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## **The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Nazi Germany and German Americans**

Taking the long view at the trials and tribulations of German Americans during and after the two world wars one cannot overlook the paradox in the ways Americans looked at German culture in both wars with Germany. In World War I, more specifically at Wilson's declaration of war against the German Reich, German culture—*Kultur*<sup>1</sup>—became the target of incredibly hostile attacks against German Americans and was portrayed as almost synonymous with German militarism. In the 1930s, during the Nazi regime, German American groups encountered mostly friendly respect or ignorance among Americans when they used the association with German culture. The success of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (CSMF), founded in 1930, in surviving the Nazi period more or less intact as a quintessentially German-American organization was due to a considerable extent to its dedication to German culture, broadly publicized in the lusciously illustrated journal, *American-German Review*. In Philadelphia where the foundation occupied an impressive government-owned building, it organized widely acclaimed cultural activities before and during the war with Nazi Germany.

The study will illuminate the strategies with which the foundation accomplished this feat, acting as a prominent, though not always loved voice of this ethnic group, maintaining an unswerving devotion to German culture while avoiding—or trying to avoid—the pitfalls of sympathizing with the *völkisch* brand of German cultural pride. The article will follow the founders' path from organizing transatlantic exchanges of students and professionals in the early 1930s to establishing an impressive rescue operation for refugee scholars from Germany and Austria after 1933 and, in the later 1930s, converting the foundation to a center of preserving the German-American cultural heritage. Crucial for the financing of the ambitious agenda of the trans-

atlantic exchanges and the subsequent support of Jewish German refugees was the establishment of a one-million-dollar trust by the industrialist Gustav Oberlaender in 1931, called the Oberlaender Trust, which was administered by the foundation and exhausted in the early 1950s. Given its achievements and flaws and the fact that it not only survived the war but also became active in German-American reconciliation after 1945, this organization had no peer among German-American associations of this period.

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, disbanded in 1976 after a long period of decline, and afterwards all but forgotten, has attracted little scholarship.<sup>2</sup> If German American groups in this period drew attention, the focus lay on the Nazi organizations that kept the American officials busy, primarily the Friends of the New Germany and the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, but also other German-American associations whose activities on behalf of Nazi Germany seemed to reach into the territory of propaganda and were considered a threat to the United States.<sup>3</sup> In this context the CSMF is rarely mentioned which means that it either was not seen as a part of ethnic politics or too hard to pin down as pro or contra Nazism. It could easily be mixed up with the nazified Carl Schurz Vereinigung (CSV), a German group of politicians and businessmen in Berlin who acted as a welcoming club for American visitors.<sup>4</sup> The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Philadelphia tried—not always successfully—to keep a strict distance to the German club and Nazified organizations. Its prominent organ, *The American-German Review* with its array of refined illustrations from the cultural realm has rarely been used as a source of information, although it presented the central platform of addressing Americans and German Americans before, during and after the war. Scholarly research about German Americans of this period seemed more rewarding when some of their groups kept government watchdogs on their toes in their search for fifth columns from Nazi Germany.

Further confusing might have been the unusual extension of this organization's life span far into the postwar period. Transforming itself during the war years into a center of German-American heritage by promoting a broad research agenda, the CSMF after the end of the war was ready to actively engage in reestablishing democracy to Germany once the State Department and the Army realized the need to involve existing German-American contacts. The festive Centennial of the Revolution of 1848/49 in the Frankfurt Paulskirche in which the memory of Carl Schurz in 1948 figured prominently represented a culmination of the foundation's steadfast promotion of a liberal and democratic agenda. The CSMF contributed substantial planning and sponsorship to this milestone event of postwar German democracy.

## **Reviving Carl Schurz's Liberal Legacy in the 1930s**

The promotion of culture in the effort to show that the German Americans had always acted as loyal Americans and that their highest ideals and achievements belonged to the history of the United States, would have lacked substance if it had not been for the person who embodied these ideals and achievements in his admirable life: Carl Schurz, under whose name the foundation conducted its work as an agency for scholarly and professional exchanges across the Atlantic. Not only was Schurz the ideal American of German origin who rose to the highest ranks of the American government but also as one of the heroes of the 1848/49 Revolution he represented the democratic tradition that Germany finally had reinvigorated after World War I and lost to National Socialism. Hans Trefousse, a Jewish-German emigré historian from Frankfurt who wrote the best biography of Schurz, reminded his readers in 1982 that at Schurz's hundredth birthday in 1929 the German Reichstag in Berlin "paid tribute to the great liberal and democrat with speeches by Gustav Stresemann and Ambassador Jacob Schurman, among others, while the appearance of books and articles attested to Germany's pride in her great interpreter in America."<sup>5</sup> In 1930 Schurman became the honorary president of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.

As proven by the following events, the reference to Schurz was not just an invocation ritual of the best-known German American as practiced at the founding of the Carl Schurz Vereinigung in Berlin in 1926. When James Speyer, the Jewish treasurer, in a letter to the foundation's president Ferdinand Thun raised strong opposition against continuing contacts with Germany after the country fell under Hitler's reign in 1933, he argued: "No doubt you will agree with me that if Mr. Carl Schurz were alive today, he would be leading the protest against what is taking place in Germany."<sup>6</sup> And when Speyer who in his youth had met Schurz shortly after 1900 declared his resignation as treasurer on October 6, 1933, he wrote to Wilbur K. Thomas, the executive secretary: "As I told you the other day, all these measures that have been adopted by the Hitler government are so contrary to the ideas and ideals of the late Carl Schurz that I would like to see the foundation take a stand publicly, in memory of the man whose name our foundation bears."<sup>7</sup>

The majority of the board decided to continue the exchange work with Germany and forgo a public statement. The minority, mostly Jewish, accused the foundation of trashing Schurz's legacy. The majority held against the criticism that its work for better understanding between the two nations by sending Americans overseas was never more needed than in the present situation. Yet it could not prevent the decision of the Jewish board members to resign

which implied that their financial support would cease, a major setback for the future finances of the foundation.

This was, of course, an ominous predicament, and the foundation, in its first years reluctant to take a public position vis-à-vis the Nazi state, had to fight numerous accusations and denunciations in order to avoid being tainted as a propagator of Nazi thinking when it made special efforts in lifting German culture beyond the routine clichés about the Krauts. Referring to German culture as a source of inspiration, as it was done in the *American-German Review*,<sup>8</sup> came with the understanding that the way it was presented



Fig. 1: Cover of the first issue of *The American-German Review* (September 1934).

stood in contrast to what went on in Nazi Germany without outright condemning it.

And yet, the *American-German Review* also documents the fact that the full-blown representation of German culture from celebrated medieval sculptures like the “Bamberg Rider” (fig. 1) and Uta of Naumburg to giants like Goethe, Dürer and Beethoven did not provide a safe sanctum of ethnic identity since it was easily drawn into the Nazi orbit of *völkisch* greatness. Published since 1934, the journal had to move the core of its cultural coverage from those German heavy-weights to an innovative presentation of German-American cultural achievements, interspersed with musings

about the cultural wealth of the old country. During the war with Germany, it expanded this strategy of illustrating German culture in the incarnation of German-American culture.

