, 1939; Burton Sale to HMM, July 28, 1940, all in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>84</sup> William Oswald Shanahan to HMM, Mar. 8, 1939; May 21, 1939; July 10, 1939; Aug. 25, 1939; Sept. 1, 1939; Sept. 5, 1939, Sept. 29, 1939; Nov. 19, 1939; Mar. 17, 1940, all in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>85</sup> Shanahan to HMM, Sept. 3, 1939, Box 5, HMMP. A tantalizing letter Shanahan sent to Madden six months earlier indicates that Madden didn’t always avoid the burgeoning conflict in Europe. “I was glad to get your angle on our foreign policy,” Shanahan told his old graduate school buddy. Shanahan to HMM, Mar. 8, 1939, Box 5, HMMP.

Madden may have been less willing to put his thoughts about Hitler in writing, but he did echo his friend in opposing U.S. intervention in the European war. Just weeks after Germany launched its attack on Poland, Madden began regularly penning letters to U.S. congressmen and senators, urging them to support continued neutrality and opposing Roosevelt's national preparedness efforts. He kept up this campaign until just a few months before Pearl Harbor.<sup>86</sup> Madden also canceled his subscription to *Life* in the summer of 1940 because the magazine published what Madden described as a "frantic" letter to the editor arguing that the United States should enter the war on the side of the Allies.<sup>87</sup>

Madden's isolationist stance left him increasingly frustrated with the Roosevelt administration he had once supported. Early in his life, he counted himself a socialist.<sup>88</sup> During the 1932 presidential election, Madden donned a button for Socialist Party candidate for president Norman Thomas, even though he was not yet eligible to vote.<sup>89</sup> He eventually decided that "it was pointless to support such a minority party," however, and by 1936 Madden had followed his mother in supporting FDR, attracted especially by the New Deal.<sup>90</sup> But Roosevelt's foreign policy was another matter. "[T]here is a wave of hysteria in this country of the subject of the war," Madden told Berlin propagandist Richard Mönnig in June 1940. "Largely abetted by the un-neutral attitude of the present administration, the press, and particularly the cinema, have been openly anti-German in tone."<sup>91</sup> A year later, in the summer of 1941, Madden complained to his German friend Heinz Rüdiger that "Roosevelt and his anglophile cabinet" had convinced much of the country to shift from supporting "a position of neutrality to a policy of aid to England."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> John Z. Anderson to HMM, Sept. 25, 1939; Hiram W. Johnson to HMM, Oct. 1939; John Z. Anderson to HMM, Nov. 28, 1940; John Z. Anderson to HMM, Sept. 22, 1941, all in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>87</sup> Gertrude Epstein, for the Editors of *Life* Magazine, to HMM, July 3, 1940, Box 5, HMMP; H.W. Wall, letter to the editor, *Life* Magazine, June 17, 1940, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>88</sup> HMM, Typescript of Speech, Dr. Madden A 53-8-50, Box 20, HMMP. **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**

<sup>89</sup> HMM to Irene Neasham, June 10, 1974, Box 12, HMMP.

<sup>90</sup> HMM, Typescript of Speech, Dr. Madden A 53-8-50; HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Nov. 12, 1936; Martha Ann Madden to HMM, July 2, 1936, both in Box 4, HMMP.

<sup>91</sup> HMM to Richard Mönnig, June 19, 1940, Box 5, HMMP. See also HMM to Mönnig Jan. 12, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>92</sup> HMM to Heinz Rüdiger, [July 19, 1941], Box 5, HMMP; Hart, *Hitler's American Friends*, 162-65.



Madden's opposition to Roosevelt's interventionism does not seem to have led him to join the America First Committee, the country's most prominent anti-intervention organization. At one point an acquaintance sent Madden's name to the committee, which was a magnet for extremists, antisemites, and a range of other opponents of involvement in the war in Europe and the Roosevelt administration generally.<sup>93</sup> But there is no evidence that Madden ever joined the organization, perhaps because America First's anti-New Deal rhetoric proved a dealbreaker for him. Instead, Madden gravitated back toward socialist Norman Thomas, who advanced a non-interventionist policy from the Left.<sup>94</sup> Just a month before the 1940 presidential election, Madden wrote a friend that "this is certainly the blackest period which I can remember, when any counsel of moderation [about the war] is howled down." He decried Roosevelt's advice for American citizens to leave Asia and the looming start of the draft. "In November I shall cast a resigned ballot for Norman Thomas," he wrote in October 1940, "and then expect the worst."<sup>95</sup>

Despite Madden's self-professed neutrality, the archival record clearly indicates that he was privately cheering on the German *Blitzkrieg*. "Yes, the war does go well," a University of Chicago graduate student in German literature wrote Madden on January 14, 1940. "I have a hunch that the 'democracies' will discover by about end of this year that the Nazi nut is going to be a bit too tough to crack and give it up as a bad job."<sup>96</sup> That summer, after Germany's successful conquest of France, a second correspondent made it clear that he, too, believed Madden yearned for a German victory. "The past few momentous months I have hesitated to write," he informed Madden, "because of dislike of your gloating about the demise of France."<sup>97</sup> In June 1940, Madden had told Richard Mönnig, that "the overwhelmingly rapid Germany victory in France" had begun to soften "some of the war-like attitudes of the Roosevelt administration." Madden believed that the successful invasion might lead Democrats and

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<sup>93</sup> E.E.F. Von Helms to HMM, n.d., Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>94</sup> Justus D. Doenecke, "Non-interventionism of the Left: The Keep America Out of the War Congress, 1938-41," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (Apr. 1977): 221-36.

<sup>95</sup> HMM to "David", Oct. 8, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>96</sup> EEF Von Helms to HMM, Jan 14, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>97</sup> Burton Sale to HMM, July 28, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

Republicans alike to adopt “a ‘keep out of the war’ policy” in the upcoming election.<sup>98</sup> But Madden seemed to have relished Germany’s progress on the battlefield for more than just its effect in bolstering American neutrality—a point he made clearly the following summer. In July 1941, Madden informed Heinz Rüdiger that while “the international situation” was “very unpleasant” for him, he felt differently about “the rapid collapse of Poland” and “the tremendous battle in the West” in the spring of 1940. “All these [German] victories were good news to me,” he wrote his Berlin friend, “because you remember well how much I liked your fatherland and how happy I was to see the signs of strength and prosperity during my visit.”<sup>99</sup> Even if Madden was no longer willing to openly praise Hitler or National Socialism, he had no trouble celebrating German progress on the battlefield to his American and German contacts alike.

Madden also continued his correspondence with official propaganda organs of the Nazi regime throughout this period. Between 1938 and 1940, Richard Mönnig regularly sent Madden copies of books and pamphlets that promoted Nazi culture and politics. Madden returned the favor on at least one occasion, mailing Mönnig several Stanford University Press books on Germany.<sup>100</sup> Madden also reached out on multiple occasions to the German Library of Information, a joint venture of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry and the German Foreign Office. Operating out of New York City, the Library of Information aimed to place Third Reich-produced materials in American hands.<sup>101</sup> In the fall of 1939, Madden wrote to the library to ask for copies of its propaganda bulletin *Facts in Review*. Library of Information director Heinz Beller replied on October 16, saying that he was sending Madden all available back issues of *Facts in Review* and adding Madden’s name to the bulletin’s mailing list.<sup>102</sup> A transparently propagandistic publication, *Facts in Review* featured photos of smiling German soldiers, articles touting Nazi

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<sup>98</sup> HMM to Mönnig, June 19, 1940 Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>99</sup> HMM to Heinz Rüdiger, July 19, 1941, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>100</sup> Mönnig to HMM, Jan. 27, 1938; HMM to Mönnig, May 1, 1938; Mönnig to HMM, June 9, 1938; HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 28, 1939; Mönnig to HMM, Apr. 13, 1939; Mönnig to HMM, Nov. 30, 1939, all in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>101</sup> Craig S. Olson, “Spark Without Flame: The Germany Library of Information a Nazi Propaganda Agency in the United States, 1936-1941,” (Master’s Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1991), 14-15; Warren Alex Shannon, “Confronting the Nazis: American and German Propaganda, 1933-1939,” (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1995), 140.

<sup>102</sup> Heinz Beller to HMM, Oct. 16, 1939, Box 5, HMMP; [Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](#)Hart, *Hitler’s American Friends*, 112.

military victories, and even shortwave radio frequencies for Americans who might want to tune into pro-Nazi broadcasts. It also regularly attacked the Allies, particularly Great Britain, which its articles claimed was actually responsible for the war.<sup>103</sup> In essence, *Facts in Review* provided an alternative interpretation of current events designed to influence American public opinion in Germany's favor. In spring 1940, the Germany Library sent Madden a copy of *Polish Acts of Atrocity Against the German Minority in Poland*, a lengthy work of propaganda published by the German Foreign Office.<sup>104</sup> The library also sent Madden issues of *Signal*, a *Wehrmacht* [German armed forces] propaganda magazine in the summer of 1940, again at his request.<sup>105</sup>

Characteristically, Madden justified these requests in academic terms. In a 1939 letter to Mönnig, he explained that he was seeking material to assign in Stanford's Western Civilization survey and, as we have seen, some of that material did end up on the course syllabus. On multiple occasions, Madden highlighted his desire to secure "authoritative" statements of Nazi Germany's ideological tenets or "position in regard to the war."<sup>106</sup> But Madden never explicitly said what he personally thought about the propaganda.<sup>107</sup> It is possible that as a modern European historian he simply sought to obtain primary sources that would help his students and him understand Nazi positions and policies—topics he insisted were not even-handedly treated by the American press.<sup>108</sup> Yet is more likely, given his 1930s correspondence, that Madden sought out this Third Reich propaganda because he remained enamored with aspects of Hitler and National Socialism, even if he was increasingly hesitant to say so in public.

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<sup>103</sup> Olson, "Spark Without Flame," 34-38.

<sup>104</sup> Inez G. Richardson to HMM, Jan. 9, 1947, Box 7, HMM [Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](#)

<sup>105</sup> HMM to Gentlemen at German Library of Information, July 8, 1940; R. S. [ ], German Library of Information, to HMM, July 13, 1940, both in Box 5, HMMP; Brigitte Sion, "From Hagiography to Iconoclasm: The Nazi Magazine *Signal* and Its Meditations," in *Monsters in the Mirror: Representations of Nazism in Post-war Popular Culture*, ed. Sara Buttsworth and Maartje M. Abbenhuis (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010), 251.

<sup>106</sup> HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 28, 1939; HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 12, 1940, both in Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>107</sup> The one exception to this rule a comment Madden made about Terramare-published book on the city of Danzig. Madden's evaluation of this volume, however, focused on the book's aesthetic merits rather than on its ideological content. "I was particularly pleased by your volume on Danzig," he told Mönnig, who co-edited the volume, "which is one of the best examples of modern illustration and typography which I have had the pleasure to see." HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 12, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>108</sup> See, for instance, HMM to Mönnig, Jan. 12, 1940, Box 5, HMMP.

Madden's cheerleading for German military success, unsurprisingly, disappeared entirely from his correspondence after Pearl Harbor. Thereafter, when he directly addressed the war he tended to say that he hoped it would end swiftly, while also noting that he doubted that would be the case. He also continued to attribute American involvement in the conflict to "FDR and his friends."<sup>109</sup> Yet like millions of Americans, Madden himself would soon play a personal role in the war effort, whether he sought to or not. In September 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt instituted a peacetime draft as part of his national preparedness efforts. All men between 21 and 45 were required to register for possible conscription. Accordingly, the 28-year-old Madden registered with Local Board 112 in Palo Alto, California, on October 16, 1940.<sup>110</sup> Madden was not drafted, however, and after Pearl Harbor he sought exemptions from the armed forces on the grounds of his profession as an educator. While this had been a valid exemption before Pearl Harbor, after the U.S. entered the war it became more difficult to evade the draft based on occupation alone.

