

## **Austrian politics of history, made in Berkeley?**

### **The economist Charles A. Gulick as historian of interwar Austria**

*Tags: transnational history of science; historiography; memory and identity politics; Austrofascism; Berkeley; Charles A. Gulick*

Florian Wenninger

## I. Historiographical Context

Since the 1990s, contemporary historical research in general and research on memory politics in particular have had a strong focus on National Socialism.<sup>1</sup> While academia largely agrees on its approach to National Socialism and the modes in which it is societally reappraised, it becomes increasingly clearer that there is no such agreement when it comes to the “smaller” European dictatorships.

Austria is a prototypical example for this situation. While the Reder-Frischenschlager-scandal<sup>2</sup> and the Waldheim-debate<sup>3</sup> in the 1980s led to a public debate on the country’s National Socialist past, another, possibly even more potent – as far as domestic policy is concerned – chapter of Austria’s history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has largely been omitted, namely the dictatorship between 1933 and 1938. This was recently illustrated anew by the controversial comments in regard to the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Austrian civil war of February 1934, which clearly showed how much the assessments of the end of the First Republic in 1933 and the following dictatorship under Dollfuß and Schuschnigg still diverge.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, this not only goes for the scientific community, but also the general public.

The debate on the elimination of the parliament and the establishment of a dictatorial regime in 1933/34 influenced the relationship between the two large parties SPÖ and ÖVP for decades after 1945, as well as their party identities. Until the 1970s, the discourse of domestic politics in Austria was strongly influenced by the experiences of the dictatorship from 1933 to 1938. In a severely pillared society<sup>5</sup> electoral campaigns were mainly means of mobilization, not of conviction.<sup>6</sup> Fear of the political opponent played a major role in these campaigns – a fear that on the one hand was deliberately stoked, but on the other hand corresponded to the historical-political consciousness of the parties’ bases. Especially in the

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<sup>1</sup> For Austria compare recently e.g. Lehguth, Cornelius 2013: *Waldheim und die Folgen. Der parteipolitische Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Österreich*, Frankfurt/Main. On Germany, compare especially the pertinent standard work by Norbert Frei, see the same 1996: *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*, Munich.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Toth, Barbara 2010: *Der Handschlag. Die Affäre Frischenschlager-Reder*, phil. Diss., Vienna.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tidl, Georg 2015: *Waldheim: wie es wirklich war. Die Geschichte einer Recherche*, Vienna; Safrian, Hans 2015: *Wehrmacht, Deportationen von Juden und Jüdinnen aus Griechenland und die Waldheim-Debatte*, in: Dreidemy, Lucile et al. (Eds.): *Bananen, Cola, Zeitgeschichte. Oliver Rathkolb und das lange 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, Vol. 1, 417-429; Lehguth, Cornelius 2013: *Waldheim und die Folgen. Der parteipolitische Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Österreich*, Frankfurt/Main.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the debate in the Austrian daily newspaper *Der Standard*: Bauer, Kurt: *Schwieriges Vermächtnis*, In: *Der Standard*, February 8, 2014; Huemer, Peter: *Das 34er Jahr: Widerstand und Heroismus*, In: *Der Standard*, February 12, 2014; Koll, Johannes: *Kollateralschäden und Verantwortung. Einige Anmerkungen zum Februar 1934 und seinen Folgen*, In: *Der Standard*, February 12, 2014; Bauer, Kurt: *Die vielen Wahrheiten des Februar*, In: *Der Standard*, February 19, 2014; Botz, Gerhard: *Irrwege einer historischen „Schuld“-Suche zum „Februar 1934. Entgegnung auf zwei Zeitungskommentare von Kurt Bauer*, online at [http://www.lbihs.at/Botz\\_Irrwege.pdf](http://www.lbihs.at/Botz_Irrwege.pdf) (accessed on January 12, 2016); Walterskirchen, Gudula: *Die drei Fehler im Blick auf den 12. Februar*, In: *Die Presse*, February 12, 2014. Not by coincidence, a separate, well-attended panel at the Austrian Historikertag 2015 in Linz addressed the disputed questions of the controversy.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Steininger, Rudolf 1975: *Polarisierung und Integration. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der strukturellen Versäulung der Gesellschaft in den Niederlanden und in Österreich*, Meisenheim/Glan.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hölzl, Norbert 1974: *Propagandaschlachten. Die österreichischen Wahlkämpfe 1945-1971*, Munich.

SPÖ and the KPÖ, the interwar period had a central role in the development of the political self-conception, parts of which have survived until today. The historical perspective of the ÖVP in contrast remained unclear, split between nostalgia especially when it came to Dollfuß on the one hand and demonstrative distance to her own antidemocratic past on the other.

Inevitably, contemporary historical research was highly politicized in Austria until the 1990ies, partly until today. Foreign historians, who early created important contributions to the historiography of the dictatorship, were – on both sides of the frontline – addressed as “neutral” authorities,<sup>7</sup> whose assessments allegedly proved “objectively” each position. The main working hypothesis of this research project was therefore the assumption that since foreign historians also had to do research in Austria, it is quite likely that they were directly involved in the inner-Austrian conflicts through their social networks and, as a consequence, explicitly or implicitly took position for one side.

## II. Research interest

The aim of the research project I realized during my stay at UC Berkeley throughout September 2016 was to examine one of the most prominent figures among foreign historians who dealt with the Austrian interwar period: Charles Adams Gulick. Being a professor for economy at the University of California, Berkeley, Gulick published a two volume opus magnum “From Habsburg to Hitler” in 1948,<sup>8</sup> in which he analyzed the transformation process which had begun with the collapse of the monarchy in 1918. While the first volume with the subtitle “Labor’s Workshop of Democracy” deals with the period 1918 until 1927, the second part of Gulick’s research addressed “Fascism’s Subversion of Democracy” and focused on the social and political polarization from 1927 onwards, including especially the establishment of the Dollfuß-regime in 1933/34, its policy in the following years, and finally its collapse in early 1938, followed by the “Anschluss” of Austria in March and April of the same year. Gulick’s work was extensively lauded from the left in Austria. The Socialist Party commissioned a group of translators – mainly consisting of former emigrants such as Anny Ausch, Anny and Inge Deutsch or Bettina Hirsch – under the supervision of the party’s chief historian Jacques Hannak, not only with a translation but also with acquiring the original sources to avoid having to retranslate the quotes and to simultaneously verify Gulick’s remarks. This was apparently only partially successful, as Karl R. Stadler states in his foreword in the abridged reissue.<sup>9</sup> After they had translated the 1,900 pages in just one year, the German version was published in five volumes in 1950. It caused an outcry among conservatives who bitterly said “goodbye to professor Gulick as a scientist

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Wenninger, Florian 2012: Austrian Missions – Das Problem der politischen Äquidistanz der Forschung am Beispiel Austrofaschismus. In: Reiter, Ilse/Rothländer, Christiane/Schölnerberger, Pia (Ed.): Österreich 1933-1938. Interdisziplinäre Bestandsaufnahmen und Perspektiven, Vienna, 257-272.

