



HENRY WOOD:
THE OFFICIAL UNIVERSITY PORTRAIT

*Courtesy University Collections
The Johns Hopkins University*

THE RISE AND FALL OF GERMAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES: HENRY WOOD AT JOHNS HOPKINS

As they entered nineteenth century, Germans found themselves crushed and despondent. France, led by a seemingly invincible Napoleon, stood astride Europe. England had carried out the first industrial revolution, built a fleet that dominated the world's waters, and was accruing an empire which would ultimately become the greatest the world had ever seen. Germany, on the other hand, was a collection of mostly small, often poorly-led states. The glory days of Prussia under Frederick the Great had passed, and the Habsburg Empire was only a shaky remnant. By the time the century was ending, however, Germany (less the Habsburg domains) would be unified under dynamic Prussian leadership and assert a global role. A cultural renaissance had come even earlier as Germans played an increasingly important role in a number of fields. A series of giants from Haydn through Brahms were towering figures in music; Goethe was arguably the most important literary figure of the century in any country; Germany could boast of talented painters and sculptors; and German philosophers and

political thinkers, such as Marx and Nietzsche, proclaimed ideas which would shape the future.

In this golden age Germans also excelled in learning. German universities had enjoyed a good reputation previously, but it had been based largely on methods of teaching that were traditional throughout Europe and had changed only glacially since the Middle Ages. Early in the nineteenth century in Berlin, however, Alexander von Humboldt set forth a new concept of the university in which the professor had a dual role. He was equally a researcher and a teacher, with each aspect enriching the other. Humboldt launched a movement that would in a few decades propel German universities into a position of undisputed leadership. German science outpaced the English and led the way into the second industrial revolution. Whether in chemistry or philology, German learning was the envy of much of the world. A knowledge of the German language—the key to German learning—became nearly indispensable for the educated man and, increasingly, woman.

Admiration for things German rapidly crossed the

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

Atlantic. German became the foreign language most widely taught at the high-school level in the United States, and Americans flocked to Germany to study at universities, as well as at schools of art and music.¹ The trustees charged with implementing businessman and philanthropist Johns Hopkins' bequest for a new university in Baltimore chose Daniel Coit Gilman as president and, together with him, decided that their institution would not seek to duplicate Harvard or Oxford. Gilman went to Europe to study what a university should look like and upon his return created in 1876 the first American research-oriented university. The Johns Hopkins University was soon pre-eminent in the United States as a place where learning and research were joined together in accordance with Humboldt's ideas.²

While learning German for scholarly reasons, some Americans also got to know the poetry of Goethe, Schiller and Heine, the novels of Keller, and the plays of Kleist. The German literary renaissance was a powerful brew of intellectualism, romanticism and nationalism, capable of sweeping up sensitive young souls in its tide. One such American was Henry

Wood, a descendant of English Quakers who had come to the United States nine generations earlier. Wood was born in New Bedford, Massachusetts in 1849 and schooled in Providence, Rhode Island.³ We do not know what triggered Wood's passion for things German nor exactly when it began. Perhaps it started during his high school years, and there was possibly some family impetus, since Henry's brother, Augustus, would study in Germany as well. In any event, when Henry graduated from Haverford College in 1869, he had come under the spell of German culture. After some poor health and false starts in high school teaching and business, Wood made his way to Germany. He enrolled in Berlin University in 1875 to study classical philology, and after three semesters moved on to Leipzig where he studied modern languages with some of the prominent German literature historians of the time. In 1879, he completed a dissertation on Chaucer's literary influence on King James of Scotland, received his Doctor of Philosophy degree, and returned to the United States to put what he had learned into practice.

Wood learned that Gilman was looking to hire an Associate (Instructor) in English at Johns Hopkins. In his letter of application, Wood candidly noted his lack of experience and even his relative unfamiliarity with modern English literature, but pointed out that "I have learned to know German methods and the present state of scientific research there in the most practical way...."⁴ Gilman took the bait, and in 1881 he appointed Wood to the position. By 1884, Hermann Brandt, Hopkins' first instructor of German, had moved on and Wood was able to shift his appointment to teaching German. English had been his gateway to academia, but now he could return to his first love.