Knowing this, Madden began seeking an exemption as a conscientious objector.<sup>111</sup> In the end his efforts to avoid conscription came to nothing and, in September 1942, he recognized that he would be compelled to serve in some capacity. As a result, he requested a letter of reference for the U.S. Navy Reserve from the chair of the Stanford History Department.<sup>112</sup> He subsequently received a commission in November and was ordered to report to Columbia University, which had been partially requisitioned by the Navy, to complete a course in Military Government and Colonial Administration.<sup>113</sup>

Madden's war years appear to have been mostly uneventful. He did not see combat and his correspondence suggests that he spent his first nine months in the Navy in training courses. From there he was transferred to London where he appears to have been mostly billeted in hotels. In

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<sup>109</sup> HMM to Ambrose, April 2, 1942; HMM to Les, April 2, 1942, both in Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>110</sup> WWII Draft Registration Cards for California, 10/16/1940 - 03/31/1947, Madden, Henry Miller, <https://www.fold3.com/image/628891206>.

<sup>111</sup> HMM to Colonel Hume, June 20, 1942, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>112</sup> HMM to Edgar M. Robinson, September 8, 1942, Box 17, Folder 253, Edgar Eugene Robinson Papers (SC0029B). Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

<sup>113</sup> HMM to Colonel Edgar Hume, Nov. 24, 1942, Box 6, HMMP.

Britain he was assigned to the staff of the Supreme Allied Commander, in which capacity he served in clerical roles preparing reports. Following the liberation of Paris in 1944, he was stationed first in Versailles and then Berlin. There he served as a staffer for the Tripartite Naval Commission that divided the surviving German *Kriegsmarine* [German Navy] between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.<sup>114</sup> Madden reported that he was placed in charge of preparing the final report and, in return for his services, was promoted to lieutenant commander and awarded the Bronze Star. By his own account, Madden's commanding officer asked him to write his own citation for the award.<sup>115</sup> He separated from service in January 1946.<sup>116</sup>

### Postwar Refugee Work

Back in the U.S., Madden became involved in efforts to help war refugees. Among his mementos is a lighter decorated with a caricature of a chimney sweep, smiling and covered in black soot, holding a ladder and chimney brush with the inscription "Schornsteinfeger Klub" (Chimney Sweep Club). The image of the chimney sweep has had a long-standing tradition in German culture, ranging from racist depictions of black face to colloquial expressions of "good luck" and a symbol of good fortune. The Chimney Sweep Club was a social group of about 16,000 members, mostly American, German, and some British members, that was aimed at supplying food and goods to Germans during the postwar period, in order to maintain positive relations between Germans and Americans. The presence of the lighter in Madden's collections suggests he had some involvement in the program and supplied food, goods and relocation services to German and Hungarian citizens.

This exchange of goods is evident through Madden's correspondence from 1946 to 1949 with German and Hungarian friends. In dozens of letters, individuals and families told Madden of their desperation for food and thanked him for sending valuable goods, including meat, coffee,

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<sup>114</sup> HMM to Mr. Robinson, Stanford History Dept., Jan. 20, 1946, Box 6, HMMP; HMM to Carlton J.H. Hayes, Apr. 16, 1946, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>115</sup> Colver, "Henry Miller Madden, 1912-1982," 6.

<sup>116</sup> HMM to Robinson, Jan. 20, 1946.



cigarettes and clothing. In a 1947 letter, the Meyer family wrote to Madden expressing gratitude:

A few days ago, we received your wonderful and versatile Care-Package, which made us very happy and is of great help to us in these difficult times. These sustenance items have been missing for a long time from our diet and many of the wonderful delicacies have refreshed us a lot and made us very happy. Surely, we will also gain some weight now. The cigarettes are also very valuable to us, as you can imagine. Of course, we would be very happy and extremely grateful, if you could send us such a Care-Package again, since it is probably the easiest and safest way for you to send us provisions. Otherwise, we would also be very happy if you could send us “cigarettes, canned fat, or bacon or oil, cocoa, milk—and egg powder and unroasted coffee beans”; these things would be most desirable to us.<sup>117</sup>

During the postwar period, when food was scarce even for American soldiers, Madden managed to find highly sought-after items to share only with select individuals. In letters with various German families, including the families Meyer, Köhnk, Reinicke and Kleinjung, Madden discussed trading valuable items, including gold, platinum, stamps, and even books, in exchange for money and goods. In a letter to the Meyer family in 1946, Madden, writing from New York, explained:

In New York I asked a dealer about the worth of your gold coin. The worth is 80.00. Since my return I have heard about an organization that delivers food to Europe. It is called “CARE”—Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe...In San Francisco I inquired about the platinum at a smeltery. The smelter directed me to a jeweler.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Dr. Ulrich Lothar Meyer to HMM, April 13, 1947, Box 7, HMMP. Trans. Amila Becirbegovic. Original: “Nun erhielten wir vor wenigen Tagen Ihr schönes vielseitiges Care-Paket, womit Sie uns eine ausserordentliche Freude bereitet haben und das uns eine sehr grosse Hilfe in dieser harten Zeit ist. Es sind für uns lang entbehrte Stärkungsmittel, die uns sehr auffrischen und manche schöne Leckereien, über die wir uns alle sehr gefreut haben. Sicher werden wir auch jetzt an Gewicht etwas zunehmen. Auch die Zigaretten sind uns sehr wertvoll, wie Sie sich schon denken können. Natürlich würden wir uns sehr freuen und ausserordentlich dankbar sein, wenn Sie uns wieder ein solches Care-Paket senden würden, da es wohl für Sie der einfachste und sicherste Weg ist, uns Lebensmittel zukommen zu lassen. Andernfalls würden wir uns auch sehr freuen, wenn Sie uns “Zigaretten, Büchsenfett, oder Speck oder Öl, Kakao, Milch—and Eipulver und ungebrannte Kaffeebohnen” senden könnten; diese Dinge wären uns hauptsächlich erwünscht.”

<sup>118</sup> HMM to Meyer Family, July 29, 1946. Trans. Amila Becirbegovic. Original: “In New York habe ich bei ein [sic] Händler über die Wert [sic] ihrer Goldmünze gefragt. Es beträgt einschliesslich 80.00. Seit meiner Rückkehr habe ich von einer Organisation gehört, die Lebensmittelsendungen in Europa machen [sic]. Es heisst “CARE”—Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe...In San Francisco habe ich in einer Schmelzerei über die Platin gefragt. Der Schmelzer had [sic] mich an einer [sic] Juwelier gerichtet.”

It is evident that Madden supplied Germans with resources in exchange for valuable items. It is unclear, however, how those German friends, during extreme times of destruction and poverty, acquired those rare and valuable items and what the origin of these objects might have been.

During these years, Madden began to contemplate a new professional path as a librarian and enrolled in the School of Librarianship at the University of California, Berkeley, despite reservations that the “semi-vocational” program would be a step down from the prestige of Stanford and Columbia.<sup>119</sup> He received his degree in 1947. In the spring of 1948, Madden served as a visiting instructor in the history department at Washington State College in Pullman, Washington but returned to Europe that fall for a position with the International Refugee Organization (IRO).

From 1948-1949 Madden worked at the IRO in Linz, Austria. There he primarily aided in the transport and resettlement of displaced persons. In the immediate postwar period, Europe had established displaced persons camps, mainly in Austria and Germany, for refugees from Eastern Europe and for former concentration camp inmates. The conditions at many of these camps were horrific, as detailed in the 1945 Harrison Report. While working for the IRO, Madden wrote the following in a letter to his mother, Martha Ann Madden:

We have a transport out almost every week—but, alas, about 60% of those who are going are the most undesirable type of Jew. You would find it hard to believe that at the best Jewish camp in Linz, which was recently closed down to make room for Army families, all the Jews had Austrian or German servants, and many of them had cars. When they [Jews] moved out they left the flats in such condition that a self-respecting pig wouldn't live in them. The word camp is misleading; what the settlement was is very comparable to the Metropolitan Life developments, built just before the war as a permanent housing project. That's how the poor persecuted chosen people live. As for the German refugees from Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—they live in absolute misery.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Colver, “Henry Miller Madden, 1912-1982,” 6; HMM to Carlton J. H. Hayes, Aug. 23, 1946, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>120</sup> HMM to Martha Ann Madden, June 23, 1949, Box 3, HMMP.

Madden's antisemitism is evident in this 1949 letter, as he continued to repeat propaganda that certain Jews were money hungry, immoral, filthy and unfit for modern society. Utterly unsympathetic to the plight of Jewish refugees, Madden suggested that it was German refugees who were truly suffering. It is also telling that even after the revelations of Nazi atrocities in the Nuremberg Trials of 1945-49 Madden still offered no sympathy for the Jewish victims of these crimes.

### **Arrival at Fresno State and Collection Building**

Madden continued to search for a permanent academic job in the U.S. during his year in Linz, applying for both teaching and library positions. In March 1949, Madden's Hoover War Library mentor Ralph H. Lutz wrote with news that the head librarian job at Fresno State College was available and that he had recommended him.<sup>121</sup> Madden pursued the tip, sending a letter of interest with his credentials to Dean Mitchell P. Briggs soon thereafter.<sup>122</sup> In mid-May, college president Arnold E. Joyal extended Madden a formal offer, though on a one-year trial basis since Madden's residency in Europe precluded an in-person interview.<sup>123</sup>

In choosing the Fresno job, Madden turned down another offer from the history department at Hunter College in New York City.<sup>124</sup> About the Fresno position, Madden remarked, "[i]nstitution, location, and occupation all seem to be just right."<sup>125</sup> He appears to have decided that librarianship was a better fit for him. He certainly would have liked that his new position was not far from Palo Alto, where his mother lived (she later moved to Fresno). Upon learning about his acceptance of the Fresno job, Alice Reilly—the secretary of the Columbia University history department, a supporter of his 1935 bid for a position in the campus History Club on the antisemitic ticket—responded, "As you do not like living in N.Y., and as about 95 per cent of the

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<sup>121</sup> Ralph H. Lutz to HMM, Mar. 16 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

<sup>122</sup> HMM to Dean Mitchell Briggs, Mar. 25, 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

<sup>123</sup> Arnold E. Joyal to HMM, May 16, 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

<sup>124</sup> HMM to Mary L. Gambrell, May 22, 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

<sup>125</sup> HMM to Ralph H. Lutz, Mar. 25, 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

student body at Hunter is made up of the ‘Chosen’ [Jews], who would, no doubt, get under your skin, I think you have made a very wise decision.”<sup>126</sup>

Whatever his motivations in taking the position at Fresno State College, Madden soon found himself working on a relatively sleepy teacher’s college campus in the agricultural Central Valley. But like most institutions of higher education in the post-WWII years, Fresno State College was growing rapidly. In fact, Madden assumed his role as head of the library one year before Governor Earl Warren broke ground on a new campus located near Cedar and Shaw avenues.<sup>127</sup> In 1952, the state legislature appropriated money for the construction of a library at the new site, just a few weeks after Madden learned that he had been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to Vienna for the 1952-53 academic year.<sup>128</sup> At the request of college president Arnold E. Joyal, Madden declined the fellowship so that he could oversee plans for the construction of the building.<sup>129</sup> (He successfully applied for a Fulbright again the following year and spent 1953-54 in Vienna.) The \$1.5 million library was finished in 1955, and the collection was transferred to it in the spring of 1956.<sup>130</sup> By the time of his retirement in 1979, Madden had successfully lobbied for an addition to the library, the South Wing, which doubled its capacity and officially opened in 1980.<sup>131</sup>

Madden began his tenure as University Librarian in September 1949 with a clear vision of how the library should operate. He was fastidious but friendly, quick to show off his erudition and sense of humor while wielding authority over everything and everyone that fell within his purview. Although internal acquisition records for several years and accompanying internal financial reports are sparse—likely the result of the more relaxed norms and regulations of the time—the existing administrative records from the Madden period reveal his meticulous

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<sup>126</sup> Mary A. Reilly to HMM, June 2, 1949, Box 7; HMM to Beellie, Oct. 28, 1935, Box 4, both in HMMP.