<sup>8</sup> Gulick, Charles Adam 1948: Austria. From Habsburg to Hitler, 2 Vol., Berkeley-Los Angeles.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Preface of Karl R. Stadler in the shortened new edition of Gulicks book, published in 1976, 7.

and historian”,<sup>10</sup> while at the same time the book’s publication led to a frenzy of activity elsewhere. A group of conservative Austrian historians made it their goal to create a “patriotic historiography” to distance themselves from “Gulick’s pamphlet”.<sup>11</sup> With the support of Chancellor Leopold Figl, Minister of Education Felix Hurdes and the Federation of Austrian Industries this plan was indeed implemented.<sup>12</sup> Over the following thirty years the resulting popular book was reissued several times and to date remains the most sold book on the history of Austria.<sup>13</sup> Gulick’s book instead remained an “indispensable standard work”<sup>14</sup> for decades, often cited even in recent works. In the 1970s, Gulick compiled an abridged, one-volume book together with an assistant,<sup>15</sup> which can also be seen as part of a social democratic historic-political offensive in the late Kreisky-era.

Gulick’s large estate is today located at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. It contains the result of years of collecting material in the early 1930s and fragments of unpublished studies (for example the paper “The Spirit of Ideology of Austrian Socialism” announced in 1960 but never published). On the basis of this estate, his personnel record and two interviews with one of his former assistants and one colleague who was also friends with Charles Gulick and his second wife Esther, I tried to reconstruct Gulick’s personal and professional biography to approach three groups of questions: First of all, I hoped to find detailed information on the question of in how far Gulick’s own account was accurate and whether his acquaintance with the developments in Austria really just began by accident. Had questions relevant to Austria maybe already played a role in his research, writing and teaching beforehand? Had Gulick taken notice of the processes in Austria through friends or colleagues before his arrival, or were contacts with Austrian expats responsible for motivating him to compile his life’s work? What prior knowledge did Gulick possess and which questions did he pose in his Austrian research project after, among other things, working on issues of the US-American workers’ movement?<sup>16</sup>

The second level of analysis addressed the political animal Charles A. Gulick. Did he consciously follow a political agenda with his academic work and how were his political understanding and his tools to analyze political processes formed – had he, for example, been active in committees and organizations such as parties or unions, did he support petitions or did he do research for institutions close to politics?

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<sup>10</sup> „Österreich von Habsburg zu Hitler?“ In: Die Furche, 5. 8. 1950, printed in: Skalnik, Kurt 1966: Republikanische Mitte. Überlegungen und Überzeugungen, 163-168:167.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Karl Cornides to Felix Hurdes from December 9, 1950, Archiv des Verlages für Gesellschaft und Politik (AVGP), correspondences.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Karl Cornides to Felix Hurdes from December 9, 1950, AVGP, correspondences.

<sup>13</sup> Benedikt, Heinrich (ed.) 1954: Geschichte der Republik Österreich, Vienna.

<sup>14</sup> Staudinger, Anton 1984: Konzentrationsregierung, Bürgerblock oder Präsidiales Minderheitsregime. Zum angeblichen Koalitionsangebot Ignaz Seipels an die Sozialdemokratie im Juni 1931, In: Zeitgeschichte Jg. 12 1984/85, H 1, 1-18:2.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gulick, Charles 1976: Österreich von Habsburg zu Hitler, Vienna.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gulick, Charles Adam 1924: Labor policy of the United States Steel Corporation, New York; Gulick, Charles A./ Seager, Henry R. 1929: Trust and Corporation Problems, New York.

Gulick's Austrian network and his involvement in the inner-Austrian debate – before, during, and after the Dollfuß/Schuschnigg dictatorship – formed the third complex of questions I was looking to clarify. Gulick's research trips to Vienna, his ties to the Austrian exile during the Second World War, as well as his contacts in Austria after the end of the war were of interest here. The reception of his work outside of published sources, for example in the form of letters or documented conversations, lectures, and discussions were also relevant.

By examining Gulick's motivation, original research interest, his previous knowledge about, resp. his social networks in Austria, I hoped not only to verify the above mentioned hypothesis but to illuminate transnational aspects of Austrian politics of history and memory and thus to generally contribute to the actual research on the formation of historical identity. The existence of a comprehensive, unified body of material in Berkeley made it especially attractive to me to ask questions on the influence of the US-American research landscape on the politics, society, and science of a Central European state in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Apart from the classical hermeneutic analysis of the source material, I hoped it would enable me to create a network of people around Gulick, based on suppliers, correspondence partners and possible conversation partners who Gulick could rely on and with whom he could exchange views mentioned in private research documentations. It would have been particularly interesting to visualize changes in the composition of this network over time and thus maybe be able to trace certain aspects of Gulick's historical work. As will be explicated below, among several other questions it was unfortunately impossible to identify Gulick's personal contacts in a broader scope, due to lack of relevant correspondence.