What initially had been of secondary interest to the foundation’s leadership became the prerogative: preserving the rich contributions of German Americans to the development of the United States. As the country had benefitted over the centuries from the contributions of Germans and their culture, the German Americans could claim to be the conveyor of this gift. Much maligned in World War I, they had lost self-confidence yet were ready to pronounce their claim in the cultural fabric of the nation. Around 1940 the foundation and its journal engaged in a serious effort of a scholarly documentation of the ethnic heritage. The effort paid its dividends by strengthening the legitimacy of German America, as it was often called, within the

ethnic diversity of the country. Although it did not prevent the revocation of the foundation's tax-exempt status at the end of 1943, it paid its dividends as long as the war lasted. Once the fight was over, the sustaining argument drew its energy again from the much broader mission of earlier years that went beyond the preservation of the German-American heritage: to preserve the "true," the "better" Germany in its culture, confirming a moral continuity that helped the foundation in both regain its the tax-exempt status in 1946 and become a significant player in the re-education efforts of the American army in West Germany.

Wilbur K. Thomas, a Quaker who had been the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee before taking over as executive director of the foundation and managing editor of the *American-German Review*, tried to steer the organization away from political confrontations. He tended to soft-pedal the reactions to the Nazi actions, yet never forgot to invoke Schurz's liberal legacy in stark formulations—for some time probably still responding to Speyer's indictment. Schurz was the most often invoked and quoted authority of the *American-German Review*, and as the war progressed, the most trusted witness of the efforts to cherish the best of the German heritage. In 1942 the journal printed the call to action under the title, "Volunteer Service for Democracy." It conveyed the broad appeal to teachers and German Americans to contribute to the war effort and proposed: "In memory of Carl Schurz, an immigrant and staunch defender of democracy, we call upon all who are in any way related to the same cultural background, to become active not only in serving this country in its immediate crisis, but also in upholding standards that will be of permanent values for generations to come."<sup>9</sup>

It is to the credit of Wilbur Thomas whose official statements and numerous editorials in the *American-German Review* shaped much of the outward profile of the foundation, that this sense of upholding Schurz's liberal legacy for generations to come energized the deliberations about Germany's future after the war. It took its first shape soon after the defeat at Stalingrad in 1943. Although its activities on behalf of the Germans were under constant observation, the foundation was able to maintain its vision of a democratic Germany and even refer to its original mission by suggesting renewed professional contacts with Germans. By 1947 the State Department tapped this potential and included the foundation in the complicated organization of the reeducation program whereby funds of the Oberlaender Trust could be used according to the original mission for "sending Americans to Germany"—in this case "to further the democratic re-orientation of Germany."<sup>10</sup>

After Wilbur Thomas had to retire in 1946 when his health deteriorated rapidly, the new executive director Howard W. Elkinton took up the challenge and engaged the foundation fully in the re-education efforts. There

could not be a better testimony to the importance of Carl Schurz for these efforts, especially with his role in the democratic revolution of 1848/49 whose anniversary was celebrated in the reconstructed Paulskirche in Frankfurt, than Elkinton's report to an official in the Department of the Interior about an exploratory trip to West Germany:

I was most pleased to discover that the name of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, not only was known but it was respected. In fact, General Clay expressed personally appreciation of our response to their invitation to share in the Carl Schurz Centenary at Frankfurt a/M on September 3, 1948. It is curious that at this time Carl Schurz has emerged as a character of rather special significance. If there had not been a World War II and if there were not an occupation, he would merely have been a German lad who made good in the U. S., but because of his extraordinary contributions to our government as secretary of the interior, because of his influence in civil service reform, because of his work with the American Indian, and his valiant efforts for freedom and individual liberty, he now becomes in Germany an 'bridge' character. Streets are named after him, squares carry his name and a bridge built by our army engineers near Frankfurt is called the Carl Schurz Bridge.<sup>11</sup>

It is not known whether participants of the celebration of Schurz in the Reichstag in 1929 were present in the Paulskirche event in 1948. They would have witnessed a spectacular act of resuming the interrupted tradition of German democracy that had its origins in the fight of revolutionaries like Carl Schurz and was disastrously ruptured by Hitler and the Nazis.

When in 1933 the board of the foundation decided to continue the exchange program with Nazi Germany against James Speyer's admonition that Schurz might not have done it, it set out on a perilous course. This course deserves a closer look as it became a barometer of the ways in which the maintenance of German culture fared in America while the Nazi regime coerced the culture of the country under a *völkisch* command. Whatever happened to the foundation during this phase, Wilbur Thomas reminisced in 1946, it was able to preserve and renew Schurz's legacy. He added in Quaker modesty: "During these fifteen years, we have often said that perhaps America was the one place where the best of the old German culture could be retained and passed on to future generations."<sup>12</sup>

## **Promoting Exchanges with Germany**

A crucial precondition for making culture, German culture, the basis for an American organization was the declaration of the founders to stay away from politics. Only by maintaining the mantra of keeping politics out of the business of international exchange as decreed by the founders could the organization hope to survive when the Nazis strew suspicion over all contacts with Germany.

The less than spectacular ways of conducting its business of promoting international understanding might have had a lot to do with the foundation's origins in the American Quaker Relief Organization after World War I that did its spectacular work of saving thousands of German and Austrian children in a harmonious collaboration between officials of the countries involved. The Quaker spirit of serving beyond borders in a nonpolitical way permeated the intentions of the founders and the practices of the organization whose long-time executive director, Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas, had also worked as a pastor in Friends communities. Being located in Philadelphia, the center of American Quakerism, and not in New York where the organization was founded and several of the main sponsors resided, may have helped maintain the unostentatious language that Thomas and President Ferdinand Thun used for public statements and that characterized the otherwise abundantly illustrated journal. The mission was laid out in a few words in the Certificate of Incorporation: "to honor the memory of Carl Schurz;" "to cultivate and promote closer intellectual relations between the United States of America and Germany;" "to maintain an interchange between the United States of America and Germany of students, teachers, scholars, lecturers, artists, and men of affairs;" and last but not least "make awards, gifts and grants for the purpose of promoting or carrying on any of the objects or purposes of this Corporation."<sup>13</sup>

The list of the founders reads like a who's-who of German-American business prominence, crowned with the renown of Jacob Gould Schurman, former president of Cornell University, American Ambassador to Germany in 1925–30, and generous benefactor to the University of Heidelberg. James Speyer, who before World War I had sponsored the Deutsches Haus of Columbia University as a center of German studies, pledged the sum of \$50,000 towards the anticipated endowment of \$500,000, joined by other Jewish businessmen, Paul Warburg, Julius Rosenwald and Felix Warburg who pledged the same amounts as did Ferdinand Thun, the foundation's president, Henry Janssen and Gustav Oberlaender, all successful textile manufacturers in Reading, Pennsylvania. These businessmen illustrate the liberal middle-class support group that was anchored among Americans of German

or German-Jewish heritage, maligned in World War I and eager to rectify the image of Germans and Germany, focused more on improving American-German relations than just reinforcing German ethnicity.

The foundation declared its work strictly non-political, unattached to any party or national organization. In 1932 Harry Pfund, a Philadelphia Quaker and professor of German literature at Haverford College, a prominent Quaker institution, listed 250 members. Among the first activities student exchanges ranked highest (79 German students traveling in the U.S. and 73 Americans to Germany in 1930/31; 85 Germans to the U.S. and 88 Americans to Germany in 1931/32).<sup>14</sup> In the anniversary year of Goethe's death the foundation devoted substantial means to Goethe celebrations; it also was prominently involved in the celebration of Washington's two hundred's birthday. At this time the first signs of the economic depression began to influence financial planning.