<sup>127</sup> William B. Secrest Jr. and Lanny Larson, *California State University, Fresno: A Century of Excellence, 1911-2011* (St. Louis, MO: Reedy Press, 2011), 134, 162-63.

<sup>128</sup> J. Manuel Espinosa to HMM, May 26, 1952, Box 8, HMMP.

<sup>129</sup> HMM to J. Manuel Espinosa, June 6, 1952, Box 8; HMM to St. Vincent, Dec. 22, 1952, Box 8, both in HMMP.

<sup>130</sup> Secrest and Larson, *California State University, Fresno*, 54. The full transition to the new campus took eight years (p. 134).

<sup>131</sup> “\$587,000 OK’d For FSU Library Supplies,” *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 3, 1979.

attention to detail. Madden himself wrote the library's annual reports, compiled acquisitions lists, and dictated staff memos. His annual reports catalogued activities of every library department and every change in job classification, salary, and policy.<sup>132</sup> Madden's internal memos were particularly notable, outlining his often-eccentric take on the minutiae of library management. In one, for example, he prohibited the hiring of left-handed students at the service desk, arguing that they disrupted the work flow.<sup>133</sup> To enforce a requirement that staff place call numbers at a consistent height, Madden was known to walk through the library shelves carrying a yardstick—known among as the staff as “Madden's scepter”—to determine if labels had been placed too high or too low.<sup>134</sup> He made staff reaffix labels that were off the mark. Other quirks included his habit of calling reference librarians to ask a question to which he already knew the answer. After a librarian provided the answer, Madden would ask how she went about finding it.<sup>135</sup>

Articles and photographs in the campus student newspaper *The Collegian* and the *Fresno Bee* showcase the library as a harmonious workplace and include stories of staff picnics and workplace gags.<sup>136</sup> Some former librarians reported that Madden could be gruff and intimidating earlier in his career but that he became more approachable in later years.<sup>137</sup> Madden was also known as a tireless advocate for librarians. He supported the campaign within the CSU to have librarians classified as faculty, a designation that afforded higher salaries, sabbatical leaves, and tenure protections.<sup>138</sup> He also pushed to reclassify positions within the Fresno State library so that individuals would enjoy job titles and compensation commensurate with their responsibilities, and he encouraged staff to apply for more senior positions within the library and

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<sup>132</sup> *California State University, Fresno Library Annual Report 1949/50-1962/63* and *California State University, Fresno Library Annual Report 1963/64-1975/76*, Box 2, Henry Madden Library Collection, (hereinafter HMLC), Special Collections Research Center, California State University, Fresno.

<sup>133</sup> HMM to Mr. Kellogg, Sept. 15, 1966, Box 3, HMLC.

<sup>134</sup> Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022.

<sup>135</sup> Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022.

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, the photograph of Madden and acquisitions clerk Helen Fletcher in *The Fresno Bee*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. A18.

<sup>137</sup> Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022; Christy V. Hicks, Feb. 5, 2022.

<sup>138</sup> “Fresno State College, The Library, Staff Association,” Apr. 30, 1964, Box 10; “California State College Librarians Class and Rank,” [stamped] Nov. 13, 1964, Box 10; HMM to Phebe Conley, Nov. 18, 1964, Box 10, all in HMMP.

at other institutions.<sup>139</sup> Finally, Madden served as the award-winning editor of the *California Librarian* from 1952 to 1956 and as president of the California Library Association in 1957.

Madden's most significant achievement was his building of the library collection. Library records show that Madden oversaw the acquisition of hundreds of thousands of books, including notable rare books, during his career.<sup>140</sup> From 1949 until his retirement in 1979, the collection grew from 67,000 to 577,000 volumes.<sup>141</sup> The library acquired books through donations, exchanges, and domestic and international book vendors. Madden himself remained remarkably involved in book buying for a college librarian; most delegated much of this work to other staff.<sup>142</sup> His correspondence includes hundreds of letters with booksellers located both within the U.S. and in Europe, and he regularly traveled to Europe to buy books.<sup>143</sup> One former librarian recounted the routine for these trips: Madden mailed back "acquisition slips" so that library staff could type up index cards for the card catalog before crates of books arrived.<sup>144</sup> Madden's trips abroad were unusual for a head librarian at a CSU library, which, after all, was not a research university, but he persuaded university administrators that this was the least expensive way to build a world-class collection. Madden's connections with European book dealers and his ability to build the collection with limited resources, however, have raised questions about the source of his acquisitions. It is quite possible that some of the books Madden bought for the library had been looted from European libraries by Nazis during World War II. Unfortunately, internal library records from earlier decades (slips, invoices, and catalog cards) no longer exist, and some internal catalog notes were lost to successive rounds of automation. Determining the provenance of materials acquired during his tenure is difficult absent a more thorough investigation.

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<sup>139</sup> Stephanie Hillman, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 16, 2022.

<sup>140</sup> Prior to 1950, handwritten ledgers recorded the provenance and accession number of every item added to the library collection. After a short gap from 1951-53, typewritten lists of new acquisitions were organized by subject and provenance information was no longer included. See Box 10, HMLC. "FSC Gets Rare First Edition," *Fresno Bee*, Dec. 29, 1963, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Shirley Armbruster, "An FSU 'Institution,'" *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 17, 1979.

<sup>142</sup> Thomas J. Ebert, interview by Sarah McDaniel, Jan. 18, 2022.

<sup>143</sup> Shirley Armbruster, "An FSU 'Institution' College Librarian Retiring After 30 Years," *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 17, 1979, p. B1.

<sup>144</sup> Thomas J. Ebert, interview by Sarah McDaniel, Jan. 18, 2022.



Madden assembled a vast collection by the end of his career. Although some faculty found their book requests turned down and believed Madden exercised too much control over purchasing decisions, others praised his efforts.<sup>145</sup> One professor reported in 1978 that “Madden encouraged me to order as many books as possible in my special field, the history of modern Europe.”<sup>146</sup> The next year, another professor wrote to Madden that he needed seventeen books on Japanese history for his current research project and had recently found sixteen in the library. “This experience,” he concluded, “confirmed by belief that the holdings of our Library are impressive indeed.”<sup>147</sup> At the ceremony celebrating the naming of the Henry Madden Library on October 11, 1981, Lillian Parker highlighted Madden’s contribution in these terms:

For thirty years, Henry Madden devoted his tremendous intellect, his achievements as a scholar and bookman, and his untiring energy to the development—or rather, creation—of an academic library suited to the vision he had for the future of this university. With what can generously be called modest financial resources, he acquired a remarkable collection of books and periodicals to provide the university with a superb educational resource and research tool.<sup>148</sup>

Nearly every librarian interviewed for this report agreed that the library’s collection was Madden’s most enduring legacy, observing that he transformed a teacher’s college library into a research library unrivaled in the CSU system.<sup>149</sup>

## Anti-Censorship Campaigns

Madden’s other notable contribution as University Librarian was his decades-long fight against censorship. His commitment to intellectual freedom—the political issue to which Madden was most devoted in the postwar era—reflected the liberal Democratic politics he had first embraced in the mid-1930s. A New Deal supporter, Madden drifted away from the Democratic Party

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<sup>145</sup> “Pronin Asks Curb of Head Librarian,” *Collegian*, May 23, 1967, pp. 1, 5; Christy V. Hicks, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022.

<sup>146</sup> John Bohnstedt to the Public Affairs Committee, Sept. 29, 1978. Box 4, HMLC.

<sup>147</sup> “John” to HMM, Jan. 18, 1979, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>148</sup> Lillie Parker, “Remarks on the Occasion of the Naming of the Henry Madden Library,” Oct. 11, 1981, Box 13.

<sup>149</sup> Christy V. Hicks, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022; Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 4, 2022; Stephanie Hillman, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 16, 2022; Sandy Gothe, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 2, 2022; Colleen Mitchell, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 23, 2022.

because of FDR's interventionist foreign policy at the end of the decade. He eventually returned to the party fold, however, and during the 1952 presidential election, which pitted Democrat Adlai Stevenson against Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower, he began, in his words, to "take a more active interest in politics."<sup>150</sup>

Madden's nickname for Eisenhower — "Eisenhoover" — suggests his disdain for a party he saw as disinterested in the plight of ordinary Americans.<sup>151</sup> But the Fresno State librarian saw something else in the 1952 election: the growing power of McCarthyism.<sup>152</sup> By the time of the election, McCarthyism had already gained momentum in California. The surviving record shows that in 1951 Madden was following the progress of a California bill that would have allowed any individual to accuse state college employees of promoting communism and that would have mandated their termination without due process.<sup>153</sup> The record also indicates that an FBI agent interviewed Madden in 1953, though the context for this visit is unclear and may have been related to his application for a Fulbright Fellowship.<sup>154</sup> Madden had expressed an affinity for socialism decades earlier, but there is no evidence he ever was a communist.

By the mid-1950s, the political conservatives who championed communist witch-hunts were promoting government censorship of materials they deemed offensive. This development galvanized Madden. In 1955, Madden pushed back against California State Senate Bill 214, which would have banned indecent or obscene writings from public school libraries, citing the "the great danger to intellectual liberty" the bill posed.<sup>155</sup> It ultimately failed. In 1957, Madden used his pulpit as president of the California Library Association (CLA) to fight the growing

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<sup>150</sup> Typescript of Speech, Dr. Madden A 53-8-50, Box 20; HMM to Roy V. Sowers, Sept. 16, 1952, Box 8; Margaret S. Sowers to HMM, Sept 19 [1952], Box 8; Margaret S. Sowers to HMM, Dec. 11, 1952, Box 8, all in HMMP.

<sup>151</sup> HMM to Roy Sowers, Nov. 8, 1956, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>152</sup> HMM to Calvin Hathaway, Oct. 28, 1952, Box 8; HMM to David Harris, Dec. 20, 1952, Box 8, both in HMMP; Karen Vanderwall, "Librarian Madden Started at the Top," *Insight* Apr. 7, 1976, Box 27; HMM to Elmer Davis, Mar. 5, 1953, Box 8; Margaret S. Sowers to HMM, Mar. 11, 1953, Box 8; Margaret S. Sowers to HMM, May 6, 1953, Box 8; HMM to Margaret S. Sowers, May 13, 1953, Box 8; HMM to Dr. Mitchell P. Briggs, Oct. 11, 1954, Box 8, all in HMMP.

<sup>153</sup> Committee to Defeat Senate Bill 1836 Letter, June 27, 1951, Box 8; Senate Bill No. 1836, Introduced by Senator Kraft, June 5, 1951, Box 8, both in HMMP.

<sup>154</sup> "Spike" to HMM, Aug. 12, 1953, Box 8, HMMP.

<sup>155</sup> HMM to Paul L. Byrne et. al, Feb. 22 1955, Box 8, HMMP.

interest in censorship in Sacramento, focusing his presidential address on the issue.<sup>156</sup> That spring, Madden twice appeared before the state legislature to speak out against a revival of the public school libraries bill and a third time to protest a bill that would have prohibited the sale of “horror comic books.”<sup>157</sup> Madden argued that works such as *Tom Sawyer*, *Treasure Island*, and even college criminology textbooks would be banned under such a proposal.<sup>158</sup> Both bills failed. After Madden had stepped down as CLA president, the 1959 president-elect asked him to chair the CLA committee on intellectual freedom, stating that he knew of Madden’s “deep convictions” on the issue. “Frankly,” the president-elect wrote, “I don’t think there is another person in this Association who would do as good a job in this position as you would.”<sup>159</sup>

Madden continued his fight against censorship in the early 1960s, when the battle came to Fresno.<sup>160</sup> In 1963, a group of Fresnoans founded a local chapter of Citizens for Decent Literature (CDL). Deeming Fresno a “smut center,” CDL members asked the city to investigate the availability and sale of obscene materials and, later, pushed the city council to pass an anti-smut ordinance.<sup>161</sup> Madden encouraged community leaders to join him in the fight against the CDL’s campaign by starting an anti-censorship group.<sup>162</sup> As chair of the new Fresno Freedom to Read Committee, Madden told the mayor and city that “the City of Fresno should set an example to all other municipalities in California by vigorously opposing any attempt to subvert those freedoms which are guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States and supported by the laws of

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<sup>156</sup> “Dr. Madden Warns on Book Censors’ Efforts,” *Fresno Bee*, Oct. 16, 1957.