Wood's love for things German had another dimension. During his student years in Germany, probably while studying in Berlin, he had met and married a German woman of whom we know very little—not even her name. She was a woman of some scope, however—she is reported leading discussions on Schiller at a Baltimore ladies' club with intellectual pretensions⁵ and participated to some extent in Wood's professional life. They settled down in Baltimore and Wood set about

developing German studies at Hopkins. Wood acquired a summer house near the northern Pennsylvania town of Roaring Brook, named *Tanneneck* in good German romantic style, and this provided a refreshing alternative to the sweltering Baltimore summers.

German instruction prospered under Wood.⁶ Courses specifically designed for graduate students were introduced in the 1884–85 catalogue and in the latter year Wood gained the title of Associate Professor of Germanic Languages. In 1888, as part of a reorganization of the humanities at Hopkins, German was separated from English and constituted as a department on its own.⁷ From 1889 onwards, an active Teutonic Seminary (later, Germanic Society) met in the university to discuss the latest trends in scholarship.⁸ The size of the instructional staff grew to four and in 1892 Wood became a full professor. In the following years, enrollment in German was among the highest of all departments in the University as the scholarly demands of the Hopkins system made knowledge of German highly desirable.

Shortly after the turn of the century, two important changes

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

took place in Wood's circumstances. In 1900 his wife died after lengthy stays in tuberculosis sanatoria in the Black Forest and on the Rhine. Wood's letters of the time to President Gilman are deeply touching and his loss was great, but his powers of recuperation were apparently robust. In 1902 he remarried, and this wife would not be anonymous. Baroness Clothilde von Kretschmann was the daughter of a prominent family with military connections in Potsdam, Frederick the Great's old capital outside of Berlin. The wedding took place in the garrison church there, where Frederick lies buried.

The other major change was the addition to the Hopkins German faculty in 1907 of German-born Hermann Collitz, one of the leading philologists of the time. Collitz outshone Wood as a scholar and even received a larger salary (\$4000) when he was recruited, although Wood's was soon brought up to the same level. His wife was also an impressive figure. Klara Collitz had received a doctorate in German magna cum laude from Heidelberg, was a scholar in her own right, and had achieved some distinction in the academic world.⁹ Wood made

every effort to make Collitz comfortable and an apparently cordial relationship developed between the two. The wives also became friends. If the Woods were envious of Collitz' stunning rise in the American academic world (he would ultimately be elected president of both the Modern Language Association and the Linguistic Society of America) there is no sign of it. In any event, the two were not in direct scholarly competition since Wood dealt with literary subjects while Collitz specialized in Germanic and Indo-European philology, which became the department's main claim to fame.

The Woods had other things to keep them busy. When they married, Henry was already fifty-three years old and Clothilde was twenty-nine. They soon produced two sons, Carl August and Henry Russell, on whom they clearly doted. Even before his remarriage, Wood had moved to a residence on Baltimore's North Avenue and henceforth the professor and the baroness would cut a striking figure on the Baltimore scene.¹⁰ They were in the Social Register and members of the Baltimore Country Club. Wood was something of a public figure. He was

invited to give the graduation address at the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers in 1903,¹¹ as well as the opening oration in Baltimore's large-scale Columbus Day celebration in 1891.¹² When there were (false) rumors of his retirement in 1912, the matter was of sufficient city-wide interest to be reported in the press.¹³ Not surprisingly, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Wood served as vice-president of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland—the only non-German name on the list of officials.

Wood made a particularly important friend in the city—Henry Louis Mencken, who was steadily gaining in prominence as America's leading journalist. The two men no doubt considered themselves far above the "booboisie" that Mencken would skewer in his writings. In a warm tribute that followed Wood's death, entitled "American, Old Style," Mencken recalled their predilection for the finer things of life, such as good cigars and fine spirits. He described Wood as not only a scholar but something of a "grand seigneur."¹⁴ Mencken, of German ancestry, shared Wood's

partiality for Germany although, as he would later admit, "his old friend" was never able to convince him of the virtues of Goethe, Wood's favorite author and the special subject of his study.¹⁵

The Woods were also socially prominent in Germany, where they often visited. Wood relished of the trappings of life among the German nobility, as reflected in his letters.¹⁶ They had personal contacts with Wilhelm II, and in 1910 the Kaiser made Wood a *Ritter dritter Klasse des königlich preußischen Ordens Roter Adler* (Knight Third Class of the Royal Prussian Order of the Red Eagle). This considerable distinction was granted in recognition of Wood's enthusiastic support of German studies in America, but it also may have reflected the connections his wife's family had at court.