### **III. Charles Adams Gulick Jr. – a biographical outline**

Charles Adams Gulick Jr. was born as the older son of Charles Adams Gulick (1864-1934) and Jackella (Lena) Parks Gulick (1868-1930) in Dallas, Texas on September 13<sup>th</sup> 1896. The family was not originally Texan. Charles' mother Jackella had come from a cotton plantation near Monroe, Louisiana and had moved to Texas as a child, while his father, as the child of a family of Dutch immigrants, had been born in Connecticut. Charles sen. worked as an insurance clerk,<sup>17</sup> his wife was the organist of the local Episcopal Church and ran an Episcopal Sunday Church in Oak Cliff.<sup>18</sup> Three years after Charles Adams Jr., Lena gave birth to her second son John Chase (1899-1963). The couple had no further children. While his younger brother remained in the South throughout his life and worked as a Signal Supervisor for the Louisiana State division of the T & P Railway in Alexandria,<sup>19</sup> LA, Charles A. Jr. first attended High School at Oak Cliff, Dallas, Texas, graduated in 1914 and went on to the University of Texas where he received his Bachelor's in 1918 and made his first experiences

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/71834637/charles-adams-gulick> (December 2nd, 2017)

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/71834420> (December 2nd, 2017)

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/71834420> (December 2nd, 2017)

in teaching, when he functioned as a tutor in medieval history in his final BA-semester. Beside his studies, Gulick constantly had jobs to finance his studies. From February 1918 on, he worked as an instructor in Maps and Aerial Gunnery at the School of Military Aeronautics in Austin, Texas, for one year before he was given a project-position to edit the papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar in four volumes for the state library of Texas in March of 1919.<sup>20</sup> It was the same year that Gulick completed his MA, this time in modern European History.<sup>21</sup> From September 1919 to June 1921, Gulick again worked as a tutor, first in English, later on in Economics at his university and was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa. About the impact of Gulick's time at the Texas University on his further life and personality, his friends and colleagues Clark Kerr, Van Dusen Kennedy and Lloyd Ulman stated retrospectively: "Certainly at the University of Texas he acquired key elements of his lifelong economic and social philosophy. It was the progressive era and he became committed to central themes of that movement – that the great aggregations of power must be controlled and humanized and that a larger measure of social justice must be won for the less privileged members of society."<sup>22</sup> Another important imprinting of his early academic years concerned basic methodological principles of his work. Benjamin N. Ward, who has been part of the Economics Department of Berkeley for 32 years, working mainly on Comparative Economic Systems, Philosophy and Methodology of Economics, worked as a part time research assistant for Gulick in 1954. Since Ward spoke German, his main task was to work through Austrian socialist media reports on a broad variety of topics, as Gulick planned an extended version of his "Austria from Habsburg to Hitler". Ward remembers his former supervisor Gulick as a very gentle, friendly and respectful person, who was extraordinarily trustful towards his staff and for example – quite untypical – would leave the key to his office with Ward for him to come and leave at any time. While Gulick, who was, as Ward stated, commonly regarded a "typical Texas liberal" – very good manners, very gentle and very fierce in his views – and hence well-liked by the other members of the department, his professional reputation as an economist was not very good. "He was popular due to his modest, charming character, but most of his colleagues did not consider him as a "real" economist, more as a labor historian. His scientific tool set was indeed first and foremost historical and hardly linked to economic theories or methods."<sup>23</sup> Professor Clair Brown, who was in close contact with Gulick as a young scholar agreed in principle, that Gulick was regarded "more a historian", also "because he was Professor of Social Economy" but stated that to characterize him as an "outsider" would be far too strong.<sup>24</sup> In both cases, this assumption of course refers to Gulick in the last decade of his career, when already had been focusing on labor history for twenty years. During the 1920s and 1930s, Gulick's

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<sup>20</sup>Personnel Record Charles A. Gulick, Berkeley University (further on: PRCAG), Biography, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1941. The result of his work was published first by A. C. Baldwin and Sons, Austin 1921-22 and twelve years later, in 1934 reprinted again by Boeckmann-Jones Co., Austin.

<sup>21</sup> PRCAG, Report on Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., undated [appr. 1929/30].

<sup>22</sup> PRCAG, obituary (draft), 1.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Benjamin N. Ward, September 22nd 2016, 10.25-11.35.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Clair Brown, September 26th 2016, 10.00-10.50.

reputation and academic career were a result of his work in the field of economics, not history.

In autumn 1921, Gulick left Texas, after he had been accepted as a graduate student in economics at Columbia University, New York. Already during his studies back home in Texas, he had gotten interested in labor problems and later claimed he would have had published two brief articles on “Open Shop vs Closed Shop”<sup>25</sup> and the problem of immigration.<sup>26</sup> For whatever reason, both of these texts are impossible to find in the University of Texas Bulletin where Gulick claimed to have published them.<sup>27</sup> What is for certain is the fact that the young PhD-candidate met one of his most important teachers and colleagues at Columbia: Professor of Political Economy Henry Roger Seager (1870-1930). Seager, who was – different from many of his colleagues – a dedicated advocator of social reform in favor of working class people, especially of social insurance and minimum wages, was strongly influenced by the Austrian school of economics. He had spent two years in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – one of three stations here had been Vienna – and was at the time he met Gulick already working on various problems concerning the regulation of trusts and corporations in order to prevent economic harm to the public. Under the influence of Seager, Gulick, who also quickly started to work at the University of New York as an instructor in Economics in 1922 and later on at Columbia University, focused on industrial relations in various fields as well as on employment and published his dissertation in 1924, dealing with the Labor Policy of US Steel.<sup>28</sup> After completing his PhD in 1924, Gulick spent two more years at Columbia University before he was appointed as Assistant Professor of Economics at Berkeley in 1926. The reasons to leave Columbia for Berkeley were seemingly not only academic ones: Wesley Clair Mitchell, former president of the American Economic Association, and Henry Seager alike stated in their advisory opinion to the Promotion Committee at Berkeley in 1929, that the poor health of Gulick himself (Mitchell) resp. of “the family” (Seager) had been reasonable arguments for his decision to move to the west coast “[otherwise] we would not have allowed him to leave Columbia”, as Seager wrote.<sup>29</sup> At the time of Seager’s statement, this family only consisted of Gulick himself and his wife Marie Elizabeth Brougher, born in 1898, the sister of one of his colleagues from NYU and it should turn out that most certainly, Marie was the one whose health problems caused both of them to leave the east coast. Just one year after he had moved to the west coast, the couple became parents of their only child Elizabeth Anne, married Perasso (1927-2011).

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<sup>25</sup> Gulick, Charles Adams 1920: Open Shop vs. Closed Shop, University of Texas Bulletin No. 1859, Austin, 60.

<sup>26</sup> Gulick, Charles Adams 1921: The Suspension of Immigration (with E. S. Shurter), University of Texas Bulletin No. 2147, Austin, 1921.