<sup>157</sup> Herbert L. Phillips, “Senate Unit Okehs Ban on Obscenity Library Books,” *Fresno Bee*, Apr. 10, 1957; “School Library Censorship Bill Is Thrown Out,” *Fresno Bee*, May 2, 1957; HMM to Henry Evans, Apr. 12, 1957, Box 9; HMM to William “Buck” Buchanan, Apr. 17, 1957, Box 9, both in HMMP; “Committee Turns Down Ban on Crime Comics,” *Fresno Bee*, Mar. 12, 1957.

<sup>158</sup> J.E. Haheisy, to McClatchy Newspapers, Mar. 28, 1957, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>159</sup> Alan D. Covey to HMM, Sept. 30 1958, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>160</sup> Morris Lowenthal, Letter to Committee, May 10, 1961, Box 10; Robert W. Crown to HMM, May 19, 1961, Box 10; Alexander H. Pole to HMM, Aug. 9, 1961, Box 10; HMM to Bert DeLotto, Jan. 5 1961, Box 10; Bert DeLotto to HMM Jan. 11, 1961, Box 10; HMM to Stanley Fleishman, Mar. 7, 1963, Box 10, all in HMMP.

<sup>161</sup> “Group Seeks Pornographic Literature Ban,” *Fresno Bee*, Feb. 25, 1963; “Fresno Anti Smut Ordinance Is Asked,” *Fresno Bee*, Mar. 18, 1963.

<sup>162</sup> HMM to Persons Interested in Freedom From censorship, Mar. 7, 1963, Box 10; Stanley Fleishman to HMM, Mar. 11, 1963, Box 10, both in HMMP.

California.”<sup>163</sup> Under Madden’s leadership, the Freedom to Read Committee fought the campaign for a city anti-smut ordinance into 1965.<sup>164</sup> During these years, Madden spoke out against censorship at over two dozen gatherings throughout the state, from Los Angeles to Bakersfield to the Bay Area.<sup>165</sup> Into the 1970s, Madden viewed any initiative that invited outside scrutiny of library holdings with suspicion. When a proposal was presented for the creation of a Fresno County Free Library public “advisory board,” Madden predicted that such an organization would be an invitation for “the intrusion of special interests [and] censorship groups.”<sup>166</sup>

Madden’s long fight against censorship raises an obvious and vital question: How can it be reconciled with his 1930s enthusiasm for the book-burning Nazi government? Near the beginning of Madden’s anti-censorship campaign, he had responded derisively to free speech limits in *another* totalitarian regime in Germany. In 1956, he traveled to Europe, spending four days in East Germany. In a letter to a librarian friend in Vienna, Madden wrote about the results of censorship there and remarked that the only news available was government propaganda.<sup>167</sup> To William Oswald Shanahan, the graduate school friend who had shared his 1930s affinity for Hitler and Nazi Germany, Madden described his trip to East Germany in blunt terms: it was “a very oppressive experience.”<sup>168</sup> Seven years into his career as a professional librarian, and a year into his war on censorship in California, Madden bristled at the threat to free speech posed by East Germany’s repressive communist government.

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<sup>163</sup> “Group Forms in Opposition to Censorship,” *Fresno Bee*, Mar. 17, 1963; HMM, Chairman of Fresno Freedom-to-Read Committee to Fellow Member, Mar. 27, 1963, Box 10; HMM to the Mayor and Council of the City of Fresno, Mar. 11, 1963, Box 10; all in HMMP.

<sup>164</sup> “Bell Plans Anti Smut Ordinance,” *Fresno Bee*, April 22, 1965.

<sup>165</sup> “Librarian’s Stand,” *Fresno Bee*, July 30, 1963; “Censorship Foe Will Talk to Librarians,” *Fresno Bee*, April 23, 1965; “Censorship Book Selection Will Be Topic,” *Fresno Bee*, October 17, 1965; *California State University, Fresno Library Annual Report 1949/50-1962/63* and *California State University, Fresno Library Annual Report 1963/64-1975/76*, Box 2, HMLC.

<sup>166</sup> HMM to John Donaldson, Mar. 27, 1974, Box 12, HMMP.

<sup>167</sup> HMM to Josef Stummvoll, Mar. 28, 1957, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>168</sup> HMM to Bill Shanahan, Mar. 5, 1957, Box 9, HMMP.

Yet Madden did not display the same concerns about Nazi Germany in the 1930s, even when confronted by one of his correspondents about his support of a dictatorship that threw books into bonfires. In 1937, when Madden was in Hungary, a friend had written to him sarcastically, “Did you burn books in Budapest too? By the way, Henry, they might burn your Ph.D.”<sup>169</sup> The archival record does not contain Madden’s response to this jab. Madden, to be fair, did write somewhat negatively about the Nazis’ crackdown on civil liberties and intellectual freedom as a Stanford lecturer in the late 1930s and early 1940s. But these critiques were tepid, especially when compared to his strident opposition to censorship in the postwar era. If Madden ever wrestled with his mid-1930s embrace of a book-burning regime later in his life, the surviving letters, speeches, and publications do not contain his thoughts on the matter. Or perhaps he was unbothered by the issue—being mildly critical of the Nazis’ blows to intellectual freedom while at Stanford may have been enough for him. Regardless, the contradiction is noteworthy, particularly since Madden’s anti-censorship work is often cited as among his most important professional legacies. Indeed, some of the supporters of the campaign to name the Fresno State library after Madden specifically highlighted his efforts on this front.<sup>170</sup>

### **Madden’s Later Views on Race**

The civil rights struggles of people of color never animated Madden in the way that the civil liberties fight did, but the record indicates that he was generally sympathetic toward them. Even during World War II, Madden had condemned the internment of Japanese Americans. “It makes me sick,” he wrote Shanahan in April 1942.<sup>171</sup> After the war, several colleagues at southern universities complained to Madden about the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, about the all-encompassing nature of Jim Crow, and about white segregationists who resisted calls for change.<sup>172</sup> To one living in South Carolina, Madden apparently sent a story from a newspaper in the spring of 1956, just as Massive Resistance gained momentum in the state. “You don’t have to

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<sup>169</sup> Lewis Bissell Magee to HMM, Feb. 6, 1937, Box 5, HMMP.

<sup>170</sup> Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022; Shirley Armbruster, “An FSU ‘Institution’ College Librarian Retiring After 30 Years,” *Fresno Bee*, Aug. 17, 1979, p. B6; Henry Miller Madden, Plaque, Henry Madden Library, Feb. 1991.

<sup>171</sup> HMM to Bill Shanahan, Apr. 4, 1942, Box 6, HMMP.

<sup>172</sup> Howard Quint to HMM, Apr. 26, 1949, Box 7; Jim Cart to HMM, Sept. 25, 1949, Box 7; Howard Quint to HMM, Dec. 3, 1955, Box 8, all in HMMP.

send me clippings on how bad S.C. is,” his friend responded. “I am, unfortunately, quite aware of its deficiencies, which are, of course, legion.”<sup>173</sup> In 1975, Madden gave an update on life in the U.S. to a friend in Denmark: “And now, at the end of 1975, Nixon is a memory, Agnew is a memory, and Reagan is a memory. Can you now think well of us? Cesar Chavez is busy organizing his Mexican farm workers and everything looks rosy. We really aren’t bad people.”<sup>174</sup>

But this support did not mean he harbored no racial prejudices. On the contrary, Madden’s postwar correspondence is peppered with derogatory remarks about people of color. As in the 1930s, the most offensive of these comments were generally sent to individuals Madden knew would share his prejudices. To one friend, Madden called Mexicans “wet-backs.”<sup>175</sup> To another, he complained of having been rear-ended by a “half drunk Mexican,” and to still another of having been rear-ended by a “Schwarzer” [a derogatory term for a Black person].<sup>176</sup> (Madden was also once rear-ended by a person he described as an “unemployed Okie,” suggesting a degree of animus for poor whites as well.)<sup>177</sup> He characterized the inhabitants of Southern California using the Hungarian term “büdös,” or stinky/smelly, and in various letters, Madden used the slurs “nigguh,” “Nips,” and “Jap.”<sup>178</sup> Madden used the last slur in a letter to his good friend and bookseller Margaret Sowers in 1976. Reporting on the memorial service of a deceased Fresno State professor he said that one of the speakers was “a Jap [who] praised him.”<sup>179</sup> Sowers scolded Madden: “Painful as it is, I must reproach you for referring to one of the cast as a Jap. Can’t have that, especially as it probably referred to my good friend, Fred Hirasuna, one of FSC’s best products academically and otherwise.”<sup>180</sup> Madden dismissed her criticism, arguing that his use of the term “was intended not to be pejorative, but to add a comic note to the

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<sup>173</sup> Howard Quint to HMM, May 12, 1956, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>174</sup> HMM to Allen Wentzel Jensen, Dec. 31, 1975, Box 12, HMMP.

<sup>175</sup> HMM to Calvin Hathaway, July 25, 1952, Box 8, HMMP.

<sup>176</sup> HMM to Henry Evans, June 6, 1969, Box 11; HMM to George Piternick, July 2, 1980, Box 13, both in HMMP.

<sup>177</sup> HMM to George Piternick, Nov. 8, 1968, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>178</sup> HMM to John Lukács, Feb. 18, 1982; HMM to Tom Kirwan, Sept. 8, 1975, Box 12; HMM to Richard Dillon, Oct. 8, 1979, Box 13, all in HMMP.

<sup>179</sup> HMM to Margaret S. Sowers, Aug. 30, 1976, Box 12, HMMP.

<sup>180</sup> Margaret S. Sowers to HMM, Sept. 5, 1976, Box 12, HMMP.



lugubrious details.”<sup>181</sup> Similarly, in 1981, Madden referred derisively to “the disgraceful soul yammering of that black woman” during President Ronald Reagan’s inauguration, by which he seemingly meant a rendition of the national anthem by Black singer Juanita Booker.<sup>182</sup>

These views also demonstrably informed his professional work as a librarian. In 1958, Madden described his hiring challenges to a fellow librarian this way: “Apparently the only applicants I can stir up are middle-aged Chinamen who speak rudimentary English, a Persian lady, a Seventh-Day Adventist Hungarian lady, two Koreans, and other freaks. I don’t know what the world’s coming to.”<sup>183</sup> Ten years later, he complained of a Chinese-American who had been hired as a cataloguer but then decided not to take the job. “Henceforth,” he wrote, “any applicant [*sic*] from a Chinaman or a China woman will go automatically in the wastebasket, along with those who were formerly elementary school teachers.”<sup>184</sup> There were, in fact, several librarians on the staff with Chinese surnames during these years, and librarians who worked with Madden also recalled a more diverse staff than this statement may suggest.<sup>185</sup> But by his own account these prejudices did impact his hiring practices. To a Berkeley colleague, Madden confessed in 1970 that “[a] large number of the applicants are Taiwanese, Hong-Kongers, and Hindus, generally from third- and second-rate schools, all of whom seemed to have learned the gospel that if you can’t succeed at something else, try librarianship. I have learned enough by experience to avoid favorable action on such applicants, so they don’t get much ‘consideration.’”<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> HMM to Margaret S. Sowers, Sept. 10, 1976, Box 12, HMMP.