It was all the more sensational when in 1931 one of the organization's founding members, Gustav Oberlaender, established a trust of one million dollars as a gift to the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation to be used as an integral part of its work of "furthering a better understanding between the people of the United States and the German-speaking peoples."<sup>15</sup> Oberlaender's philanthropy triggered an enormous echo. The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, the foremost voice of the German Americans, called it the greatest cultural act in German-American history ("Die größte Kulturtat in Deutschamerikas Geschichte"), adding that German Americans had been rather stingy with this kind of support, especially since the war. After the political "Steuben-Bewegung," the paper mused, the time had come for the cultural "Carl Schurz-Bewegung."<sup>16</sup> The *New York Times* brought a big article under the title "\$1,000,000 Gift to Aid Amity with Germany" which touched upon the sponsor's close links with the New York business elite and summarized Oberlaender's intentions in the subtitle, "Ex-Immigrant Wants Mature Persons Who Can Interpret Facts to Be Sent Abroad." Pointing out that American professionals would be sent to Germany, the *Times* explained:

Selections will probably be made from those doing public health or welfare work, editors, writers, research students and those interested in and studying race relationships, social conditions and old-age insurance. Men and women interested in music and art will also be qualified for selection. The principle basis of selection will be the faculty to interpret impressions received in Germany and the ability and interest to better relations between the two countries.<sup>17</sup>



While the foundation in its broader intentions focused on the mutual nature of the exchanges and promoted opportunities to expand knowledge about German culture through exhibitions and events, including those about German Americans, the Oberlaender Trust was initially intended to enhance professional networking by sending Americans overseas for the study of German developments in order to enhance their work in the United States. The most successful program areas were those in forestry, municipal government, museology, public health and education. The list of the fellows between 1931 and 1953, when the financial means were exhausted and the fund was closed, shows an impressive array of prominent professionals from all walks of American public and academic life. Spectacular was the beginning when in 1931 the Oberlaender Trust sent the famous physicist and Nobel prize winner Robert Millikan of the California Institute of Technology on a lecture tour to German universities and in 1932 sponsored Albert Einstein to go to the U. S. in order to continue his collaboration with Millikan.<sup>18</sup>

When Hitler installed his regime in Germany, the trust encountered suspicion in both countries, yet held fast to the declaration of bringing professionals together and being non-political. The program was broadly welcomed in the various fields, though without fanfare. Among the influential visitors were George Shuster, later president of Hunter College, in 1933; Princeton economist Frank Graham in 1934; W. E. B DuBois in 1935; not to mention the prominence of American forestry, delegations of municipal administrators and other experts.

### **Rescuing German Scholars and Writers**

And yet, this constituted only part of the sponsored activities in the 1930s. Already in the letter exchange between James Speyer and Wilbur Thomas shortly after Hitler's power grab in 1933 Thomas suggested an initiative to help German scientists who were expelled from their institutions to travel to the U.S. and provide, if they found professional sponsors, some initial financial support. Thomas even mentions Millikan as one possible sponsor. "If we can begin possibly in assisting some of those who have been made to suffer through no fault of their own, we can at least help a few and call the attention of the world to the situation."<sup>19</sup> Hanns Gramm who directed the operations of the Oberlaender Trust after Wilbur Thomas's retirement from 1946 to 1953, in his final report about the trust pointed to the flexibility of Oberlaender's original determination concerning the use of the funds. ("You and your successors, however, have power to change the character of the work, as you think best. I place no binding restrictions upon you.")<sup>20</sup> This flexibility allowed Thomas and the board to give assistance to Germans

coming to the U.S. as well, not just Americans traveling to Germany. "More than 300 individuals were placed in this manner, and the Oberlaender Trust spent over \$317,000 in pursuit of this program. It turned out to be a success beyond all expectations. The number of failures was remarkably small."<sup>21</sup>

Gramm's sober assessment conceals the immense drama of the exodus of many of the very best, mostly Jewish scholars from Nazi Germany and the complicated rescue operation on the part of American private organizations. The Oberlaender Trust became one of the three most generous sponsors besides the Rockefeller Foundation and the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. Stephen Duggan, the prominent director of the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York who organized and oversaw the growth of student exchanges in the 1920s and was one of the co-founders of the CSME, established the Emergency Committee in 1933 as the central organization to assist refugee academics. In his later assessment Duggan noted that the trust, different from the foundation, was able to use the funds for refugees thanks to Oberlaender's flexibility. He explained:

The Oberlaender Trust concerned itself with all kinds of refugees from Germany: scholars, physicians, lawyers, technicians, musicians, and others. Contrary to the practice followed by the Emergency Committee, the trust dealt directly with the refugees. It had no objection to the practice whereby the scholar himself sought a place in a college or a university on his own initiative. In cases where the scholar was successful, the trust would consider making a grant to the institution as part of his salary.<sup>22</sup>

However, to secure a position, even a temporary one, at an American institution during the Depression years was a rare feat. With about 5000 American academics looking for positions in institutions of higher learning, the influx of European scholars met with enormous obstacles. Even the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation were "resolutely against aiding the younger group of deposed Germans, since there [was] . . . a large enough number of American scholars without positions."<sup>23</sup>

The formal hurdles for refugees began with the struggle for visas. Being labeled LPCs ("likely to become public charges") reduced their chances to even fill the immigrant quotas until 1938 when the LPC clause was repealed. The statistics of the grants that the Oberlaender Trust provided, show the highest number in 1938/39. As mentioned by Duggan, the trust dealt with the individuals directly, yet usually dispensed the grant to the institution in support of the salary. The amounts were small, from a monthly stipend of \$100 or \$200 for a year or two to one-time sums and special project grants.

The average amount for a person seems to have been about \$1,000. As Duggan noted, the cooperation with the trust was especially valuable in later years, when it supplemented many Emergency Committee grants. The Rockefeller Foundation expended the largest amount in this program: \$1,410,778 for 303 scholars.<sup>24</sup>

The papers of the Oberlaender Trust in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania illuminate a little known part of the drama of the rescue of refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria. Well-known writers like Thomas Mann, Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich appear frequently as recommenders, others like the historian Veit Valentin, the critic Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, the composer Ernst Krenek or the writer Joachim Maas as applicants. Thomas Mann praises Werner Richter, the *Germanist* and former *Ministerialdirigent* in the Prussian Ministry of Culture, as being “a man of irreproachable democratic convictions;”<sup>25</sup> the former communist Ruth Fischer is being declined by the board for her proposed study of the relationship between the Russian and the German labor movements; Paul Tillich recommends the writer Oskar Maria Graf, the Bavarian original, yet adds: “he is one of those German writers for whom the adaptation to the conditions of this country is most difficult if not impossible.”<sup>26</sup> Max Horkheimer, the doyen of the Frankfurt School, recommends several affiliates of the Institut für Sozialforschung, Maximilian Beck, Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse and Franz Neumann, yet succeeds only in the case of Ernst Bloch.<sup>27</sup>

The list of successful Oberlaender fellows shows, as Duggan stated, a wide variety of professions, mostly but not all with academic credentials, among them names that gained their full reputation after they left Germany and others for whom the American environment proved to be hurtful and injurious. They encountered anti-Semitism even at the most prominent universities.<sup>28</sup> The list of the better known names includes, aside from Ernst Bloch, Werner Richter and Oskar Maria Graf: Hermann Broch, Ernst Kantorowicz, Alexander Gerschenkron, Siegfried Kracauer, Otto Kirchheimer, James Franck, Kurt Pinthus, Wolfgang Paulsen, Leo Strauss, Arthur Rosenberg, Veit Valentin, Heinrich Mann, Ferdinand Bruckner, Robert Kempner, Arno Schirokauer, Dieter Cunz, Richard Alewyn, Ossip K. Flechtheim, Paul Hindemith, as well as several women, among them Edith Lenel, Marianne Beth, Margaret Paschkin.