In the academic world, Wood was focused first and foremost on nurturing his German Department at Hopkins. He was apparently untroubled by the fact that he would not become a renowned scholar; indeed, we have no indication that he had ever set that as a goal. Wood published relatively little, and none of his writings are of lasting distinction. Aside from his devotion to Goethe, Wood was

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

perhaps most interested in emphasizing the importance of German culture to Americans. In June of 1881, Wood had been invited to give the annual "oration" to the alumni association of his alma mater, Haverford. While the occasion was of modest importance, the speech provides an important insight into Wood's thinking as, with missionary zeal, he expounded on three interrelated points:

First, the Germanic race as reflected in Old Norse and Old and Middle High German writings possessed a special "instinct and character" that was unique and superior to that of its main competitor, the Roman culture. Although Roman cultural influences had prevailed, the Germanic stratum persisted and ultimately enriched the heritage of Rome, even of Christianity, as the Germanic peoples developed a "higher type of Christian character."

Second, this Germanic heritage lives on not only in the people of Germany but also of North America, Scandinavia and the British Isles. Wood sees these nations as forming one race, the origins of which are to be found and understood in the old literatures. Race, culture and religion

are essentially pan-Germanic, and language is critical to preserving this identity.¹⁷

Third, in America the teaching of German language and literature should go in parallel with the teaching of English, for both are equally our heritage. While the quality of scholarship in English lags somewhat behind in promoting this pan-Germanic consciousness, the two supplement each other and are "indispensable companions." In the American context at least, if a choice is to be made between learning French or German, "racial" considerations dictate that it should be for the latter.¹⁸

Modern readers will find these assertions troubling on intellectual and ideological grounds, but they were in tune with much of the thinking of the late nineteenth century; the misuses that the German (and English) fascists would make of them lay still in the future.¹⁹ The fact that Wood, in applying these ideas to America, writes as if only immigrants from Germanic-speaking countries were on these shores also reflects the attitudes of his time. Indeed, he was more progressive than many in that he welcomed influences that did not originate in the

British Isles. Wood clearly saw it as his mission to propagate the Pan-Germanic gospel through the teaching of German.

Throughout these years the German department was prospering: additional faculty had been added and the numbers of students increased steadily. From 1878 until 1920 (when Wood retired) the Hopkins German Department produced thirty-two PhDs, mainly students of Collitz.²⁰ They included such future luminaries as Norman Brown, who would become a leading Sanskrit scholar at the University of Pennsylvania and the dean of American studies on India; Taylor Starck, the future holder of America's most prestigious chair in Germanic philology (at Harvard); and William Kurrelmeyer, Collitz' successor at Hopkins. Collitz may have been the principal magnet drawing graduate students to Hopkins, but Wood also played an important role in their formation and was, from all accounts, a devoted and highly-regarded, even great teacher.²¹ His reputation reached well beyond Baltimore. In 1898 he was elected president of the American Folklore Society, and in 1914, Wake Forest College conferred on him an LL.D.

As the second decade of the new century opened, Henry Wood was at the peak of his career. The university's official portrait painted by Waldemar Dietrich Franklin around 1915 shows a distinguished and self-confident gentleman-scholar. He saw the department that he had built as the proper combination of the German scholarly tradition adapted to a specifically American setting.²² He stood tall in his role as conduit for bringing German culture to the New World at precisely the time when Germany itself was at its zenith as an economic, political and a cultural force on the world stage. Within the United States, too, a strong German-American community was making itself felt. Wood thus epitomizes the romance that took place between Germans and Americans, especially at the intellectual level, and all things seemed to be falling into place in forging the bonds between Germany and America. Soon thereafter, however, this structure began to collapse, and Wood was engulfed by the same disaster that overwhelmed his fictional transatlantic colleague in Russell McCormmach's painfully evocative novel *Night Thoughts of a Classical Physicist*.