<sup>182</sup> HMM to Robert W. Wadsworth, Feb. 3, 1981, Box 13, HMMP. Juanita Booker appears to have been the only Black performer at Reagan’s first inauguration: JCCIC, “49<sup>th</sup> Inaugural Ceremonies,” available online: <https://www.inaugural.senate.gov/49th-inaugural-ceremonies/>.

<sup>183</sup> HMM to Robert W. Wadsworth, May 14, 1958, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>184</sup> HMM to George Piternick, June 25, 1968, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>185</sup> Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1966-67; Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1967-68; Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1968-69, all in Box 3, HMLC; Sandy Gothe, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 2, 2022; Colleen Mitchell, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 23, 2022.

<sup>186</sup> HMM to J. C. Meredith, Apr. 13, 1970, Box 11, HMMP.

A campus incident in the late 1960s also revealed Madden's prejudices. African American and Mexican American students during these years demanded a range of changes at the predominantly white university, including more resources for the newly established Black Studies and La Raza Programs.<sup>187</sup> Madden viewed their growing outspokenness with trepidation, fearing their "contumacious sentiment" would result in retaliation from Governor Reagan and the Republican-controlled legislature in the form of budget cuts.<sup>188</sup> Yet Madden's apprehension was rooted in more than just fiscal concerns, which became clear when he landed in the crosshairs of La Raza student activists during the 1968-69 academic year. In July 1968, several members of the Mexican-American Student Confederation met with Madden to share a set of demands to diversify the library's holdings.<sup>189</sup> Madden rejected one of their requests—to set aside a room dedicated to housing works on Chicano history and culture and by Chicano authors—noting that a library "is founded on the principle of integration and that materials are housed where sound principles of library administration require them to be housed."<sup>190</sup> But he did agree to order more Chicano books and periodicals, which, the students later said, were too slow to arrive.<sup>191</sup> Madden also promised to produce a bibliography of all of the existing works related to Chicanos and African Americans held by the library, and while the records show that his staff worked "feverishly" on the list, as he put it, it did not meet the January 20, 1969, deadline set by students.<sup>192</sup> At some point Madden did hire a bibliographer who specialized in Mexican-American and Afro-American literature to begin the following academic year.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Kenneth A. Seib, *The Slow Death of Fresno State: A California Campus under Reagan and Brown* (Palo Alto, CA: Ramparts Press, 1979); Zacarías González III, "'Estudiantes Revoltosos': The Struggle for La Raza Studies at Fresno State College," (master's thesis, California State University, Fresno, 2020).

<sup>188</sup> HMM to Henry J. McFarland, Jan. 17, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>189</sup> González, "'Estudiantes Revoltosos,'" 33-34.

<sup>190</sup> HMM to Frederic Ness, Mar. 22, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>191</sup> Phyllis Martin, "Chicanos Demand La Raza Book Section," *Daily Collegian*, Dec. 5, 1968; Guillermo Martinez to the Editor, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 18, 1969; Bev Kennedy "Library Action on Chicano Demands to be Reviewed," *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 24, 1969; HMM to Barbara I. Wynn, June 30, 1969, Box 11, HMMP; Colleen Mitchell, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 23, 2022.

<sup>192</sup> Kennedy, "Library Action on Chicano Demands to be Reviewed"; HMM to George Piternick, Jan. 21, 1969, Box 11, HMMP; Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1968-69, p. 24, Box 3, HMLC.

<sup>193</sup> Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1968-69, p. 24, Box 3, HMLC.

Frustrated by what they saw as foot-dragging, the students took matters into their own hands. On March 20, 1969, a dozen Chicano students engaged in peaceful civil disobedience, checking out a large number of books and then immediately returning them. They also moved books from their appropriate spot on the shelves to other locations. The goal, it seems, was to disrupt library operations and thus draw attention to their demands. Library staff who were present noted that the students “were very peaceful and said very little.”<sup>194</sup> The Dean of Students quickly called a meeting between Madden, the students, and several other administrators to facilitate a solution, at which the students indicated they would settle for a separate section of Chicano materials rather than a room. The administrators agreed to this proposal. Madden begrudgingly accepted it, but quickly recanted on the agreement. As he wrote to President Frederic Ness on March 22, he had felt bullied into doing so, and now “policies of the gravest import... [had been] adopted at an impromptu meeting within twenty hours of the commission of acts of vandalism and harassment.”<sup>195</sup> As even his own staff had noted, of course, the students had done no such thing. Regardless, Madden now claimed he saw that his position was “morally, intellectually, and academically wrong.”<sup>196</sup> He offered to resign as head librarian and asked President Ness to reassign him to the teaching faculty.

Madden again reconsidered his position and his resignation a few days later after colleagues indicated that they supported his views.<sup>197</sup> Several senior staff members told President Ness in their own letter that did not think that library policies should change in reaction to a crisis. They also agreed with Madden that creating a separate section for Chicano materials was an ill-conceived plan. For one, it was redundant, since books were already organized by subject. For another, it might prompt similar requests for “a library within a library.”<sup>198</sup> The library did not designate a new section.<sup>199</sup> Madden, in the end, stayed on the job, though in the short term he

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<sup>194</sup> González, ““Estudiantes Revoltosos,”” 34; Kennedy, “Library Action on Chicano Demands to be Reviewed.”

<sup>195</sup> HMM to Frederic Ness, Mar. 22, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>196</sup> HMM to Frederic Ness, Mar. 22, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>197</sup> HMM to Frederic Ness, [ca. Mar. 24 1969], Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>198</sup> Fresno State College Library Staff to President Frederick Ness, Apr. 2, 1969, Box 2, HMLC; Sandy Gothe, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 2, 2022.

<sup>199</sup> “Librarian Calls Book Collection Unfeasible,” unidentified newspaper clipping, Oct. 1, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

escaped to calmer environs. On March 31, he left for a scheduled book-buying trip to Europe.<sup>200</sup> From there he wrote to Associate College Librarian Lillie Parker, who was overseeing the library in his absence: “I can’t remember when I last thought of Mexicans and other unpleasant subjects. I hope they are bothering you no more than they bother me.”<sup>201</sup> After acting Fresno State president Karl Falk eliminated the La Raza Program in the fall of 1970, citing a lack of competent faculty, Madden sounded resigned.<sup>202</sup> “I am myself no strong partisan of all this Chichano [*sic*] nonsense,” he told a professor in the English Department, “but if the brown students want it, I suppose they should have it. I am both weary and tired.”<sup>203</sup> One month later, Madden bemoaned the awarding of library work study jobs to “the black and brown favorites” of Work Study Office staff.<sup>204</sup>

Madden was also not sympathetic to students interested in Black Studies courses. In a 1969 letter to the editor of the *College and Research Libraries News*, the official publication of the Association of College and Research Libraries, Madden openly and scornfully criticized “the fatuity of the ‘soul’ courses now demanded by our Negro students.”<sup>205</sup> Madden’s legacy as the University Librarian, in sum, is more mixed than many have realized. His racism contributed to a campus climate that was hostile to students of color and affected the employment prospects of both students and staff alike.

## Postwar Antisemitism and Nazi References

Madden’s troubling record of maligning people of color during his decades at Fresno State raises the question of whether the antisemitic beliefs and pro-Nazi sympathies that were so prominent in his mid-1930s correspondence reemerged after the war. The archival record makes it clear that Madden’s affinity for German history and culture remained as strong as ever. Before his death in

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<sup>200</sup> Annual Report of the College Librarian for the Fiscal Year 1968-69, p. 10, Box 3, HMLC.

<sup>201</sup> HMM to Lillie Parker, Apr. 14, 1969, Box 3, HMMP.

<sup>202</sup> “La Raza Studies Program Reinstated,” *Daily Collegian*, Dec. 15, 1970.

<sup>203</sup> HMM to Stanley Poss, Oct. 9, 1970, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>204</sup> HMM to Vernon Brewer, Nov. 9, 1970, Box 11, HMMP.

<sup>205</sup> HMM to Editor, *College & Research Libraries News* (Cornell Univ. Libraries), May 16, 1969, Box 11, HMMP.

1982 he traveled to West Germany on numerous occasions and East Germany at least once. To an acquaintance going to West Germany for the first time, Madden wrote that he hoped he would “return as a young man who understands both the cultures of our own country and that of our German friends.”<sup>206</sup> In Fresno, Madden’s Germanophilia manifested itself most conspicuously in his car preferences: he owned several Volkswagens and Porsches over the years. The license plate on Madden’s light-yellow Porsche read “GOTT,” German for “God,” a nod to his sense of his own authority, not to any religious conviction.<sup>207</sup>

During these decades, Madden’s references to Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime continued to be few and far between, both in private (as had been the case since he returned to Stanford) and in public. His professional experiences as a librarian and American politics came up far more frequently in his correspondence and talks. Of course, the new geopolitical reality occasioned by the Allied victory in World War II—Nazi defeat—offered fewer occasions to talk about Hitler or National Socialism. So, too, did the fact that Madden was no longer teaching European history, as he had at Stanford. In addition, Martha Ann Madden died in 1957, bringing an end to the lengthy mother-son correspondence that had so often revealed the antisemitism of both.

Of the few extant references Madden did make to Hitler or the Nazi regime, some do not provide insight into his thinking about Hitler or Nazism.<sup>208</sup> Other references were moderately critical. In a 1961 letter to a friend, for example, he juxtaposed the “illustrious” Franklin D. Roosevelt with the “infamous” Adolf Hitler.<sup>209</sup> Similarly, a 1980 *Fresno Bee* editorial that compared the head of the Civilian Conservation Corps in California, a man named C.T. Collins, to Adolf Hitler,

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<sup>206</sup> HMM to “Paul”, July 3, 1980, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>207</sup> RB to HMM, n.d., Box 12, HMMP; Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, February 5, 2022; George Hostetter, “Henry Madden Loves His Books and His Porsche,” *Insight*, Sept. 20, 1978.

<sup>208</sup> In 1952, for example, Madden wrote to the Cambridge historian F.H. Hinsley about his book *Hitler’s Strategy* (1951). Based largely on naval records, which may account for Madden’s interest, Hinsley’s book was considered a standard history at the time and, absent more commentary by Madden, his reading of it does not tell us how Madden viewed Hitler or Nazism in 1952. This letter was also characteristic of Madden’s style. He complimented Hinsley (in this case, he called his use of evidence “impressive and satisfying”) and then pointed out a factual error (in this case, one related to Russia’s territorial ambitions). HMM to F.H. Hinsley, Jan. 7, 1952, Box 8, HMMP. See also HMM to Hugh Baker, Aug. 21, 1951, Box 8; Hugh Baker to FMM, Aug. 27, 1951, Box 8; The John C. Winston Co., “Advance Information on Winston’s Newest Book,” Box 9; HMM to Martha Ann Madden, Mar. 21, 1948, Box 7, all in HMMP.

<sup>209</sup> HMM to “Richard”, Jan. 30, 1961, Box 10, HMMP.

prompted another negative quip about Hitler. Collins had apparently earned the nickname for being a tough but competent leader who had rescued the agency from mismanagement. California governor Jerry Brown had recently been photographed with him, since, the paper remarked, “[a]ny time you can get your picture taken with Adolph Hitler, it’s a political plus.” Madden shot back in a letter to his friend Tom Kirwan, associate editor of the paper: “It may have been a political plus for Benito Mussolini or Vidkun Quisling to have been photographed with Adolf Hitler, but aside from them I can’t think of anyone eager to be photographed with Der Führer. Of late I notice a tendency in the Bee to excessive cuteness, especially in headlines. But this isn’t cute, it’s simply senseless.”<sup>210</sup>

Madden’s use of the title “Der Führer”—a term that on its face implies respect—is notable. Given the sarcastic tone of this letter, however, it is difficult to determine whether Madden meant it this way. Regardless, he apparently was not bothered by employing other Nazi expressions like “Sieg Heil,” which he used twice in correspondence in these later decades. In one example, Madden’s friend Robert Arndal wrote in the fall of 1959 to let him know he had just purchased a 1957 Mercedes-Benz sedan. Madden responded enthusiastically: “Dear Bob, Sieg heil! You got good sense. Your next duty will be to visit the great Mercedes-Benz factory at Stuttgart [*sic*] to see where the noble car you now own was made. We look forward to seeing you in Fresno...With all good wishes.”<sup>211</sup> Madden also used the salute in a 1976 letter to a San Francisco librarian in which he complained about some errors in the *New Columbia Encyclopedia*. “Several polite letters I sent to the editors, pointing out errors, elicited no reply,” Madden griped, “Typical New York courtesy. I’m almost ashamed to acknowledge that my degree is from the sponsor. Sieg Heil! Henry Madden.”<sup>212</sup> Even if Madden now felt Hitler was beyond the pale, in other words, he had no misgivings about using what was an inherently antisemitic phrase.