<sup>27</sup> While the text from 1920 about Closed Shop-Policy could not be found since the whole volume is missing at the University of Texas Library, in volume 1921 there is indeed a text on immigration, but it is a.) only published under the name of Gulick’s supposed co-author whose initials are not „E. S. Shurter“ but „E. D. Shurter“ and b.) does not deal with the suspension of immigration but with „How the University Interscholastic League Promotes Training for Citizenship“. Last, but not least, the pages Gulick quoted for this article in an undated bibliography in his personnel record are wrong, while he refers to pp.47, it is actually 56.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gulick, Charles Adams 1924: Labor Policy of the U. S. Steel Corporation, Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, New York, 1924.

<sup>29</sup> See excerpt from Promotion Committee Report, February 26, 1929.



As an Assistant Professor of Economics at Berkeley, Gulick continued dealing with the problems of huge economic power in democratic systems<sup>30</sup> and labor policy in corporations which had already interested him earlier in New York. In 1929, Gulick and his mentor Henry Seager published a book on “Trust and Corporation Problems” together which at that time for both of them probably was their most cited and recognized work, though at least Gulick did not regard it to be his most important one. Nevertheless, an internal evaluation report at UC Berkeley stated that besides his doctoral dissertation at Columbia, which it considered to be of “superior quality”, ““Trust and Corporation Problems” would be generally regarded by economists as one of the best in the field and [that] it has had a far-reaching influence. We are advised that there is a considerable interest among economists throughout the country at the present time in the revision of this work now widely regarded as a standard work.”<sup>31</sup>

It remains unclear if Gulick started to learn German during his studies at Columbia or even before, since he also dealt with modern European History during his studies in Texas.<sup>32</sup> But it seems very likely that it was Seager who introduced him to the welfare states that had been established after the foundation of the republics in Germany and Austria after World War I and that as a consequence of that, Gulick started to learn German to be able to study them himself. In the 1930s he already spoke the language well, though with a strong American accent.<sup>33</sup>

In the first half of 1930, Gulick came for a first sabbatical leave to Europe. From Munich, he also travelled to Vienna and spent three months in the city, from April to July 1930.<sup>34</sup> Seemingly, he was on his own and stayed as a subtenant in a little flat in Museumstraße 7 in the 7<sup>th</sup> district, where his landlord and flatmate was a radio journalist, mainly dealing with culture and arts, Otto Polzer. How the contact between them was established is unknown. Reportedly, Gulick had originally come to Vienna because “he wanted to get to know to the city, in which Johann Strauß had lived, since his mother had a faible for music and was a great fan of the King of Waltz.”<sup>35</sup> With regard to the duration of his stay, a purely culturally motivated trip seems more like an anecdote without too much reliability. For sure, it was that spring 1930, when Gulick decided to focus his scientific work on Austria. Whether he had originally planned to write a brochure for an American liberal audience about the social achievements of Red Vienna or if he had wanted to examine the development of the Austrian labor movement throughout its history and write a book about it is not a distinct matter of fact. Later on, both versions were only reported by Austrian friends of Gulick.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Gulick Charles Adams 1926: Holding Companies in Power, New Republic, Volume XLVII, 25-28, May 26th 1926.

<sup>31</sup> PRCAG, Report on Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., undated [appr. 1929/30].

<sup>32</sup> PRCAG, obituary, draft, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Simon, Joseph T. 1979: Augenzeuge, Vienna, 262.

<sup>34</sup> See Application for Sabbatical or Semi-Sabbatical Leave, December 6th, 1961, resp. the statement of his Department from December 8th 1961, 2.; See also Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Bundespolizeidirektion Wien, Historische Meldeunterlagen, Meldezettel Charles A. Gulick, 1. April/6. Juli 1930.

<sup>35</sup> Simon 1979, 262.

<sup>36</sup> Simon 1979, 262; Winkler, Ernst 1971: Ch. A. Gulick – Der Historiker der Ersten Republik, In: Die Zukunft. Sozialistische Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur, 18/1971, 28-30:29.



However, it is rather plausible that in the beginning, Gulick's main interest applied to the trade unions in Austria, since he had dealt with class conflicts in the US before and as an American, in any case regarded unions as the back bone of a labor movement. It also seems convincing that Gulick's perspective broadened when he got to know the social institutions of Vienna and the welfare state established shortly after World War II. His opus magnum, published almost twenty years later, indeed communicates an enthusiasm that an Austrian friend and part-time collaborator, Ernst Winkler, would later loftily summarize like this: "Professor Gulick, who watched all of that [the social democratic efforts to improve living conditions for the working class] with the sharp eyes of a savant perceived, that the European labor movement, which was not only fighting on a unionist level, but also on a political, cooperative and cultural one, stood head and shoulders above the American one."<sup>37</sup> After three months, Gulick left Austria in early July of 1930 with many new impressions (among which the huge rally in Vienna on May 1<sup>st</sup> was one of the most formidable ones to him<sup>38</sup>) if anything with the vague decision to return to write a book.

Yet, various circumstances caused a delay of several years before he would be able to realize this undertaking.

First, shortly after their return to the US, Gulick learnt that his friend and teacher Henry Seager surprisingly had died during a research trip to the Soviet Union in August 1930.<sup>39</sup> As an intellectual memorial, "a labor of love and a very fine piece of editorial work"<sup>40</sup> Gulick edited various unpublished papers by Seager the following year.<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, the condition of Marie Gulick worsened severely in 1931. This can be inferred from a letter by Albert H. Mowbray, the chairman of Gulick's department, to Dean Monroe E. Deutsch in which, despite his previous recommendation not to increase Gulick's salary since he had not been an associate Professor for long enough, now asked to raise Gulick's income due to "special circumstances [that] have arisen [...] We feel that if we cannot do something for him there is a grave possibility of our losing him and he is one of the men we do not want to lose. I have not gone into details in this letter because President Sproul has discussed this matter orally both with Mr. Gulick and with me."<sup>42</sup> It finally led to a lingering illness that lasted for another two years before Marie passed away on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1933 at the age of only 35. She was survived by her 39 year-old husband and her sick, six year-old daughter Elizabeth.