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

The disaster of World War I befell Germany on all fronts, and the old order reeled under successive blows. In addition to the direct costs of the war, the victorious allies imposed a punitive and humiliating peace settlement at Versailles. Politically, the once-proud empire was dismembered and only after World War II was a viable domestic political order restored. Onerous reparations led to the inflation of 1923, which further weakened society. In a moral sense, the victors cast Germany in a demonic role as the instigator of the war and a cruel violator of human rights. Despite the cultural flowering of the Weimar period and contributions that individual Germans continued to make to culture and science, Germany would never regain its old international esteem.

The repercussions were also strong on this side of the Atlantic. German-Americans had often been looked upon with disdain and some suspicion by the Anglo-Saxons who had gotten to America before them. Many Germans were Roman Catholic, many were determined to assert a separate cultural identity, and all seemed to drink large amounts of beer. They, alone among immigrant groups,

were numerous, successful and assertive enough to raise fears of separatism—or at least competition—among the WASP majority. Even before the United States entered the war, Anglophile Americans took up the condemnations of Germany that were emanating from Europe and extended them to Germans in the United States. When America joined the Allied cause in 1917 prejudices were given free rein, and anti-German feeling became the order of the day. Attacks on Germans in World War I were second in intensity and lack of justification only to American treatment of the Japanese-Americans in World War II. The story has been told often enough and one of its sharpest repercussions was in the areas of greatest importance to men like Henry Wood.²³

Amidst virulent wartime propaganda it was difficult to convince Americans of the value of studying German culture or even the German language. The German-American community, a bulwark of support for German studies, quickly retreated to its lasting role as America's invisible minority, for it was unpopular and sometimes even physically dangerous to be associated with any-

thing German. German disappeared from many high-school curricula and even at an institution such as Hopkins, enrollment dropped from 105 in the academic year 1917–18 to 65 in the following year and 40 in 1920–21. (Enrollments in English and Romance Languages grew considerably in the same years.) Although German would in later years make some recovery as the university grew in size and the German department continued to attract distinguished faculty, it never reached its pre-war levels and German would never again be one of the university's flagship departments. The Germanic Society ceased functioning in 1917. The reasons were not specified, but the political atmosphere no doubt contributed. Wood was of course not alone in facing the personal and professional dilemmas posed by the war, but they must have been particularly saddening for him in his professional role, and any hopes of cultivating a pan-Germanic consciousness in the United States vanished.

Catastrophe struck Wood hard and personally as the war ended. On the day of the armistice in 1918, a raucous crowd in Roaring Brook decided to cap its

celebrations by burning down Wood's summer home, *Tanneneck*. Wood ascribed this act simply to the fact that "we spoke German there."²⁴ Perhaps there was more to it than that, for the Woods would certainly have been seen by their rural neighbors as sympathetic to Germany and its people.

We have little direct knowledge of how Wood reacted to the First World War.²⁵ Given his firm belief in the close racial relationship between (Germanic) Americans and Germans, as well as the many personal ties he had to Germany, he actively urged neutrality, i.e., keeping the United States from entering the war on the Allies' side, until 1917. Once the war broke out, there is no reason to doubt that Wood—a member of the Sons of the American Revolution—was anything but a patriotic American. His devotion was, after all, to a Germanic ideal, and this ideal embraced the United States and Great Britain as much as it did Germany. At the same time, we know that he doubted the wisdom of the war and regretted it greatly. He did not run for cover in the face of anti-German hysteria but at some personal cost maintained his devotion to German cul-

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

ture even "...when in the war years, those around him lost their sense of scholarly proportion and became offensively eager in their denunciation of all things German."²⁶ Immediately after the war, the Woods were actively engaged in relief work and he was chairman of the Quaker organization in Baltimore sending emergency relief to German children

The war had another direct impact on the Woods. Part of their income had been derived from Clothilde's holdings in Germany. These were inaccessible during the war and very limited in the post-war economic chaos. Wood had frequently complained about financial difficulties, and now the shoe pinched more tightly. An additional factor of concern was the birth of yet another son, Ernst, in 1918, when Wood was elderly and Clothilde well into middle age. He had considered retiring earlier (and had been gently encouraged to do so by the university administration) but felt then he could not afford it.²⁷ In 1919 Wood reached the age of seventy, and his pension system had now improved, thanks to the teachers' pension plan set up by Andrew Carnegie. Thus in 1920, Wood did retire, but it was not the kind of tri-

umphant end of career that Wood must have envisioned earlier. The trajectory of his career paralleled closely that of the romance between German and American intellectuals and much that he had worked to build over the years was in a state of collapse. Wood's professional and ideological world—like that of many others—had crested a decade earlier.