Indeed, Madden’s antisemitism persisted during his time at Fresno State. In correspondence with Jewish acquaintances, for example, he occasionally made jokes about Judaism. Madden signed

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<sup>210</sup> HMM to Tom Kirwan, Apr. 23 1980, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>211</sup> HMM to Robert Arndal, Sept. 25, 1959, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>212</sup> HMM to Richard Dillon, Oct. 29, 1976, Box 12, HMMP.



off a 1955 letter to a Jewish friend with the salutation “Yours philjudaically.”<sup>213</sup> Such jocularity rested uneasily on the precipice of antisemitism and he could easily slip over into overt expressions of it. Knowing that Madden had experience with buying cars in Europe and then shipping them back to the U.S., the same friend asked for advice on this issue in 1960. “[Y]ou should bargain with the line,” Madden replied, “and jew [*sic*] them down (excuse the phrase) to the regular freight rate for the car.”<sup>214</sup> Clearly, Madden understood his friend might find this language offensive, yet clearly this knowledge did not stop him from using it. Madden’s postwar antisemitism generally reflected this tendency to avoid the violent attitudes and fantasies of his 1930s letters in favor of casual antisemitism often couched in jocular phrasing that he could disavow as joking if needed.

Madden was comfortable expressing such sentiments with others as well. Among these was one of his most frequent correspondents after the war, Calvin Sutliff Hathaway, a “Monuments Man” who had recovered art looted by the Nazis and who shared his antisemitism. Madden had met Hathaway in London in 1943, just as Hathaway was beginning his tenure with the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Program.<sup>215</sup> Back in the U.S. after the war, Madden and Hathaway, who obtained a position at the Cooper Union Museum in New York City (now the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum), corresponded about Madden’s job hunt. In 1948, Hathaway urged Madden to consider a school like Hamilton College in upstate New York, a recommendation prompted by the fact that he had just heard about an art history opening there: “[A] refujew... resigned suddenly at the end of July because he’s having such a nice summer in California that he doesn’t want to return to Clinton.”<sup>216</sup> After Madden turned down the position at Hunter College in 1949, Hathaway lamented that he “had been counting on your being in New York next year and am most disappointed that you won’t be gracing Huntter [*sic*] with your Gentile

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<sup>213</sup> HMM to Joseph Rubinstein, Feb. 22, 1955, Box 8, HMMP. See also HMM to Josef Stummvoll, June 10, 1957, Box 9; HMM to Joseph Rubenstein, Oct. 1, 1963, Box 10; HMM to Joseph Rubinstein, Jan. 17, 1956, Box 9, all in HMMP.

<sup>214</sup> HMM to Joseph Rubinstein, Mar. 12 1960, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>215</sup> HMM to Mason Hammond, Feb. 19, 1975 (2 of 3), Box 12, HMMP;  
<https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/hathaway-capt-calvin-s>.

<sup>216</sup> Calvin Hathaway to HMM, Mar. 8, 1948, Box 7, HMMP.

presence.”<sup>217</sup> Several years later, Madden alerted Hathaway to the fact that he and his mother would be stopping in New York, which he still referred to as “New Jerusalem,” on their way to Vienna for Madden’s Fulbright year.<sup>218</sup> Madden asked for a hotel recommendation. “We would naturally prefer to spend our money in Vienna,” Madden stated, “but I suppose there is no way to outwit the Jehudis. I leave the selection of something discreet and not too exorbitant to you.”<sup>219</sup>

Similarly, in giving his friends and booksellers Roy and Margaret Sowers of Los Gatos advice on accommodations in England in the early 1950s, Madden asked, “Have you thought of staying at the Cumberland Hotel in London? Very israelite [*sic*], but very comfortable and reasonable.”<sup>220</sup> Madden also gave counsel to Josef Stummvoll, the director of the Austrian National Library, who he met during his Fulbright year and who had worked at the Reich Patent Office in Berlin from 1939 to 1945 before becoming a prisoner of war. Stummvoll wanted to know which U.S. college would best suit his daughter.<sup>221</sup> Madden recommended one of the Seven Sisters, but Stummvoll later informed him that she was enrolling at Brandeis. “As you know,” Madden replied to the former Nazi bureaucrat, “the atmosphere there is predominantly Jewish, but this will be a good experience.”<sup>222</sup> In a 1981 letter to Tom Kirwan at the *Fresno Bee*—to whom he had written the previous year objecting to the Collins/Hitler comparison—Madden was far more venomous in his appraisal of Daniel J. Boorstin, Librarian of the Library of Congress. Madden believed Boorstin was guilty of mismanagement and saw himself as a more competent administrator. “But I’m not a bow-tie wearing Chicago Jew,” Madden concluded, “so I take a back seat to this creature.”<sup>223</sup> The term “this creature” clearly highlights the depth of Madden’s animus.

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<sup>217</sup> Calvin S. Hathaway to HMM, July 16, 1949, Box 7, HMMP.

<sup>218</sup> HMM to Calvin Hathaway, Aug. 19, 1953, Box 8; HMM to Calvin Hathaway, July 25, 1955, Box 8, both in HMMP.

<sup>219</sup> HMM to Calvin Hathaway, Aug. 19, 1953, Box 8, HMMP.

<sup>220</sup> HMM to Margaret S. Sowers, Aug. 14, 1951, Box 8, HMMP.

<sup>221</sup> HMM to Josef Stummvoll, July 9, 1959, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>222</sup> HMM to Josef Stummvoll, July 9, 1959, Box 9, HMMP.

<sup>223</sup> HMM to Tom Kirwan, Jan. 16, 1981, Box 13, HMMP.

In sum, Madden's antisemitism was consistent from the time he returned to the United States after his IRO work until near the end of his life. It is true that his antisemitic remarks during these years were neither as virulent nor as numerous as they had been in the mid-1930s. Yet it is also true that this was a change of degree, not of kind, and it did not constitute a mea culpa for his previous remarks. In fact, the extant archival record does not reveal any evidence that Madden took responsibility for, or expressed regret over, either his earlier, more venomous expressions of antisemitism or those of the postwar years. The same pattern applies to his pro-Nazi statements. There is no conclusive evidence that he continued to harbor pro-Hitler or pro-Nazi sympathies after 1937, though the private expressions of support for the German army in its war against Britain and France as late as 1941 suggest that he may still have. Madden even seems to have recognized that Hitler was a historical figure who deserved condemnation. Still, he never honestly reckoned with his one-time support of Hitler or the Nazi regime. And the archival record does not contain any statements of regret about his pro-Hitler views, any condemnation of the Third Reich's crimes, or any expressions of sympathy for the victims of Nazism.

Instead, when Madden did reference those earlier years, he tended to ignore or misrepresent his past beliefs. His Stanford lectures are one testament to this. Another example can be found in a misleading statement he made to a Fresno State journalism student in September 1978. As he looked back on his time in Budapest in 1936-37 in an interview for the student newspaper *Insight*, Madden suggested that the situation in Europe was not as dire as hindsight might suggest. "The war was several years away," he said, "but on the surface, things were smooth in Hungary. The big news there was not Hitler, but the abdication of Edward VIII."<sup>224</sup> Perhaps that statement accurately captured the state of mind in mid-1930s Hungary, but it did not reflect what mattered most to Madden while he lived overseas. On the contrary, his letters from that period paint the picture of a man who was far more interested in Hitler and in cheering the rise of the Nazi regime than one who was worried about the future of the British monarchy. As previously noted, Madden was also fully aware of the antisemitic violence taking place in Budapest in this period. He had witnessed it himself. Yet there is no record of him either reflecting on this aspect

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<sup>224</sup> George Hostetter, "Henry Madden Loves His Books and His Porsche," *Insight*, Sept. 20, 1978.

of his time in Hungary or on the Third Reich or expressing regret about his indifferent stance toward the events.

Madden had what would seem to have been a perfect occasion to take at least some responsibility for his Nazi cheerleading in a January 1979 lecture to Roxburghe Club in San Francisco. “I first visited Berlin in 1936,” he told his fellow members of the San Francisco bibliophilic society, “when you know who was at the height of his local popularity.” After invoking Hitler and his popularity, Madden stated that this trip to Berlin—and a second he took in 1945-46—“taught me one invaluable lesson:” “Never prophesy.” Looking back four decades later, on the cusp of his retirement as University Librarian, Madden expressed regret that he had misjudged Nazi militarism as just “a bluff,” erroneously concluding that “there would be no war.”<sup>225</sup> What Madden failed to say was that he, too, had fallen under Hitler’s spell and, as a result, had overlooked the brutality that lay at the heart of the Nazi dictatorship. In the end, Madden appears not to have learned this equally invaluable lesson from his first trip to Berlin—or at least if he had, he was not willing to say so in public. He also never acknowledged the pain, suffering, and destruction the Jewish population suffered.

Upon his retirement later that year, Madden began sorting through what he described as his “voluminous” collection of personal papers and memorabilia with an eye toward donating them to an archive.<sup>226</sup> More than any speech or interview he gave, this years-long project provided Madden ample opportunity to reflect upon—and express remorse for—his problematic views. He spent hours every morning organizing the collection. “You may imagine the size of the job,” he wrote to one friend in 1980, “if I say that every letter I wrote home during the war (1942-46) is preserved, every letter from Columbia (1934-36) and Budapest (1936-37), etc., etc.”<sup>227</sup> Madden did not, however, simply sort his papers—he read them and personally curated the collection. To several friends, he shared details of their earlier correspondence.<sup>228</sup> To others, he described

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<sup>225</sup> HMM, “An American Bibliographer in Berlin,” Roxburghe Club, Jan. 16, 1979, Box 21, HMMP.

<sup>226</sup> HMM to George Piternick, July 2, 1980, Box 13; HMM to Arnold and Maria Tamm, July 14, 1980, Box 13; HMM to Edwin Coman, July 24 1980, Box 13, all in HMMP.

<sup>227</sup> HMM to Gerhard Hofer, Apr. 28, 1980, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>228</sup> HMM to Edwin Coman, July 24, 1980, Box 13; HMM to Dr. Schütz Ödön tanár úrnak, July 25, 1980, Box 13, both in HMMP.

notable items he had run across. He wrote to the University Librarian at San Diego State University and divulged the following: “I turned up samples of the stationary used by Hitler and Goebbels, a book plate of Goering’s, my Bronze Star medal, a little silver loving cup I won in a beautiful baby competition in 1915, and other choice goodies. It’s fun!”<sup>229</sup> Though the extant evidence does not indicate if Madden managed to organize all his papers before his death in August 1982, by that January he was “near the end of sorting,” in his words, and had successfully catalogued his items dating through 1975, at the very least.<sup>230</sup>

As a historian and a librarian, Madden knew better than anyone that future researchers would see the letters, photos, and memorabilia he had saved. He died fully aware of the contents of his personal papers, in other words, and yet this knowledge did not inspire self-reflection about earlier Nazi sympathies, his antisemitism, his racist remarks, or hiring practices. Had he felt uncomfortable with anything, he could have said so—he could have written a repudiation of his views, or an apology, or both, and placed the document(s) in his collection. Or he could have done what many individuals have done before making their papers public—he could have destroyed the incriminating documents. Yet Madden did none of these things. The evidence suggests that these documents were simply too meaningful for him to part with.