When Alvin Johnson—the founder of another crucial rescue operation for displaced scholars, the University in Exile in New York—explained in a letter in 1943 the growth of this support network, he gave the Oberlaender Trust as much credit as the Rockefeller and Guggenheim foundations, the Emergency Committee and an array of Jewish relief organizations. Johnson emphasized the fact that most of these organizations were not set up for this

aid work: “To their everlasting credit, Dr. Thomas [of the CSMF], Dr. Moe [of Guggenheim] and Dr. Fosdick [of Rockefeller] carried their Trustees with them in their program of diverting the foundation funds to the present emergency of the academic refugee.” His characterization of the Oberlaender Trust deserves mentioning: it “exists to foster the contribution of the old German liberalism in American national life.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Culture: Safeguard, not Provocation**

In this context Wilbur Thomas’s soft-pedaling the reactions against the policies of Nazi Germany appears quite contradictory. Initially impressed by Germany’s success in overcoming the Depression—as did several board members in no uncertain terms—he carried the board’s decision to continue the transatlantic cooperation, and yet at the same time prepared the rescue operation for the victims of Nazi anti-Semitic legislation. Keeping the foundation an influential part of the German-American community made any decision concerning Germany contradictory. In this predicament Thomas was not alone. Many Americans who dealt with Germans beyond the areas of trade and business, which were reduced by the Depression, found themselves in the quandary of maintaining a cooperation while detesting the other side’s immoral politics.

Stephen Duggan, the founder of the Emergency Committee, is a prime example for the contradiction. With a strict policy against political interference in the exchange operations of the International Institute of Education, Duggan had cooperated well with the German Academic Exchange Service, the DAAD. In 1933 he continued the partnership of the IIE with the DAAD while assuming a central position in the rescue effort of the Emergency Committee. Ulrich Littmann, well experienced in trans-Atlantic partnership issues as the Executive Director of the postwar German Fulbright Commission, has illuminated the quandary of American partners in Duggan’s case: “The relationship between the IIE and the DAAD on the one hand and the IIE and its American partners and sponsors, as well as to emigrants, on the other, was often extremely contradictory.” Yet it reflected, as Littmann remarks, a pragmatic realism in view of the many partnerships that the IIE had to rely on, aside from the fact that “no official guidelines were given from Washington, except for immigration matters.”<sup>30</sup>

It took until 1935 that Thomas and the board abandoned the conciliatory, at times even defensive comments about Hitler’s Germany, often criticizing the press for exaggerating negative reporting. At that time one of the most generous sponsors, Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of *The Nation*, together with descendants of Carl Schurz issued a press release demanding

that the foundation change its name.<sup>31</sup> James Speyer's admonition that Schurz would not have condoned the avoidance of a public anti-Nazi stance caused a long echo, and the last Jewish sponsors withdrew. With the Carl Schurz Vereinigung in Berlin also active in exchanges across the Atlantic, the use of Schurz's name attracted more protests, often getting the two organizations mixed up. While Thomas had to issue strong denials of cooperation, he continued to avoid public disavowals of National Socialist Germany. It would have been, as his dubious argument went, an act of politics that the foundation, devoted to German culture and cultural exchanges, had foresworn.

The teaching profession at high schools and colleges had a somewhat easier stance with the claim to be non-political when dealing with German culture and language—at a cost.<sup>32</sup> It might suffice to quote the summary of Magda Lauwers-Rech's study of German college teachers during the Nazi period:

From 1930 to 1932 and from 1933 to 1939, a majority if Germanists, including the professional associations and the editors of the periodicals, greatly preferred to ignore the political realities. This silence vis-à-vis Nazism was in accord with the non-involvement and appeasement approach of many politicians. A minority only stated their opinion about the Nazi regime. . . . After 1939, as the American public overwhelmingly rejected the Third Reich, even the professional organizations and editors ventured to acknowledge political realities, albeit to a modest degree.<sup>33</sup>

While the German teaching profession and the Carl Schurz Foundation dedicated their work to German culture and received public support,<sup>34</sup> this assistance was qualified according to their respective place in American society. German teachers were seen as part of the education community in which German language and culture occupied an established terrain that did not get its legitimacy from current German politics. In an editorial on April 1, 1938, the *New York Times*, alluding to the appalling policies of the Nazi regime, urged high school students to continue their study of German. The paper framed the defense of German language programs with the questions: "What better challenge to Hitlerism can there be than to get to know Lessing, Schiller and Goethe?"<sup>35</sup>

Given the appreciation of German classical culture, the individual teacher, when challenged about the pursuit of German, was left to his or her own devices but could prevail without a public declaration of the professional association. In contrast, the CSME, a non-profit entity with a tax-exempt status among other associations, needed to justify its work for German culture,

its value for Americans, in a public way. It needed to explain that it was not a propaganda instrument of Germany but an American institution and had to ward off connections with associations that promoted German ideals with clearly Nazi aims, most glaringly the *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund*, the infamous “Bund.” The foundation, while pursuing its student exchange programs (until 1937)<sup>36</sup> and the fellowship programs for professionals visiting Germany,<sup>37</sup> delegated most of the public relations work to the *American-German Review* which quickly became a respected platform for reflections and statements about German culture.

As indicated, however, the reference to German higher culture presented in the magazine’s first issues in 1934/35 had soon to be modified. This reference certainly carried substantial weight for teachers in high schools and colleges yet only conditional importance for an organization in the midst of the highly charged public sphere of the 1930s with the constant accusation of propaganda. How to please the middle-class German-American readership that wanted to have its cultural heritage represented in a way that did not separate it from mainstream America? How to enforce its sense of allegiance to America without alienating it from its German roots? The journal documents the delicate balancing act that Wilbur Thomas accompanied in almost every issue with comments, frequently invoking Carl Schurz, always asking for monetary support for which an alluring attitude was the prerequisite.

An important device was the reminder of how German Americans in World War I with their insistence on their special language and *Kultur* had been accused of disloyalty. They had failed to make a convincing case that they remained fully American with a particular cultural dedication that other ethnic groups likewise maintained. This “misunderstanding,” as Thomas called it, had mostly evaporated—not least because of the harsh persecution and anti-German language laws—but still loomed whenever the realm of culture seemed to open a passage for foreign, i.e., Nazi, interference. As the editor of the *American-German Review* he left no doubt that its presentation of German culture was carried by the mission to contribute, not to detract from American culture. The first issue of the magazine concluded with the statement:

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation is an effort on the part of Americans of German birth or descent to make a larger contribution to the welfare of the American people by making the rest of the people better acquainted with the cultural achievements of the German race. It is an American organization and has no affiliation with foreign groups. Its purpose is to serve the American people.<sup>38</sup>

German teachers could pursue the path of their service to the nation in the higher region of Lessing, Schiller and Goethe. The foundation had to go beyond it, even move into regions that were considered of lesser value but more ostensibly American: the ethnic heritage. The decision to divert substantial energies from the increasingly controversial transatlantic exchanges to the preservation of the German-American cultural heritage shaped the foundation's activities in the second half of the 1930s, parallel to the increasing commitment to the refugee aid, financed by the Oberlaender Trust.