Gulick's academic career had proceeded the year before. In 1930, he had been given a tenure track position and promoted to an Associate Professorship, after an excellent evaluation which also provided insights into Gulick's personal behavior: "The Chairman of

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<sup>37</sup> Winkler 1971, 29.

<sup>38</sup> Winkler 1971, 28.

<sup>39</sup> For a brief biography see Henry Rogers Seager, in: *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Dec. 1930), 794-799.

<sup>40</sup> PRCAG, Report on Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., undated [appr. 1929/30].

<sup>41</sup> Gulick, Charles Adams 1931: *Labor and other Economic Essays of Henry R. Seager*, New York, 1931.

<sup>42</sup> Mowbray to Deutsch (confidential) on Budget 1931-1932, February 5<sup>th</sup> 1931, PRCAG.

the Economics Department reports that he is one of the best teachers in the Department, thoroughly loyal to the Department and its interests, and that he is particularly notable for his ability to attract and stimulate graduate students. He is said to have done more than his share in arousing interest in graduate study in the Department. Members of the Department and other members of the Faculty well acquainted with Mr. Gulick report him to be a man of very fine personality, an exceptionally good teacher, and one who is not only courageous when dealing with controversial matters but thoroughly scholarly and objective in his courage.”<sup>43</sup>

Even three decades after his death, Professor Clair Brown, who had been a young scientist in the early 70s, remembers Gulick that way. When I interviewed her, she described “Charly” Gulick as a very respectable, very polite person who would have never talked about his family matters on the one hand, always properly dressed with suit and tie, “a very distinguished person, who would have in any case carefully avoided to insult anyone he talked to.” On the other hand, he would have “written with blood” and taken clear positions whenever it came to questions of social injustices.<sup>44</sup>

Marie’s death meant a hard stroke. Though he just took two weeks off after the funeral “to go away for a vacation and rest before returning to Berkeley to teach in the Summer Session” it seemed clear to his superior that “Professor Gulick needs a complete change and rest”.<sup>45</sup> Three years later, a confidential report of five members of Gulick’s department who had to consider the worthiness of him and four of his colleagues for a promotion, opposed Gulick’s advancement, arguing that “his failure to continue his excellent scholarly work, it should be noted, is due to severe handicaps, among which should be mentioned the lingering illness of his wife prior to her death, and continued illness of a child. We are of the opinion, that he simply has had no opportunity of late to show what he can do.”<sup>46</sup>

This supposition might have not been fully accurate. On the one hand, Gulick insisted throughout his entire career in extensive research before writing about a certain topic and in fact must have spent a lot of time reading every literature available to him about Austria. (The disadvantage of this sort of scientific meticulousness is obvious and was mentioned in several reviews of his work: he was thought to not publish enough). On the other hand, he developed ideas for research he wanted to conduct during his next sabbatical, identified possible informants and established various contacts in Austria. Unfortunately, most of his correspondences were not preserved, but the fact of his networking prior to his residence in Austria is nevertheless very likely. As a complete stranger under the conditions of the police state Austria had been since 1933/34, it would otherwise have been almost impossible to make so many high level contacts with both people of the illegal socialist movement as well as high ranking officials.

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<sup>43</sup> PRCAG, Report on Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., undated [appr. 1929/30].

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Clair Brown, , September 26th 2016, 10.00-10.50.

<sup>45</sup> PRCAG, Statement on the Application for special Leave of Absence, submitted by Mowbray on April 28th, 1932.

<sup>46</sup> PRCAG, Recommendations of the promotion committee to President Sproul, March 5th, 1936, 2.

### III.I. Charles Gulick in Vienna 1936/1937

In July 1936, Gulick again left Berkeley for Europe, accompanied by his second wife Esther Kaufmann. The couple had married in May 1934.<sup>47</sup> The young scholar Benjamin Ward, who was invited to Gulick's house on Grizzly Peak in the 1950s remembered Esther as a "WASP urban matron". If so, it was surely not indicated by Esther's social background: In 1911 she was born in Oakland as the daughter of Ben Kaufmann, a "cattle man" [supposedly a butcher] of Jewish origin from San Francisco and his English born wife Sarah Wacholder.<sup>48</sup> Esther had grown up in Fresno and completed her BA at UC Berkeley. All available sources agree on the very fortunate, lovingly relationship between Charles and her until Charles' death in the 1980s.

When Charles and his 23 year-old spouse Esther arrived in Vienna in mid-September of 1936, they rented a flat in the Cottage-Gasse in the 19<sup>th</sup> district Döbling, a noble, quiet part of the city. While in the residential registration form back in 1930 Gulick had stated to be unaffiliated with any religion<sup>49</sup>, this time he declared to be episcopal.<sup>50</sup> Since none of my interview partners remembers Gulick as a religious person, this was apparently a precautionary measure to avoid suspicion by the regime.

About the start of his research, one of his later friends reported: "On the first day of his stay in Vienna, he [Gulick] went to the nearest tobacconist, which was located in Billrothstraße 31 [...] When Gulick ordered 'I want all newspapers', the tobacconist presented all daily papers he had, but Gulick wasn't satisfied. 'But these aren't all newspapers' he insisted. When the salesman assured him that there were no other papers available in Austria at that time, the professor said confidently 'I also want those newspapers which report the truth. [...] I also want the illegal ones – you can really sell them to me, I am not linked to the police.' [...] For the distribution of illegal newspapers one not only had to face a long-term jail sentence but also the loss of one's concession to run a tobacconist-shop. The tobacconist understood nevertheless that Gulick was harmless and didn't want to disappoint him. 'Of course I don't have any [illegal papers]. But in this building lives an old Social Democrat, Professor Simon, his son is in jail; probably he can help.'"<sup>51</sup>

In fact, Simon was able to arrange regular delivery of illegal media from that day on. And he did even more: he introduced Gulick to his personal political network. These contacts were an important basis for Gulick's research. During the following year, he had "hundreds of conversations with politicians, professors, businessmen, union operatives, waiters, tramway

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<sup>47</sup> PRCAG, Biography, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1941.

<sup>48</sup> Biographical Information of Esther Gulick, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

<sup>49</sup> Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Bundespolizeidirektion Wien, Historische Meldeunterlagen, Meldezettel Charles A. Gulick, 1. April/6. Juli 1930

<sup>50</sup> Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Bundespolizeidirektion Wien, Historische Meldeunterlagen, Meldezettel Charles A. Gulick, 14. September 1936/ 31. Mai 1937.