Months before his death in 1982—in one last revealing act—Henry Madden wrote a letter to John Lukács, a historian at La Salle College in Philadelphia and author of *The Last European War* (1976). Lukács had recently published an article about Romania’s Transylvania region in the *New Republic*, which Madden deemed “excellent.”<sup>231</sup> The article inspired Madden to dig out a copy of a diary by a nineteenth-century English traveler who married into the Hungarian gentry and lived in Transylvania. Madden had published selections from the diary as a graduate student and sent a copy of the resulting article along with his letter, hoping that Lukács might find it useful.<sup>232</sup> The first part of the letter was typical of Madden—he often took advantage of

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<sup>229</sup> HMM to Louis A. Kenney, Apr. 16, 1980, Box 13; HMM to George Piternick, July 2, 1980, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>230</sup> HMM to Joyce Stacpoole, Jan. 29, 1982, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>231</sup> HMM to John Lukács, Feb. 18, 1982, Box 13, HMMP.

<sup>232</sup> HMM, “The Diary of John Paget, 1849,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 19, no. 53/54 (1939): 237–64.

opportunities to show off his own research and knowledge when he corresponded with others about theirs.

The second paragraph of Madden's letter is worth quoting in full:

As a sidelight on the subject, I should say that I was a Resettlement Officer with the International Refugee Organization in Linz in 1948-49. My driver was a young Saxon from Hermannstadt [in Transylvania], recently married, and probably a member of the SS during the war. As a 'Volksdeutscher' he was ineligible for IRO benefits, so I sponsored his immigration to the United States. He and his wife arrived penniless in San Francisco on 1 January 1950. Today, in his mid-fifties, he is retired—the owner of a large walnut orchard, warehouses, and apartment houses—and appreciative of his good fortune.<sup>233</sup>

The revelation that Madden helped a man he suspected of being in the SS is shocking, particularly in an unsolicited letter to a stranger. It appears to have been prompted by the fact that Lukács spent several paragraphs discussing the Saxon minority in Transylvania. The revelation is even more shocking given that Lukács criticized Transylvania's Saxons as "the proudest followers of the Führer" and explicitly condemned Romania's embrace of Nazi Germany in 1940 after the fall of France. "[T]he Rumanians turned pro-German more quickly, and more shamelessly, than any other state and people in Europe," Lukács continued. "Well before the Third Reich demanded compliance with 'the final solution,' the Rumanian Iron Guard hanged elderly Jews on butcher-hooks in the side streets of Bucharest."<sup>234</sup> Lukács, in other words, was hardly approving of Hitler, of Nazism, or of the murder of Jews. Indeed, by the early 1980s, he was well known for his scathing criticisms of the writer David Irving for harboring neo-Nazi sympathies. As Lukács wrote in a review of Irving's "appalling" *Hitler's War* (1977), Irving hoped to rehabilitate Hitler. "Unlike Irving, and perhaps others of his persuasion" Lukács stated, "I do not regret that the Third Reich lost the war."<sup>235</sup> Then there was Lukács's own personal history. Though Catholic, Lukács had been born to a Jewish mother in Budapest in 1924 and had

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<sup>233</sup> HMM to John Lukács, Feb. 18, 1982, Box 13, HMMP. See also "CV Man, Mom Reunited," unidentified newspaper clipping [Hayward, CA], Oct. 29, 1961, Box 26, HMMP.

<sup>234</sup> John Lukács, "In Darkest Transylvania," *New Republic*, Feb. 3, 1982, p. 18.

<sup>235</sup> John Lukács, "Caveat Lector," *National Review*, Aug. 19, 1977, pp. 946, 950.



been forced to work in a Nazi labor battalion in his native Hungary during the war before escaping in 1944.<sup>236</sup>

It is unclear whether Madden was aware of Lukács's wartime experiences. As an avid reader of European history, he likely was familiar with Lukács's scholarship, and he certainly knew what Lukács had written about Hitler and Nazism in the *New Republic*—his article had inspired Madden to reach out. And yet Madden decided to share with him the story of having aided a suspected SS member immigrate to the U.S. as casually as he might have shared the weather report. Madden, oddly, assumed Lukács would not find his revelation problematic, and he obviously did not see it that way himself. Madden's admission did not come from place of remorse; rather, it was motivated by a desire to draw a connection between his own personal experiences and the research interests of a fellow historian while ignoring the very point that historian had made—that Transylvania's Saxons should be judged for their support of Hitler. The most direct evidence that we have of Madden aiding former Nazis, this letter tells us a great deal: Madden thought he had helped a soldier who served the Nazi regime achieve the American Dream, and he had no regrets.

Henry Madden died seven months later, on August 27, 1982.

## Community Impact

In recent years, hundreds of communities and institutions across the country have altered their commemorative landscapes. They have removed statues and memorials and renamed buildings and public spaces that honored individuals who espoused offensive beliefs or represented odious causes. Those who have opposed these efforts have generally deployed two criticisms.

The first charge is that the decision to remove a statue or rename a building “erases history.” But memorialization is only partly about the past; it is just as much, if not more, about the present and future. At its core, the commemoration of an individual is an expression of values. By memorializing someone, an institution claims the values that individual embodied as integral to

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<sup>236</sup> Sam Roberts, Iconoclast Scholar of History, Dies at 95,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2019.

its own mission. In naming the library for Henry Madden in 1980, Fresno State sought to highlight the centrality of the pursuit of knowledge, unencumbered by censorship, to its mission as a university. As this report has demonstrated, however, the university and Board of Trustees acted on an incomplete picture of who Madden was and of the values that mattered to him. Madden did build the library's collection and defend intellectual freedom, as his colleagues insisted in their campaign to have the library named for him. But he was also an unapologetic Nazi sympathizer, for at least a portion of his life, if not longer, and a lifelong antisemite. There is no evidence that he ever apologized for or renounced these beliefs. There is also no evidence that he ever expressed regret for his views or sympathy for the victims of Nazi tyranny. Madden harbored prejudices against other groups as well, as this report has revealed.

Further, even after the defeat of Nazi Germany, he continued to express disdain for Jewish Holocaust victims during his time as a refugee resettlement officer in postwar Austria. By this time, the Nazi death camps and concentration camps had been liberated by the Allies and the regime's war crimes had been exposed to the world. American journalist Edward R. Murrow, for instance, had recorded his first-hand account of the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 15, 1945. Newspapers, magazines, and radio were replete with vivid accounts of what Allied soldiers had encountered finding these camps for months. The Nuremberg Trials had subsequently exposed the depth and nature of Nazi crimes against humanity from 1945-49, resulting in 24 death sentences. Madden would have known about these crimes, particularly as a self-proclaimed expert on European history and as a U.S. Navy Reserve officer. Yet he still refused to empathize with the Jewish victims of Nazi crimes, instead heaping scorn and antisemitic tropes on them in private. The Research and Writing Subcommittee additionally found no evidence that he ever expressed empathy for victims of the Holocaust in writing. It is especially disturbing that he never expressed regret or sympathy given that Madden was a well-read librarian and bibliographer with access to more information than the average American. He was also a direct witness to some of this history during his travels in Germany and Central Europe at a key moment in history.

The claim that the renaming of a building erases history fails on another score as well. Removing a person's name from building does not prohibit an understanding of that person's life. It does

not cut off access to information about the individual. In this case, anyone wishing to learn about the history of Henry Madden can easily consult his papers in the Special Collections Research Center at the library. Indeed, the process of studying Madden's past for the purposes of this report has only increased our understanding of who he was. Fresno State and the broader community now have a richer and more accurate history of Madden than they did in 1980.

The second criticism of commemorative re-assessments is that they rely on contemporary standards to unfairly judge the past. This objection rarely if ever holds water, and in this case it certainly does not. Henry Madden's pro-Nazi sympathies and antisemitism were denounced at the time he espoused them, at the time the library was named in his honor, and, of course, they continue to be denounced today. Public opinion polling, including the data cited in this report, clearly demonstrates that Madden's views would have been seen as appalling by a vast majority of Americans both at the time and since, had they been publicly known. What's more, Madden himself was aware that his views would have been objectionable to most Americans. It is telling that he appears to have always maintained a sharp divide between expressing his views in private, to those he knew shared them, and his public persona. As we have seen, he read widely and was well-informed about current events. Throughout his life, numerous friends and acquaintances challenged his racial and ethnic biases, often leveling harsh challenges and criticisms. To ignore this reality, to dismiss these dissenting voices—particularly the dissenting voices of those who were Jewish—would, in fact, be an attempt to erase history. Finally, in thinking about this particular objection—that renaming the library is a capitulation to modern values—it is useful to pose a counterfactual question: Would the library have been named for Madden if his Nazi sympathies, antisemitism, and other problematic words and actions had been known in 1980? It is hard to imagine that it would have.

When Henry Madden died in 1982, his papers were sealed for 25 years as a condition of his gift to the university. The library had been named for him two years earlier, so there was effectively no way for the Fresno State community, the Board of Trustees, or the community members and political figures who wrote letters in support of the decision to know the depth and extent of his antisemitic, Nazi sympathizing, and otherwise racist views. None of the librarians who worked with Madden and who were interviewed for this report were aware of any of the repugnant views

he shared so freely with friends from his young adulthood until his death. They all stated that they were shocked when, in November 2021, the media first reported the revelation that Madden had been antisemitic and a pro-Nazi sympathizer.<sup>237</sup> Yet his private papers make it clear that throughout his life he not only harbored prejudicial views, but that they directly impacted his job performance and decision-making as a Fresno State administrator. The decision to name the library was therefore undertaken with only a partial understanding of the man it would honor. As he had throughout his life, Madden effectively insulated his private views from the world's scrutiny. We can only speculate as to how those letter writers would have viewed him had they been able to read the personal correspondence now available to the public.

This report has exposed Madden's views, their demonstrable impact on his career as a university administrator, and the continuing impact his legacy has on the community. The Fresno State community, Board of Trustees, and the world now have the opportunity to reevaluate this honor in light of the complete body of evidence. This is not erasing history – it is letting a fuller understanding of history guide the decision of who is worthy of honoring on a diverse, tolerant, and inclusive university campus.

## Student Comments

*Madison Eaton, Fresno State history major and researcher for Madden Task Force report*

After much consideration and reflection, I think Henry Madden's name should be removed from the library. His antisemitic remarks from his college days were already shocking and disgusting, but as I made my way through his collection and saw the full scope of his attitudes and ideas I could not help but feel utter disappointment that his prejudice remained and even expanded to other marginalized groups. Madden prided himself on being a champion of intellectual freedom and integrity, but his practices as librarian suggest his ideas were rooted in elitism and prejudice. It saddens me to think that Madden's ideas might have extended to actions that were meant to

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<sup>237</sup> Christy V. Hicks, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 5, 2022; Sue Haffner, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 4, 2022; Stephanie Hillman, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Feb. 16, 2022; Sandy Gothe, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 2, 2022; Colleen Mitchell, telephone interview by Blain Roberts, Mar. 23, 2022.

exclude certain groups from being a part of our campus community. Our campus and community deserve representation that is more inclusive of the diversity of our small but proud university.

*Jovana Gutierrez Camacho, Fresno State history major and researcher for Madden Task Force report*

Before being part of the Henry Miller Madden research team, I initially thought that Madden was no more than an antisemitic person. After researching and learning from his collection I realized that Madden was still not admirable, but he did do things that contributed to society and especially our library. For example, he was against censorship, he was a very loved person, and his name carried respect. Despite his positive contributions, Madden was just like anyone else. I personally think that we need to stop naming things after people because not everyone is clean. Although the name should change, we should not sweep under the rug the mistake of putting Madden's name on the library. In fact, perhaps having his name was not a mistake but rather a lesson—a lesson that we need to be aware of representation, surroundings, and historical significance.