Wood seems to have accepted these disappointments with equanimity. Only a few months after the burning of his summer house, he writes apparently quite contentedly about the pleasures of vacationing in New Bedford, and there is no evidence of any bitterness in the few letters we have from that time. In 1920 the Woods departed for Germany with their youngest son and they remained there for the last five years of Wood's life. In his letters, Wood writes that he and Clothilde are enjoying full lives and traveling frequently to spas and other resorts in Germany, and Mencken, who visited him during a stay in Berchtesgaden, reported him in good spirits. The Woods were spared the economic hardships of the great mass of Germans, for a pension denominated in dollars would have had substantial purchasing power at

the time, probably enough to offset the decline in Clothilde's fortunes. Her letters to Klara Collitz from the time do, however, dwell on the terrible effects that hyperinflation was having and the resulting suffering of the German people (mainly, be it noted, of the upper classes).²⁸

Both of the Woods slipped back readily into the roles and attitudes of their social class, resenting the perceived injustices dealt Germany after World War I and looking backward to better times. In 1923, Henry helped the German foreign office write a memorandum designed to convince English-speaking audiences how badly Germany had been treated in the Versailles settlement. (He sent copies to Mencken and to Hopkins President Goodnow, but there is no record of any reaction.) Otherwise he reports giving the occasional lecture and time spent satisfyingly visiting libraries and reading. Clothilde was active giving lectures on art and in charity work for the victims of the inflation. She also chaired the Potsdam branch of the *Deutsche Colonialgesellschaft*, a group that had been founded originally to promote German interest in developing its overseas colonial empire. In the

post-colonial era it presumably represented the interests of Germans who had been forced to repatriate from the former colonies. There is no evidence of their taking cognizance of the creative tumult that was taking place in the arts in Weimar Germany.

Wood suffered from painful sciatica in his last years and died in Germany in 1925. Clothilde remained in Germany with her young son but returned to the United States in 1939 where, according to Mencken, she lived in difficult financial circumstances and with an unhappy family situation. Mencken (who seems to have had a special attachment to her) writes warmly of her undaunted spirit despite such personal problems.²⁹ She died in 1951 and is buried in New Bedford, Henry Wood's birthplace. Potsdam, where Wood is buried, is of course Clothilde's home.

Henry Wood was the type of academic who would be warmly remembered by his students, but whose modest scholarly output would not guarantee him a place in the longer-term history of German studies in the United States—especially given the waning of interest in things German that came towards the end of

HENRY WOOD AT JHU

Wood's life. Even at Johns Hopkins, few if any of the current crop of faculty and students in the Department of German and Romance Languages and Literature (the conflation of the two fields of study is itself a sign of the times) would have ever heard of this man who was, after all, the architect of a department that has consistently ranked among the nation's best. His formal portrait, somewhat damaged, lies in storage. But Wood is not completely forgotten at Hopkins. In 1939, when Alfred Jenkins Shriver gave the University money for con-

struction of a large auditorium cum concert hall, he stipulated that murals on the walls of the foyer should show various groups of Baltimoreans. Best known (even notorious) is the array of belles of Baltimore chosen by the donor, but on the east side are the "original faculties of philosophy and medicine", the legendary founders of Johns Hopkins' academic reputation. Henry Wood, in his luxuriant white beard and academic regalia—looking very much the grand seigneur—holds his rightful place among this distinguished assemblage.