<sup>51</sup> Simon 1979, 262f.

conductors, clerks, public officials and factory workers”.<sup>52</sup> The social democrats Gulick was repeatedly in contact with included Karl Renner, Robert Danneberg, Hugo Breitner, Max Adler and – in his Czech exile in Brno – Otto Bauer.<sup>53</sup> It is evident from a mailing list for circular letters from the 1970s, that Gulick was also in contact with Karl and Josefine Ausch, Paul Blau, Elfriede Kranister, Alfred Magaziner, Karl Mark, Karl Przibram, Annette Richter, Philipp Rieger, Friedrich Scheu, Karl Waldbrunner, Stefan Wirlandner, Christian Broda, Eduard März and Anton Tesarek. At the end of the list, Gulick noted: “I am uncertain about Kreisky and Jonas [whose names on the list he had marked with a questionmark]. Both have been extremely kind, but there is not the same close relationship as with most of the [above mentioned] others. If you think it is not presumptuous to send them a letter of this sort, send it to them!”.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, he also met with prominent representatives of the regime such as Christian trade unionist Franz Hemala, with the later diplomat Walter Peinsipp, who at that time worked for the official propaganda service of the regime, hosted by the chancellery, with Leopold Kunschak, founder of the Christian trade unions, with Eugen Margaretha of the industrial association or with officials of the Vaterländische Front such as Ernst Karl Winter or Georg Blocher.<sup>55</sup> Obviously, during the conversations with the regime officials, Gulick was suggestive of being rather open minded towards the Austrian “new order” and hence was supported in his research. This part of the previous history might have been a reason for the harshness of the reaction Gulick’s book faced from that side of the political spectrum later on: it was not only a matter of opposing opinions but also of a feeling of having been sold out. However, we have almost no information about the topics Gulick discussed with his dialogue partners or the information he was given by them, as there are no notes left. Gulick also used American contacts during his research, especially those of his fellow professor at UC Berkeley, August Vollmer. Vollmer, a pioneer of police-, criminal justice- and law enforcement-studies had been chief of the Berkeley police and later on Professor at the department of political science at UC Berkeley. Due to his excellent international contacts, due to his position as former president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Vollmer, whose family was of German origin, personally knew the Viennese Police Director and Chancellor Johann Schober. In 1937, Gulick asked Vollmer successfully to introduce him to Schober’s successor Michael Skubl. Though there is no definitive proof it is very likely, that the internal police information Gulick refers to in his book is owed to Vollmer’s patronage.<sup>56</sup>

As a matter of fact, Gulick interviewing various actors in the field he wanted to portray used a method which was then not accepted by historical science but would revolutionize the subject decades later. Furthermore, his personal contacts undoubtedly provided written sources Gulick would have otherwise hardly had access to. Although his compilation of 481

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<sup>52</sup> Winkler 1971, 29.

<sup>53</sup> Winkler 1971, 29.

<sup>54</sup> Handwritten letter to Philipp Rieger, July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1975, Kreisky Archiv.

<sup>55</sup> Winkler 1971, 29.

<sup>56</sup> See the letters Gulick and Vollmer exchanged in August and September 1936, Bancroft library, Vollmer, August C-B, Box 45.

documents and sources “The Labor Movement in Austria 1916-1947. Sources and Documents”, which he presented to the University Library on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1949<sup>57</sup> contains just a fractional amount of his original collection (easily verifiable when the content at Bancroft Library is compared to the references in his book and explicitly mentioned in the Bancroft catalogue), it certainly still is one of the top-ten collections on the Austrian labor movement during the first republic and certainly the most important collection in North America today. It is of interest in particular because it not only includes a broad variety of illegal publications from the period 1934-1938 such as bulletins of the underground movement Revolutionary Socialists and of the Exile-office in Brno Auslandsbüro der österreichischen Sozialdemokraten (ALÖS), but also leaflets and other propaganda material as well as internal documents of various public authorities, police and courts and publications of foreign supporters of the left such as the Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners, which released a black book of the Austrian dictatorship in 1934. Last, but not least, Gulick’s collection also contains various material and press releases of the socialist exile which are hardly available in Austrian archives.

It may well be that it was no exaggeration, when his friend and later assistant Ernst Winkler wrote about Charles and Esther Gulick that they had fallen in love with “the Austrian way of life, the Viennese commodity and the natural beauty of our country.”<sup>58</sup> The Gulicks left Vienna in the end of May but did not, as they declared in their registration form, return to California, but spent the summer at the marvelous Achensee Lake in Tyrolia where they combined work and recreation. It might have been especially the memory of those months in summer 1937 that caused a deep feeling of connectedness with Austria: “as you know”, Gulick would write more than 30 years later to then chancellor Bruno Kreisky “there are many times when I feel more Austrian than American.”<sup>59</sup>

Finally, in autumn 1937, the Gulicks returned back home to Berkeley. Just half a year later, the German Reich incorporated Austria, causing a second, much bigger wave of refugees than that in 1934. As the situation in Austria became more and more threatening not only for opponent political activists but especially for people who did not meet the racist criteria of the new regime, people heading for the US were desperately looking for US citizens willing to provide affidavits as preconditions to be accepted as visa applicants. As Walter Simon reports, Charles and Esther Gulick enabled several refugees to come to the US. Gulick himself remembers: “In 1938-39, with the help of a YMCA secretary (once my student), a Roman Catholic priest, the Rabbi of the university community, representatives of several Protestant denominations and a vice president of the university, I organized a committee to try to bring to Berkeley students who were in great risk of ending their days in a Nazi concentration camp. Most of the nine we got were Austrians, two or three Czechs, one German. One of the Austrians we had met in 1936. He enlisted as a private in the U. S. Army,

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<sup>57</sup> Catalogue of „The Labor Movement in Austria, 1916-1947“ by the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

<sup>58</sup> Winkler 1971, 28.