*Jakob Conrad, Fresno State history major and researcher for Madden Task Force report*

Going into this class, I was entirely unsure what to expect from it. I had been totally unaware what we would be doing until after we were told we would be involved with the investigation into Henry Madden. This has without a doubt been one of the most interesting and perhaps most important classes I have ever taken. Now more than ever people are held accountable for their views and Madden is no different. While I am unsure how I feel about renaming the library, I am sure that state is much better off knowing the type of person Madden really was and that now the choice is in the hands of people who understand the situation.

*Evaghn Smith, Fresno State history major and researcher for Madden Task Force report*

The report of Henry Miller Madden seems accurate in its portrayal of his character. Madden expressed “a violent and uncontrollable phobia” towards Jewish people and fantasized about killing people, which he would line up as targets and tear apart with explosive rounds of ammunition. Though much of the violence had dissipated later in his tenure, his hiring practices seemed to be affected by his prejudices while he was at Fresno State. Even as late as 1970, he spoke of not giving much “consideration” to applicants who were “Taiwanese, Hong-Kongers

and Hindus” for positions at Fresno State. Madden’s presentation of their education being “third- and second-rate” (as well as other derogatory statements) makes me agree with the report’s assessment about reevaluating his name on the library.

## **Jewish Community Comments**

*Rabbi Rick Winer, Temple Beth Israel, Fresno; Steve Negin, Past President, Temple Beth Israel, Fresno; Judith Reposo, Community Member*

Judaism is very much a religion and culture of intellectual and spiritual inquiry and we have long been known as the People of the Book. Books, along with prayer and action, took the place of the ancient Temple in Jerusalem as a central focus of our faith. From this perspective, the centrality of the library, a repository of knowledge and history, at the university stands in a position of utmost importance. With this in mind, seeing the name of someone who proudly carried such vile antisemitic and racist views emblazoned on the house of learning is an extreme anathema to us.

The Jewish community is not a monolith. The reactions to the revelations regarding the disturbing rhetoric throughout Henry Madden’s writings vary in the response we feel such material merits and, at the same, time the reactions share our horror at the extreme, hateful, vile antisemitic views Madden chose to record and preserve.

We have learned through written material that Madden’s views affected his hiring and collecting practices. It appears likely that his discriminatory perspective was reflected in who he chose to hire for work at the library as well as those to whom he did not extend employment offers. These biases contradict the Jewish values of fairness and justice as well as the values of Fresno State.

Antisemitism has stained humanity for centuries. While it saw an apex of activity during the years leading up to and during the Holocaust, it continues relatively unabated today. This unfortunate reality leads some members of the Jewish community to wish to downplay our role in any action regarding the name on the library. We harbor real concerns for the safety of the local Jewish community and publicity increases the size of the target on us. The urge to downplay Jewish connection to this affair appears to be a minority opinion in the local Jewish community.



Members of the Jewish community also wish to lift up the other victims of Madden's hatred. His archival material clearly shows his vile attitude extended to a variety of racial and ethnic minority groups. Some of us believe in the necessity to mention all the victims of Madden's hatred because justice must be extended to all, some point out this concern in order to minimize the specific target on the Jewish community and some do so in a mixture of these concerns. Justice is a Jewish imperative and resolving this issue will reflect our concern for justice.

As we prepare this report, the festival of Passover approaches when we relive the Exodus from slavery in Egypt to freedom in the Promised Land. Jewish tradition teaches us to relive the narrative each and every year in order to place ourselves in the shoes of the enslaved and appreciate all the more our current freedom. Our people were persecuted and murdered by oppressors thousands of years ago and, unfortunately, such atrocities persist. Madden's writings are evidence of this. We remember that we were once slaves in the land of Egypt and our teachings require us to welcome the stranger, care for the orphan and widow, all the oppressed and vulnerable members of society. Indeed, Jewish tradition teaches that baseless hatred caused the destruction of the great Temple and continues to disrupt harmonious human existence.

Fresno State serves a beautiful tapestry of diversity including immigrants, children of immigrants, first generation college students, all in pursuit of improving lives through learning. Madden's antisemitism is extremely upsetting and painful for the Jewish community. His disparaging and bigoted views directed at multiple ethnic and religious groups is also tremendously disturbing. Such hateful and intolerant expressions stand in contradistinction to the charge and values of our great educational institution and his name on this central edifice on campus stains our legacy.

The local Jewish community includes many Fresno State alumni, faculty, students and supporters of the variety of university programs and offerings. We are proud of the continued accomplishments and improvements of Fresno State.

May the next chapter of our educational legacy reflect in name that which we feel in our hearts. We are immensely proud of California State University, Fresno.

We would like to thank the members of the Task Force, the faculty, staff and students working diligently on the research and the representatives of the university involved in this important project. Special thanks to Michael Lukens for shepherding us through this process and President Jiménez-Sandoval for seriously and sensitively addressing this serious matter.

*Jill Fields, Professor of History and Founding Coordinator of Jewish Studies, Fresno State*

Finding out that Henry Madden hated Jews was shocking. To discover that our university library was named for such a person filled me with anguish and pain for my community and what my people suffered during Madden's lifetime. Sadly, antisemitism is still with us, and at increasing levels in the twenty-first century.

Our library is a beacon on campus, our repository of knowledge, a place where students gather to learn and study. The library is a place of joy and intellectual discovery. Sometimes the information imparted there is painful as we confront the harmful, violent, and hateful aspects of our past and present. Nonetheless, whenever I am in our library and see our students reading on their laptops or with books in hand, I feel it is here I know that Fresno State is a university in its full sense. Fresno State students studying in our library is what makes our university akin to those across the country where similar scenes unfold in wealthy endowed private colleges and top-rated public research universities. It makes me happy now just to visualize the countless times I have walked through the library seeing students engaged with their course work as I walked to meet my students for a library workshop, check out a video to show in class, find materials for my own research, or to attend a guest lecture or special event.

Henry Madden's name on our library meant that my affection for the library transferred to him. I didn't know much if anything about him, but I trusted that the person whose name I mentioned or saw just about daily, if not multiple times a day, was deserving of this honor and affection. Now it has been revealed that he was not worthy of this trust or affection, that he in fact longed to see my family slaughtered because I am Jewish.

Madden's extreme antisemitism took place in a context where his desires for mass murders would be fulfilled. Well aware of the hatred of Jews that came to dominate Nazi Germany in the 1930s, Madden admired Hitler and the Nazis and shared their hatred of Jews. The word "genocide" was coined by Raphael Lemkin in 1942 to describe the mass murder of Jews that was

just unfolding and other mass murders that had occurred in his lifetime of which he was aware, such as in Armenia. Yet well before the building of Auschwitz, Madden harbored and shared with others his views that Jews in America were beneath contempt and should be tortured and killed.

Madden's antisemitism resonates as deeply as it does because his aims and agenda came to fruition. The Holocaust is the underlying context that explains the wide consensus for removing his name from the library. I look forward to that day when we can all enjoy the library without anguish, reservation, or misgivings.

*Alea Droker, Jewish Studies Minor*

Every time I walk past the current name of our university library, I am reminded that I am not a student who would be welcomed to participate in the engaging scholarship the library has to offer. The name that our library has represented for the last forty-one years is one that tarnishes the sense of belonging that Fresno State wishes to foster. Changing the name of our university library is crucial if we want to continue to encourage our fellow Bulldogs, students and faculty alike, to engage with and strengthen Fresno State's educational environment.

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A well-attended online forum for the Jewish community was held on March 24, 2022, at which Bradley W. Hart and Amila Becirbegovic presented an overview of their research.

Multiple members of the community noted in the zoom chat their support for removing Madden's name from the library. Here is a selection of these comments:

"The evidence is even more disturbing than expected. He was a committed Nazi sympathizer."

"I was a graduate student at Fresno State from 1981-3 during which the library was named for Madden and I am in favor of removing his name from the library. I recall the naming and not knowing anything about Madden."

"I also was a graduate student at Fresno State in the late 80's. I remember going to the library many times to do research. I too would be in favor of renaming the library in light of this information."

“This is very important, especially at this time with the rise in anti-Semitic [*sic*] actions.”

## **Other Public Comments**

Fresno State held two public forums via Zoom on April 18, 2022, and April 22, 2022 to present the Task Force’s preliminary report, answer questions, and solicit community feedback. The university also created an online portal where members of the campus community and the public could offer anonymous feedback on the report findings.

The below comments were received via the portal or email and represent a cross-section of views expressed.

“The evidence shared is overwhelming and now is so hard to not correlate with our library. In a university where our motto is Discovery. Diversity. Distinction, I cannot see how we can move forward with a library named after this individual. The university and our distinguished library should be disassociated with the Madden name as soon as possible.”

“I think we definitely need to rename the library, and members of our local Jewish community should receive a formal apology from the University (if not already extended), and be invited to participate in the renaming, perhaps after a notable figure someone they would like to honor or celebrate. If they decline, inviting local indigenous groups for their input would be a good fit because of the basket weaving theme in the library & nearby Native Plant Garden.”

“I am thankful that the university is taking this seriously! I am in favor of shedding the name and a re-naming.”

“I personally believe this to be a massive waste of time, effort, and money on behalf of the university to push a feel-good PR campaign while ignoring more important and pressing issues on the campus.”

“I just finished reading the 72-page preliminary report of the Task Force to Review the Naming of the University Library. I sit at my desk in near tears. I graduated from Fresno State in 1981 and am a proud alumnus, but this revelation about Henry Madden is just

mortifying. I very much appreciate President Jimenez-Sandoval creating the Task Force and I trust he will recommend to the BOT that the library should be renamed.”

“I am opposed to renaming the library. Madden’s views were expressed privately, not publicly. In the case of the Chicano students, his opinion was supported by other university people including library staff.”

“I wholeheartedly support changing the naming policy for the future. Buildings should not be named for living people, including large donors.”

## **Academic Senate Resolution**

On May 2, 2022, the Academic Senate at California State University, Fresno, passed a resolution titled “Removal of Name from University Library”. The text of the resolution is below.

Whereas, A thorough academic survey of the boxes containing the archives of Henry Madden has demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that he held antisemitic views and repeatedly made pro-Nazi statements during the mid-1930s; and

Whereas, These documents and others from outside institutions demonstrate that Madden's antisemitism persisted through World War II, and his racial insensitivity through his thirty-year career at Fresno State; and

Whereas, These same records fail to demonstrate that Madden ever honestly reckoned with or repudiated his one-time support of Hitler or the Nazi regime; and

Whereas, Despite Madden's instrumentality in growing the University Library, both in physical size and collection of materials, into a research library; and despite his ardent war against censorship and for intellectual freedom; and despite his devoted advocacy for library staff and faculty wage increases and job mobility, his documented history of racial insensitivity and derisiveness contributed to a climate that was combative toward students of color and distracted from the university's mission and the academic focus of its students, as it does once again; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the name of Henry Madden should be removed from the University Library building and all affiliated branding.

## **Task Force Consensus**

The Task Force finds that based on the available record Dr. Henry Miller Madden:

1. expressed antisemitic and pro-Nazi views before World War II, some of which included violent statements;
2. continued to express antisemitic sentiments after the war;
3. never apologized for, expressed remorse about, or otherwise attempted to make amends for his antisemitic or pro-Nazi views at any point;
4. never expressed empathy or sympathy for Jewish victims of Nazi crimes, including the Holocaust;
5. made racist remarks about Jews and other individuals as an administrator at California State University, Fresno;
6. stated in writing that some of his policies and actions as an administrator were influenced by his racist views;
7. donated his papers to the university after personally curating the contents and with full knowledge that they contained antisemitic and racist statements.

## **Task Force Recommendation**

In light of the above findings, the Task Force unanimously recommends removing the name of Henry Madden from the Fresno State library.