There was still much overlap in the ways German literature was perceived in German classes and on the pages of the *American-German Review*, mainly because politics was avoided. This meant the exclusion of the discussion of conflicts and events that shaped the image of Nazi Germany in current newspapers. German courses in high schools and colleges tended to confirm an older perception of Germany that brought to mind nineteenth century attitudes, “a basically non-political, non-traditional ‘pure humanity’ that had not moved through history but lived in the moment and searched for *Bildung*.” The author of this critical assessment for a German journal, Heinrich Meyer, a professor of German at Rice University in Houston, Texas, expressed strong misgivings about the retrograde image of contemporary Germany, which, after all, had embarked on a national awakening that carried his sympathies. Meyer, more outspoken than his colleagues in his criticism of outdated German instruction but also in his defense of Nazi Germany, pointed out that in this predicament the American teacher understandably took more to fables and legends, history and biographies when teaching German culture—“yet it is equally apparent that the resulting image of Germany often is one of a somewhat retrograde, cosy (*gemütlich*), old fashioned philistine country (*Biedermeierland*) and that consequently the current German transformations are totally incomprehensible.”<sup>39</sup> Meyer illuminated the studied aloofness of German teachers with first-hand knowledge. He did not miss the fact that this cultural trajectory still carried “the picture of a German idealistic culture from the days of the pre-revolution (*Vormärz*)” despite the anti-German propaganda in World War I—a surviving part of Schurz's legacy that he, of course, rejected.

On the publication level *the American-German Review*—with a circulation between 2,000 and 3,000 copies—made every effort to reconnect with this idealistic *Vormärz* tradition whose democratic flag bearer, Carl Schurz, gained new importance for the anti-Nazi struggle. It was symptomatic that the Carl Schurz Vereinigung in Berlin, having turned into a tool of propaganda maneuvers towards American elites, proposed to drop the name Carl Schurz as too revolutionary and replace it with that of General von Steuben, the Prussian general who had successfully trained Washington's army against

the British. The move failed because the Foreign Office argued it would mark the Vereinigung as an agency of political activities, thus alienating American sympathies.<sup>40</sup> The objection of the Foreign Office, formulated by the later ambassador to the U.S., Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, is also symptomatic as it indicated its rather critical attitude toward offensive Nazi propaganda that prevailed during the even more challenging years of the late 1930's when Fritz Kuhn, the leader of the "Bund," tried to agitate German Americans.

By turning its full interest to the contribution of the German Americans to the United States the *American-German Review* had to invent appealing imagery of the life and history of this ethnic group that would partly replace the established iconography of Germany's art, architecture, literature, and cultural life. The turn—in some ways a visual acculturation of the German group—moderated the associative power of German culture. As the Nazis refined their use of folkways in the visualization of the *völkisch* ideology, it was not easy to separate the appealing images of a Pennsylvania-German farm from the likewise appealing photos of an East Prussian *Bauernhof*.

Two popular initiatives characterize the multi-prong approach of the CSMF. It sponsored a large exhibition of German art to which German museums contributed some of the most famed paintings. The exhibition was well attended with an appreciative press echo and in 1936/37 traveled from Philadelphia to Cleveland, Chicago, Brooklyn, Boston, and Pittsburgh.<sup>41</sup> In 1941 thanks to funds of the Oberlaender Trust the foundation established the Landis Valley Museum near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, "the most comprehensive collection of Pennsylvania-German hand craft and folk art that has been gotten together."<sup>42</sup> It was considered the first of a series of educational museums which would feature life and culture of German immigrants in different regions of the U.S. Still operating today with a unique display, Landis Valley remained the only museum of this initiative but has received broad attention as a model of preserving the material culture of German Americans.

### **The Foundation as a National Center of German-American Culture and Research**

In 1935, hurting from the devastating effects of the Depression, it became clear that the foundation had to retool also financially and move towards raising funds for a larger endowment which would sustain its mission as a national agency for the presentation and preservation of the German heritage. Explaining the national scale of these operations Thomas pointed to established organization of the Dutch, Italians, Poles, Chinese, Hungarians, French, and in particular to the Rhodes Trust with which the British established a lifeline to elites in the country.<sup>43</sup> The Honorable Cecil John Rhodes



had made provisions, Thomas argued, for keeping the Americans in touch with the problems of the British Empire. No institution had been created in the case of the Germans. It would have to coordinate the cultural relations as well as collect the “invaluable records of the devoted service that German immigrants have made to the United States.”<sup>44</sup>

First seen as a retrenchment from the international orientation of the beginning years, the idea of a central institute took shape with a weighty pledge that already in earlier decades had lifted the systematic engagement with the German-American heritage beyond the traditional filiopietistic indulgence: the transfer of a substantial part of the activities to the realm of scholarship, of *Wissenschaft*. Four decades earlier German American communities, experiencing a deep drop in immigration and influence, had banded together in the hope to enhance their standing by uniting under the roof of a national alliance. Establishing the National German-American Alliance in 1901 also meant for its leader, Charles Hexamer, to associate a scholarly endeavor with would anchor the operation in the context of German-American history. By founding the German American Historical Society and publishing a scholarly journal, Marion Dexter Learned, a professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania, provided the desired scholarly blessing by “bringing the subject of German American history into the sphere of academic research, and of giving it a place by the side of other subjects in the field of German studies.”<sup>45</sup> The transfer of some of the ethnic activities to scholarly treatment became a constructive, at times defensive, at times enlivening operation. As different as the circumstances were in the 1930s, the promotion of a research agenda within the ethnic agenda provided a more stable fundament and a stronger incentive for networking. A central service agency on the basis of a research operation was essential for a fund drive that would involve German Americans in all parts of the country.

The foundation did not get the endowment, but in December 1939 signed an agreement with the government for the lease of a historic building next to Independence Hall in Philadelphia in which the proposed Institute could undertake its work on behalf of German Americans. While the sum of two million dollars remained the fundraising goal, the financing of the costly renovation of the Old Customs House, initially the Second Bank of the United States, was split between the Carl Schurz Foundation and the Works Progress Administration.<sup>46</sup> To lease this Greek Revival building, William Strickland’s 1819 adaptation of the Parthenon, one of the iconic national monuments, was a coup indeed (fig. 2) Having the foundation’s office there strengthened both its American pedigree and its claim of being a national center. The image of this Greek temple was to decorate all stationary and



Fig. 2: Old Customs House in Philadelphia leased by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation at the end of 1939.

publications of the foundation. (fig. 3) Physically the building was not ideal for this purpose but offered space for offices, the research center with library and bibliographical collection as well as large hall that was used for concerts, exhibitions, and meetings where other groups would also convene.