— THOMAS THORNTON
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Notes

- 1 See, for instance, Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).
- 2 John C. French, *A History of The Johns Hopkins University*, part I, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946).
- 3 For basic biographic information on Wood see his entry in the *Internationales Germanistenlexikon, 1800–1950* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003).
- 4 Letter from Wood to Gilman, dated September 22, 1879. Throughout this article, unless otherwise noted, all cited correspondence can be found in Boxes 14 (Hermann Collitz) and 15 (Klara Hechtenberg Collitz) and in the relevant Presidential Correspondence files of the Ferdinand and Hamburger Archives of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library at the Johns Hopkins University.
- 5 *Annals of the Arundell Club, 1894–1925* (Baltimore 1926). Available at the Maryland Historical Society.
- 6 Data on German studies at Hopkins has been gathered from materials in the Hopkins Archives, which also contain a brief, useful history of the German Department written by James Knighton and Aravinda Pillalamarri.
- 7 French, 140.
- 8 The minutes of the Seminary/Society are in the Eisenhower Library Archives. Meetings were held once or twice a month and the attendance remained constant over the years at about ten. Papers were presented by both faculty and students and were academically sophisticated. At first, subjects discussed were evenly divided between literature and philology, but the latter came to predominate, no doubt because of Hermann Collitz' influence.
- 9 Biographic information on both Hermann and Klara Collitz is included in the *Internationales Germanistenlexikon, 1800–1950*.
- 10 Wood's address was 9 West North Avenue. Previously he had lived at 2126 Oak Street (now North Howard Street). Neither house remains standing.
- 11 See that organization's "Account Book" at the Maryland Historical Society.
- 12 *Baltimore Sun*, October 22, 1891. In the course of a ringing patriotic speech, Wood typically took the opportunity to expose his listeners to a substantial discussion of Goethe's relevance to the topic. The text of the speech is in Wood's personal folder in the Vertical Reference File, Eisenhower Library archives.
- 13 *Baltimore Sun*, May 12, 1914.
- 14 *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 31, 1925.
- 15 Mencken letter to Albert Keller dated December 15, 1939, in Guy J. Forgue (ed.), *Letters of H.L. Mencken* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1961).
- 16 c.f. his letter to President Remsen of Johns Hopkins dated February 22, 1912, describing the social whirl in Potsdam.
- 17 "Character and Religion in the Germanic Race," Abstract of the Proceedings of the 25th Annual

HENRY WOOD, NOTES

- Meeting of the Haverford Alumni Association (Philadelphia: Faries and Rogers, 1881), 30–31. Available in the Special Collections of the Haverford College Library.
- 18 *ibid.*, 32–33.
- 19 An extreme case was the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain who found his intellectual way to Nazism by way of Wagner.
- 20 Data from the Johns Hopkins University *Circular* of 1920.
- 21 See A. B Faust (a student of Wood's), "In Memoriam," *Germanic Review* (1:1) 1926, 90. Faust would later head the German Department at Cornell University.
- 22 See his contribution to the *German Correspondent* of May 13, 1891 (Available in Wood's personal folder in the Vertical Reference File, Eisenhower Library archives).
- 23 Of particular interest in this context is Henry J. Schmidt, "The Rhetoric of Survival: The Germanist in America from 1906–1935," Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (eds.), *America and the Germans* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.)
- 24 Letter to President Goodnow, January 12, 1920.
- 25 There is one oddity which may or (more likely) may not throw some light on Wood's views. On August 19, 1915, the *New York Times* published a letter from one "H. N. Wood" of Johns Hopkins University. Our Henry Wood did not have a middle name or initial and customarily signed his correspondence with first and last names. At that time, however, there is no record of any other person named Wood with a first name beginning with the letter "H" connected at that time with Hopkins. The letter is written in Wood's rather ponderous academic style, and is in response to a piece which had appeared earlier in the *Times* by Kuno Francke, a distinguished professor of German at Harvard—i.e., an academic colleague with whom Wood might reasonably have carried on a public debate. The issue at hand, however, is whether the U.S. should throw its support to the German or English side in the war or remain neutral. Francke had argued for neutrality but "H. N. Wood" pressed for support of the British side. This would be a surprising position for Henry Wood to have taken at that time.
- 26 *Report of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland* 23 (1929), 45. Available at the Maryland Historical Society. See also Mencken, "American, Old Style".
- 27 Exchange of correspondence between Wood and Goodnow in March 1915.
- 28 A recurring theme in the correspondence between Clothilde Wood and Klara Collitz (Klara H. Collitz papers in the Eisenhower Library archives.)
- 29 Mencken met with Clothilde in Baltimore on September 18, 1947, and described her situation in considerable detail in his diary entry of that date. Permission to draw on the diary of H. L. Mencken granted by the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore (where the diary is located) in accordance with the terms of Mencken's will.