<sup>59</sup> Gulick to Kreisky, September 16th 1976, Kreisky Archiv. I owe thanks to Oliver Rathkolb for the hint to the correspondence between Gulick and Kreisky.

rose to the rank of major in an anti-tank battalion, was seriously wounded and received several decorations but finally established himself as a highly successful psychiatrist in S. F.”<sup>60</sup> For at least three of them Gulick managed to organize employment at UC Berkeley. The historian and economist Alexander Gerschenkron, who later on became a prominent professor at Harvard, as well as president of the Economic History Association and member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, held a regular position as scientist, while the economist Ernst Winkler worked as an assistant for Gulick himself. Karl Heinz, due to his writings a well-known officer of the social democratic militia “Republikanischer Schutzbund” and member of the Austrian Parliament 1930-1933 was the last one to reach Berkeley via Czechoslovakia, France, Sweden, the Soviet Union and the Philippines in 1941. At first, he found a job as a helper at a store and later on Gulick found him a position in the university’s administration. Heinz, who was, different to Winkler and Gerschenkron, a real manual worker (he was a trained typographer) continued in the USA with his political activism and was one of the founders of the Foreign Representation of Austrian Social Democrats (Auslandsvertretung der Österreichischen Sozialdemokratie), led by Friedrich Adler.<sup>61</sup>

Beside his support of left-wing Austrian Refugees, Gulick was also interested in the activities of the right-wing exile in the US, consisting of former proponents of the austrofascist regime, the Heimwehr and various groups of monarchists. When Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg published his memoirs in New York 1942, Gulick wrote a highly political review, accusing the author of being a political relevant to National Socialism and warning allied officials that after Austria would be liberated, it would be “fatal to give any position of importance to the Heimwehr and quasi-fascist Christian Social personalities who were dominant in the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg regimes. The former deserve no more consideration than Hitler”<sup>62</sup>

### **III.II. The opus magnum: Austria from Habsburg to Hitler**

Finally, after almost 13 years of research and writing, Charles Gulick published his two-volume-book “Austria from Habsburg to Hitler” in 1948 at University of California Press. The first Volume “Labors Workshop of Democracy” dealt with the history of the Austrian Labor Movement, of the establishment of the Republic in 1918 and the Social and Labor Legislation of the first two years of the Republic. The most important part of the first volume however was dedicated to Red Vienna, to its Municipal Housing, the Welfare Work, to Education and Cultural Activities. The second volume “Fascism’s Subversion of Democracy” analyzes the growing polarization of the political spectrum from 1927 on, the enforcement of a fascist regime in 1933/34 and the development of the latter until its collapse in 1938. Also, Gulick addressed the problem of the various social democratic attempts to counter the authoritarianization pushed by their opponents, culminating in spontaneous resistance of parts of the party without authority by the party’s leadership.

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<sup>60</sup> Circular Letter from Gulick to his Austrian friends, September 22nd, 1981.

<sup>61</sup> Simon 1979, 263f.

<sup>62</sup> Gulick, Charles A. 1942: The Fascist Prince of Austria, In: New York Times 36f., November 8th, 1942.



In the US, Gulick's book was predominantly received very positively. In particular, reviews stressed the encyclopedic character of Gulick's work and his detailed description of both political actors and legacy on the one, and cultural and intellectual questions on the other hand.<sup>63</sup> Critical remarks referred consentaneously to the allegedly partisan agenda in favor of the Social Democrats and against the Christian Socialists. In contrast, the Austrian audience was hardly interested in Gulick's examination of social policy, of the labor movement or of his exploration of Viennese municipal politics. Instead, socialists and conservatives alike focused almost exclusively on a.) Gulick's open and sometimes harsh judgement on responsibilities for the destruction of the first Republic, for which he blamed the Christian Socialists and their allies and b.) Gulick's explanation why the regime Dollfuß/Schuschnigg had to be regarded as fascist. While socialists underlined Gulick to be a perfectly unprejudiced chief witness for their retrospective point of view,<sup>64</sup> the conservatives accused him of clearly being on the socialist side and thus not being trustworthy as a historian. Gulick himself addressed this problem in his introduction: "[...] it is almost needless to add that I hold that whenever possible the social scientist has not only the right but the duty to draw conclusions from, and express value judgments on, the factual evidence available. In other words, I have no patience with the intellectual contortionist who apparently thinks he is 'unscientific' unless he tries to get a part of each foot on each side of every question that is faintly controversial. [...] To some readers the conclusions and judgments may, at times, seem to read more like a bill of indictment. As a matter of fact, they sum up to a bill of indictment. Moreover, no apology is required or offered for indicting Fascists [...]." <sup>65</sup> Gulick had a clear opinion and would not make any attempts to hide his sympathies. Not only regarding his historiographic position he was clearly partisan for the social democratic side, in his personal convictions he also was - contrary to statements from the socialist side - ideologically not very far from social democracy. To prove that, one does not need to rely on the FBI, which characterized Gulick as "liberal and mild pink"<sup>66</sup> but would deny having a file on him.<sup>67</sup> It was Gulick himself who expressed great sympathies for "Austromarxism in the 1926-Linz-program-sense".<sup>68</sup> The fact that Gulick was so frank in his judgement on Dollfuß and his allies might be an explanation why the massive criticism he held for the social democratic side as well was widely ignored after 1945 from both the socialists as well as the conservatives. Gulick not only stated pitilessly that the Social Democratic leadership acted without a long term strategy, without readiness to make hard

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. The reviews of Walter Galenson (American Economic Review) and Arthur Freud (Industrial and Labor Relations Review).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Hannak, Jacques 1949: Vier Jahre Zweite Republik. Ein Rechenschaftsbericht der Sozialistischen Partei, Vienna, 16.

<sup>65</sup> Gulick, Charles 1948, Vol. 1, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in Rathkolb, Oliver 2009: Hans Kelsen und das FBI während des McCarthyismus in den USA, In: Walter, Robert/Ogris, Werner/Olechowski, Thomas (ed.): Hans Kelsen. Leben – Werk – Wirksamkeit, Vienna, 339-348:341. On the question of his personal political views Gulick's paper „The Spirit and Ideology of Austrian Socialism“ announced in 1960 but never published would certainly have been insightful. Cf: Amerikanisches Komitee zum Studium der Geschichte der Donaumonarchie 1959: Eine Amerikanische Österreich-Bibliographie, In: Forschungsinstitut für den Donaauraum (ed.): Der Donaauraum, 4. Jg., 122-132:131.

<sup>67</sup> FOIPA Request No. 1363152-000 on Gulick, Charles Adams.