More dramatic than the financing itself were the lease negotiations between Wilbur Thomas and Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior who still in 1938 had disputed the foundation's loyalty in no uncertain terms. Ickes, alerted in 1940 by the angry resignation of Ambassador Schurman from the board<sup>47</sup> as well as accusations by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League against the foundation, had second thoughts about the deal and made the continuation of the lease dependent on the foundation's firm and public rejection of Nazism. The rejection was reluctantly given and caused the resignation of Victor Ridder, the publisher of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*,

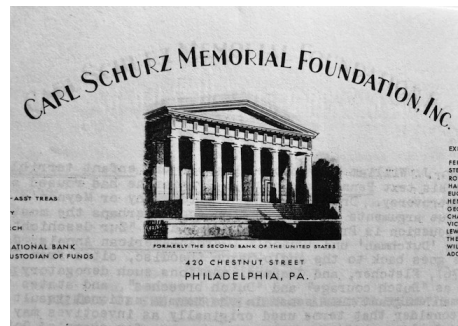


Fig. 3: Stationery of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation with Old Customs House.

from the board. His angry reasoning about the foundation's spinelessness stood in stark contrast with Schurman's imputation of Nazi sympathies. An official of the German Embassy reported to the Foreign Office in Berlin that Thomas had visited him and explained that the lease would be withdrawn if the foundation had not made the public condemnation. He had expressed regret and asked for understanding.<sup>48</sup> Thomas, in his double role as negotiator and mediator, obviously built on the fact that the German diplomats, especially Ambassador Dieckhoff, had shown more understanding of American resentment against Nazism. Nonetheless, the *American-German Review* was banned in Germany after its direct denouncement of National Socialism.

The impressive array of activities that the renovated building housed after its opening in 1941 would deserve a special study, listing the numerous concerts in the big hall (fig. 4), presented by various choral ensembles, the art collection, speeches and meetings and the growing attendance of the library. Much of it was publicized by the *American-German Review*, serving as a reference for the ways German Americans held on and enlivened culture as a unifying factor of their life.

As Charles Hexamer at the turn of the century added a scholarly component—the German American Historical Society—to the founding of a central organization of German Americans, the National German-American Alliance, so did Victor Ridder thirty years later in the program of the *Erster*



Fig. 4: Great hall in the Old Customs House.

*National-Kongress der Amerikaner Deutschen Stammes*, the German-American Conference of New York in 1932 that was to unite German Americans in an annual gathering. Among the many programmatic talks that were to determine a more organized concept of the ethnic group in coming years was the plan for a central institute that would become a depository library and archive of the “material of German America (Deutsch-Amerikanertum) as no archive today in New York,” comparable to the Deutsches Auslands-Institut in Stuttgart.<sup>49</sup> A big project indeed, oversized as most of the other suggestions. Its author, Ludwig Oberndorf, envisioned it as a clearing house for research and systematic support across the country, based on seven sections: 1) Archive and statistics, 2) historical research; 3) press department for protection against anti-German propaganda; 4) social relief; 5) information and counseling; 6) language and instruction; 7) service for artists, speakers and radio.<sup>50</sup>

The center in Philadelphia worked on a smaller basis yet cast a wide net in its scholarly ambition of collecting and preserving the culture of the German Americans. Adolf Eduard Zucker, a distinguished professor of German at the University of Maryland and scholar of the Forty Eighters, was chosen as the director of research and asked to organize a “Historical and Cultural Survey on Americana Germanica.”<sup>51</sup> As chair of a committee “to correlate American-German studies” at the Modern Language Association he established the subject- and author-oriented agenda of “a master bibliography in card files of all *Americana Germanica*.”<sup>52</sup> While Pennsylvania stood out as a special topic—an Institute of Pennsylvania-German Studies was established in 1941—the bibliographical committee with Henry Pochmann at Wisconsin, Bayard Quincy Morgan at Stanford, Lawrence Price at Berkeley, Walter Reichart at Michigan and other *Germanisten*, linked to the Library of Congress and the Modern Language Association, guaranteed that it was a truly national venture. Henry Pochmann, who at that time was working on his path breaking work, *German Culture in America*, later gave credit to the foundation that under the leadership of Wilbur Thomas it “has taken initial steps to perfect a plan of organization that promises eventually to put the study of German-American cultural relations in a favored position as an effective, cooperative enterprise.”<sup>53</sup>

The bibliography, regularly published in the *American German Review*, benefitted greatly from the donation of the private card collection of Richard Helbig, late head of the Department of American History at the New York Public Library, and in 1946 comprised 50,000 cards.<sup>54</sup> Along with the bibliographical work went the collection of a reference library of several thousand volumes (fig. 5), the sponsoring of research projects, including a study together with the Rockefeller Foundation about the integration of refugee

scholars, later expanded to Donald Peterson Kent's comprehensive volume, *The Refugee Intellectual: The Americanization of the Immigrants of 1933–1941* (1953). As an engine of its networking with other collections in the country the library published a *Bulletin* with research and news items between October 1942 and June 1944.

Since the national orientation of German-American organizations attracted special attention from the German side particularly during the Nazi period, the foundation's relationship with the Deutsches Auslands-Institut in Stuttgart became a source of tension as the Institut pushed for a collaboration. Thomas rejected it, yet in 1937 took the risk of inviting the most knowledgeable America-expert of the Institut, Heinz Kloss, for a one-year study tour of the research facilities in the U. S. Kloss was asked to produce a comprehensive scholarly agenda that would help setting up the planned center. The result was a stunningly far-reaching, innovative and well-balanced report under the title, "Report on the Possibilities for Research Work of an American-German Institute," which received high praise from Pochmann, who credited Kloss with having given him much first-hand information for his comprehensive study.

Although planned, Thomas did not publish the report. It is not hard to detect *völkisch* terminology in the classifications as it was used in the Deutsches Auslands-Institut. More questionable was the fact that the Stuttgart Institut pursued an aggressive agenda towards reclassifying persons and



Fig. 5: Reference library in the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.

groups of German origin in other countries as primarily Germans, not Americans, Russians or Brazilians. Kloss restrained himself in the report which focused on the huge research potential. Yet his understanding of a national concentration of German Americans, as he laid out in his book, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (1937), projected their *difference* to the American nation whereas the foundation always emphasized that such a concentration was to document the largeness of their *contributions* to the American nation.<sup>55</sup> What John Hawgood in his analysis of German Americans since the nineteenth century, *The Tragedy of German-America*, concluded with strong arguments in 1940, was hardly accepted by German scholars like Kloss: "By 1930 the German-American era appeared to be definitely over, and hardly likely to return."<sup>56</sup>

### Disappearing from Ethnic Memory

Looking at German-American activities in the postwar decades, Hawgood's prediction rings perturbingly true. Communal life continued in the established traditions, charity ventures blossomed for the war-torn German part of Europe, and support for newly immigrating Germans and Austrians revitalized local associations. These clubs and associations maintained their agendas of celebrating, singing, lobbying, genealogical and charity work. They regained their tax-exempt status, continued to uphold traditions of German language use and its promotion in schools. They pursued their local and regional outreach.

Indisputable is the lack of initiatives regarding a re-assessment of Nazism and its resonance among German Americans. What has remained from this period is the feeling of a historic disruption in which German Americans were willing or unwilling participants, at best bystanders with family ties to the old country and temporary pride in its political and economic ascend, at worst soldiers who had to fight their kin in Europe. New initiatives focused on charity, resuming a pattern that had been instituted after World War I under Quaker leadership.

In this context the political activities of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in the early postwar years are all the more unusual. As Elkington's report about the foundation's co-sponsorship of the celebration in the Frankfurt Paulskirche shows, the politics of re-educating the Germans under the auspices of democracy and liberal culture that had been the mantra of the *American-German Review* put the organization in a prominent place. The funds of the Oberlaender Trust, so crucial for the support of the refugees in the 1930s, again became instrumental for a moral commitment under Schurz's name: contributing to the reconstruction of the cultural and academic

life in Germany. It entailed funds for the restoration of the Goethe House in Frankfurt (\$5,000), establishing of the Freie Universität Berlin (\$10,000), providing scholarly literature for university libraries, medical missions of the Unitarian Service Committee, inviting German and Austrian teachers, and many other projects that involved Americans in the cultural rehabilitation programs.<sup>57</sup>

And yet, it seems as if the foundation and all its work in the 1930s and 1940s has been swallowed up by the ethnic amnesia of the postwar period. The engagement with the reeducation program in the American Zone of Germany that gave the CSMF broad exposure in Germany found hardly a mention in the German-American community. No less disconcerting is the fact that the comprehensive assessment of German-American culture and history of which Henry Pochmann's great volume, *German Culture in America*, represents only one part, was never recognized as such, and much of the formidable standing and outreach of the CSMF during the years of Nazism and war became part of a forgotten, displaced or even repressed history. The enormous body of bibliographical and historical research which engaged a substantial group of scholars as part of the foundation's work between 1940 and the postwar years was followed by a period of disinterest and insensitivity concerning German-American history.

This amnesia begs the broader question of the standing of the CSMF within the German-American community in the 1930s and 1940s, in other words, whether the foundation was seen a representative voice of the community, especially after it decided to promote and research German-American culture as an inextricable part of American history. It might be indicative that, although located in Philadelphia with its long tradition of German immigration, the CSMF had limited contacts with the oldest German immigrant association in the same town, the German Society of Pennsylvania. It occurred mostly through Harry Pfund who was a member of both boards. Even Harry Pfund did not include one word about it in his short histories of the German Society of 1944 and 1964.<sup>58</sup> Pfund mentioned the archive that Oswald Seidensticker installed in the library in 1867 and built as a repository of German-American life and culture—today considered a premier place for scholarship in this area—yet stressed the purpose of the library as a *Volksbibliothek*, not “a scientific collection,” as if to distance it from the collection of the CSMF. After the dissolution of the Carl Schurz Memorial Association, as it was later named, in the mid-1970s the knowledge about it seems to have evaporated with the transfer of its administrative correspondence and documents to the Balch Institute in Philadelphia, subsequently absorbed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the books and pamphlets to the German Society of Pennsylvania.

While the strained relationship between these neighboring institutions in Philadelphia seems to have been a local affair, their different ways of representing German-American life and activities during and after the Nazi period might offer some clues concerning the virtual disappearance of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation from ethnic memory.

Crucial was without doubt the foundation's self-positioning as a national center for preservation and research, as reflected in the *American-German Review*. It was reinforced during the war by emerging contacts with the State Department, especially after 1943 when it engaged in planning for the post-war reconstruction of Germany. The price for this status, however, was high both in terms of financial sustenance and in political credibility, as Wilbur Thomas never forgot to remind the members. A national profile at the time when many German Americans tended to associate a national concentration not in defiance but rather in sympathy with the national awakening of Germans offered many causes for indignation and misunderstandings. A German consul in Philadelphia, aware of the currents within German-American communities, noticed the suspicion that many German Americans held against the foundation and reported to the Foreign Office in 1940:

They were and are of the opinion—and not without reason—that the decisive men in the foundation hold a totally negative and hostile position against the new Germany. Therefore a very strong current exists to continue to stay away from the foundation.

However, I have succeeded, I think, in convincing the influential people of this orientation of the wrongness of their thinking so that recently leading German Americans in Philadelphia in a meeting decided to withhold the prevailing objections and propagate joining the foundation. One might hope for the success of this decision so that it gains new forces that enable it to hold it until better times arrive.<sup>59</sup>

This kind of support from the German consulate might have been a dubious offering at that time. And yet the consul's description of the rejection of the foundation from the side of many German Americans is illuminating. Reading the newer, more critical history of the German Society by Birte Pflieger, one finds enough evidence of a sentiment with few sympathies for the foundation's critical stance towards Nazi Germany.<sup>60</sup>

The stagnation in research added to the foundation's poor afterlife. Zucker's collection and preservation project lasted into the postwar years but later disappeared in boxes of catalog card collections that have caught dust in the attic of the German Society building in Philadelphia before being rediscov-



ered. When Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Steven Benjamin in the 1970s set out to create bibliographies, they took Pochmann's bibliography as point of contact while Zucker's and Reichmann's enterprise remained only an entry in catalogs.<sup>61</sup> Arthur Schultz, Pochmann's collaborator, provided some continuity in the *American-German Review* until the 1960s. Yet the journal moved steadily away from German-American history and in 1966 dropped the bibliography altogether.

In this light the decision of LaVern Rippley, the doyen of German-American scholars, in 1980 to finally bring Heinz Kloss's report on the research possibilities of 1937 to its intended audience, was fully justified as it helped overcome the loss of knowledge and continuity in German-American studies, though without a comment about the political context.<sup>62</sup> At that time the Society for German-American Studies, founded in 1968 and nursed with much personal investment by Robert E. Ward who edited the journal *German-American Studies* (from 1976 *Journal of German-American Studies*), reorganized itself as the flag-bearer of an institutionalized approach to German-American history, lifted by the general revival of interest in ethnic history in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>63</sup> The first annual conferences of the society drew their support and audience mostly from the Midwest, the traditionally "most German" area of the U.S. where the local and regional research had been maintained during the political and military confrontations with Germany. Crucial for re-establishing a national perspective in research and debate about the German Americans was the founding of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* with an extensive bibliographical section in 1981 as well as the society's *Newsletter*.

It is hardly surprising that the first major conference since World War II which focused on German immigration and German-American relations on a national level convened in the name of Carl Schurz in 1979. Organized in New York by Hans Trefousse, the eminent emigré historian and Schurz biographer, it celebrated the hundred fiftieth birthday of Schurz, the "statesman, soldier, diplomat, author, reformer, and, above all, immigrant leader." Trefousse made sure that Schurz's liberal legacy received full attention.<sup>64</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Jörg Nagler, "From Culture to *Kultur*: Changing American Perceptions of Imperial Germany, 1870–1914," in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776*, ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1997), 131–54; Frank Trommler, "Inventing the Enemy: German-American Cultural

Relations, 1900–1917,” in *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900–1924*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schröder (Providence/ Oxford: Berg, 1993), 99–125.

<sup>2</sup> An exception is Gregory Kupsy who conducted thorough research about the Steuben Society, the Ridder family, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation and other German-American associations and personalities: “The True Spirit of the German People:” German-Americans and National Socialism, 1919–1955.” Diss. The Ohio State University, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph F. Bischoff, *Nazi Conquest through German Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942); Arthur L. Smith, Jr., *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965); Klaus Kipphan, *Deutsche Propaganda in den Vereinigten Staaten 1933–1941* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1971); Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924–1941* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 1974); Cornelia Wilhelm, *Beuegung oder Verein? Nationalsozialistische Volkstumspolitik in the USA* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998); Michaela Hönicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Robert A. Rosenbaum, *Waking to Danger: Americans and Nazi Germany, 1933–1941* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes: R 60104, 60105, 61304, 64173; Rennie W. Brantz, “German-American Friendship: The Carl Schurz Vereinigung, 1926–1942,” *International History Review* 11, no. 2 (May 1989): 229–51.

<sup>5</sup> The quote is taken from the second edition of Hans Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 298. The first edition appeared in 1982 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press). See also the newer biography by Peter T. Lubrecht Sr., *Carl Schurz: German-American Statesman. My Country Right or Wrong* (No place given: Arcadia, 2019).

<sup>6</sup> Letter James Speyer to Ferdinand Thun, May 9, 1933. National Carl Schurz Association Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Box 23/3.