<sup>68</sup> Circular Letter from Gulick to his Austrian friends, September 22nd, 1981.



decisions and – in the end – to make clear politics. Instead, he argued, “that Austrian Social Democrats of the First Republic were essentially practical men, Revisionists, good democrats and parliamentarians who used radical slogans merely as a tactical device to pacify the Party Left”, as Kurt L. Shell, who would clearly disagree summed up Gulick’s argumentation.<sup>69</sup> Alternatively, it might not have been ignorance towards Gulick’s criticism but tacit consent with his perspective that urged the silence of a socialist party establishment that – in comparison to the interwar period – had politically turned to the right and therefore had no objections against criticism of their leftwing predecessors.

As a consequence of the divided reception of Gulick’s book, he was honored by the socialists and widely ignored by the conservatives. In fact: ignored in the sense that he was not cited, not invited, not recommended. On the other hand, the Austrian conservatives were massively alerted, that Gulick’s book might cause “misleading interpretations of Austrian politics today”, as a representative of the ÖVP would put it. Conservatives therefore started a counter-book-project with financial support of ÖVP ministers and the Wirtschaftskammer which was published in 1954 as “Geschichte der Republik Österreich” by a group of authors under supervision of Viennese Historian (and part-time journalist of a conservative Newspaper) Heinrich Benedikt. The impact of this very popular book would deserve its own examination that would exceed the limits of this report.

### III.III. Aftermath

Gulick himself did not intervene in the dispute his book caused in Austria. He visited the country at least twice for a longer period of time after the war: He apparently spent some time of a six-month sabbatical leave during which he stayed in several European countries in spring 1952 in Vienna<sup>70</sup>. Together with Esther he returned again in February of 1959 and stayed until July of the same year.<sup>71</sup> A final sabbatical leave during which he wanted to finalize his studies on the ideological development of the Austrian Labor Movement in 1962 was not approved by the University.<sup>72</sup> Despite that, Gulick had several short-term stays in Vienna, such as in 1950 when he was awarded the Prize of the City of Vienna for Humanities, when he received the Medal of Honor of the City in Gold in 1977<sup>73</sup>, and when he gave a lecture at the Institut für Gesellschaftspolitik in Vienna in 1972.<sup>74</sup> In the last years of his academic career, Gulick was increasingly isolated at his department at Berkeley. The main reason for this was, according to Ben Ward, that Gulick was not regarded a serious

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<sup>69</sup> Shell, Kurt L. 1962: The Transformation of Austrian Socialism, New York, 245.

<sup>70</sup> See the declaration of intention to apply for half year sabbatical in Fall 1951 or Spring of 1952 to continue research in labor history in Europe, PRCAG, Annual Supplement to Bio-Bibliography for the Academic Year 1949-50, as well as Lebendige Stadt. Almanach. Band 10. Wien: Amt für Kultur, Volksbildung und Schulverwaltung der Stadt Wien 1963, 84.

<sup>71</sup> Annual Supplement to Bio-Bibliography for July 1st 1958 – Juni 30, 1959.

<sup>72</sup> PRCAG, Application for Sabbatical Leave, December 8th, 1961.

<sup>73</sup> [https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php/Charles\\_Adams\\_Gulick#tab=Auszeichnungen](https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php/Charles_Adams_Gulick#tab=Auszeichnungen).

<sup>74</sup> PRCAG, Annual Supplement to Bio-Biography July 1st 1972-June 30, 1973.

economist or scientist at all (“His book [From Habsburg to Hitler] seemed to me as if it would have been written by the editorial board of Vorwärts [a socialist newspaper] – it did not seem a serious work to me”<sup>75</sup>).

When Gulick retired in July 1963<sup>76</sup> at the department it was said to be because of his bad health (“he was thought to retire to die in peace”<sup>77</sup>), but it seems as if his main interest was just to escape the changed academic activities. He kept his office at the department and came to the campus almost daily to read at the library, attend lectures or talk to colleagues. He sympathized with the free speech movement as well as with feminist attempts in- and outside the university and at the end of the 60s more and more with the anti-war-movement.<sup>78</sup> Also, Gulick anxiously observed conservative reactions to these social movements and feared a “Neo-McCarthyism” coming up.<sup>79</sup> In fact, his last conflict with the university was about a declaration of loyalty he was asked to sign in the early 1970s. In the beginning, Gulick refused to do so but gave in when he faced the threat of his pension payment being blocked. To Clair Brown, who was also not sure if she should sign, Gulick said when asked what he had decided, “I held my nose and signed”.<sup>80</sup>

In 1976, after years of work financed mainly by the SPÖ, Gulick published a condensed one-volume translation of “Austria from Habsburg to Hitler” which had been a personal issue to him, since, as he wrote to Bruno Kreisky, “the 1950 translation was a total disaster [...] I am convinced that in less than 2,400 pages there are 5,000 errors and that at least 100 of them exactly reverse the meaning of the English.”<sup>81</sup> Apart from one article, that was his last publication. In 1984, Gulick died in his 88<sup>th</sup> year. In his last circular three years earlier, Gulick wrote “as most of you know I feel more and more often that I have had ten, or fifteen too many birthday anniversaries [...] Often I have said that there are DAMN few advantages of becoming old. Esthers honors [for her engagement with environmental issues], your messages and honors [...] may prove I have had more than one man’s share of those advantages.” His last salute was the party greeting of Austrian Social Democracy: “Freundschaft”.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with Benjamin N. Ward, September 22nd 2016, 10.25-11.35.

<sup>76</sup> PRCAG, UC Berkeley, Change in Employment Status, approved in February 1963.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Benjamin N. Ward, September 22nd 2016, 10.25-11.35.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Clair Brown September 26th 2016, 10.00-10.50.

<sup>79</sup> Gulick, Charles A.: Neo-McCarthyismus in Kalifornien, Die Zukunft, Oktober 1961, 292-297.

<sup>80</sup> <sup>80</sup> Interview with Clair Brown September 26th 2016, 10.00-10.50. His personnel record does not include any kind of such declaration though.

<sup>81</sup> Charles A. Gulick to Bruno Kreisky, July 15th, 1975, Kreisky Archiv.

<sup>82</sup> Circular Letter from Gulick to his Austrian friends, September 22nd, 1981