<sup>7</sup> Letter James Speyer to Wilbur K. Thomas, October 6, 1933, *ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> The first issue opened with Jacob Gould Schurman, “Cultural Inspiration from Germany,” *American-German Review for Promoting Cultural Relations between the United States and German Speaking Peoples* 1, no. 1 (September 1934): 6–9, 48.

<sup>9</sup> “Volunteer Service for Democracy,” *American-German Review* 9, no. 1 (October 1942): 3.

<sup>10</sup> In accordance with the State Department’s press release No. 267 of March 29, 1947, quoted by Hanns Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust, 1931–1953* (Philadelphia: The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1956), 74.

<sup>11</sup> Letter Howard Elkinton to Francis S. Ronalds, March 21, 1949. National Carl Schurz Association Papers, Oberlaender Trust, Box 41/12.

<sup>12</sup> Wilbur K. Thomas, “Service by Conviction,” *American-German Review* 12, no. 6 (August 1946): 3.

<sup>13</sup> Certificate of Incorporation of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation and By-Laws (New York: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1930).

<sup>14</sup> Harry W. Pfund, “Ziele und Leistungen der Carl-Schurz-Gedächtnis-Stiftung,” *Inter Nationes* 2, no. 4 (October 1932): 113–5.

<sup>15</sup> Letter Gustav Oberlaender to the Board of Directors of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. of April 1, 1931, in Hanns Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust*, 41.

<sup>16</sup> “Die größte Kulturtat in Deutschamerikas Geschichte,” *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (April 7, 1931).

<sup>17</sup> “\$1,000,000 Gift to Aid Amity with Germany,” *New York Times* (April 6, 1931). The generous reporting in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and the *New York Times* might have been helped by the fact that the publishers of the two papers were involved in the founding of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. Victor Ridder, *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* was member of the executive committee, Joseph Ochs, of the *New York Times*, sat on the academic council.

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<sup>18</sup> Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust*, 89–113,

<sup>19</sup> Letter Wilbur K. Thomas to James Speyer, May 11, 1933. National Carl Schurz Association Papers, Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Box 23/3.

<sup>20</sup> Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust*, 42.

<sup>21</sup> Gramm, *ibid.*, 65.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Duggan and Betty Drury, *The Rescue of Science and Learning: The Story of the Emergency Committee In Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 86.

<sup>23</sup> Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb, *From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges* (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1993), 18. Detailed information in Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947). See also Ulrich Littmann, *Partners—distant and close: Notes and Footnotes on Academic Mobility between Germany and the United States of America (1923–1993)*, (Bonn: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, 1997), 41.

<sup>24</sup> Duggan and Drury, *The Rescue of Science and Learning*, 78.

<sup>25</sup> Letter Thomas Mann to the Oberlaender Trust May 25, 1942. National Carl Schurz Association Papers, Oberlaender Trust, Box 41/9.

<sup>26</sup> Letter Paul Tillich to the Oberlaender Trust February 27, 1943, *ibid.*, Box 41/10.

<sup>27</sup> Letter Wilbur K. Thomas to Max Horkheimer June 13, 1940, *ibid.*, Box 41/9.

<sup>28</sup> Littmann, *Partners—distant and close*, 43 f.

<sup>29</sup> Letter Alvin Johnson to Friedrich Wilhelm Lenz, October 18, 1943. National Carl Schurz Association Papers, Oberlaender Trust, Box 41/10.

<sup>30</sup> Littmann, *Partners—distant and close*, 63, 62.

<sup>31</sup> Kupsky, “*The True Spirit of the German People*,” 206.

<sup>32</sup> Susan L. Pentlin, “Effect of the Third Reich on the Teaching of German in the United States: A Historical Study.” Diss. University of Kansas, 1977; Magda Lauwers-Rech, *Nazi Germany and the American Germanists: A Study of Periodicals, 1930–1946* (New York: Lang; 1995); Gisela Höcherl-Alden, “Germanisten im “Niemandland.” Die exilierten Akademiker und ihre Wirkung auf die amerikanische Germanistik (1933–1955).” Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Lauwers-Rech, *Nazi Germany and the American Germanists*, 39f.

<sup>34</sup> The *American-German Review* regularly devoted articles about the state of German in high schools and colleges, for example Roxane Eberlein, “German Enrollments in American Institutions of Higher Learning,” *American-German Review* 4, no. 3 (March 1938): 44–5.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by Susan Lee Pentlin, “The German Teaching Profession in America and Its Reaction to the Third Reich, 1933–1945,” *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 35, no. 2 (1985): 201–13, at 205.

<sup>36</sup> When Stephen Duggan in 1938 contributed an article about the continuing American-German student exchange with the DAAD to the *American-German Review*, he did not mention the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. “The American-German Student Exchange,” *American-German Review* 5, no. 2 (December 1938): 46–7.

<sup>37</sup> See the report in Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust*, 49–63.

<sup>38</sup> “The Foundation . . .,” *American-German Review* 1, no. 1 (September 1934): 56.

<sup>39</sup> Heinrich Meyer, “Deutschunterricht an amerikanischen Universitäten,” *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* 51, no. 1 (1937): 74, 81.

<sup>40</sup> Brantz, “German-American Friendship,” 240.

<sup>41</sup> “The Foundation . . .,” *American-German Review* 3, no. 2 (December 1936): 56; “The Foundation . . .,” *ibid.*, 3, no. 4 (March 1937): 54.

<sup>42</sup> “The Foundation . . .,” *ibid.*, 7, no. 2 (December 1940): 40; in 1941 the magazine devoted a whole issue to the Landis Valley Museum and its founders, the two brothers Landis (7, no. 4, April 1941).

<sup>43</sup> "The Foundation . . ." *American-German Review* 2, no. 2 (December 1935): 54–5.

<sup>44</sup> "The Foundation . . ." *ibid.*, 3, no. 3 (March 1937): 54.

<sup>45</sup> "The German American Historical Society (Incorporated in 1901)," *Americana Germanica* 4, no. 2 (1902): 207.

<sup>46</sup> "Carl Schurz-Stiftung gründet neuen \$2,000,000-Fond für Kulturzwecke: Neue Mittel sollen der Ausgestaltung des alten Zollamtsgebäudes in Philadelphia zu einer dauernden Forschungs- und Ausstellungsstätte des Deutschamerikanertums zugeführt werden," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, clipping without date, Oberlaender Trust Box 42/10.

<sup>47</sup> Kupsky, "The True Spirit of the German People," 213–21.

<sup>48</sup> Telegramm der Deutschen Botschaft Washington (Geh. Ch. V.) Nr. 2116 vom 2. 10. 1940, gez. Thomsen, Pol. Archiv des AA, R 61304; Ambassador Dieckhoff's positive report about the Foundation's plan for an Institute to Kulturpolitische Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes (Stieve), 11. 6. 1938, Pol. Archiv des AA, R 61303.

<sup>49</sup> Ludwig Oberndorf, "Plan eines Zentralinstitutes," in *Erster National Kongress der Amerikaner Deutschen Stammes: Sitzungsberichte und Erläuterungen* 1932 (New York: Deutsch-Amerikanische Konferenz von Gross-New York und Umgebung, 1933), 69.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> A. E. Zucker and Felix Reichmann, *Subject-Approach to Americana Germanica* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943), iv.

<sup>52</sup> "Annual Bibliography," *American German Review* 8, no. 4 (April 1942): 41.

<sup>53</sup> Henry Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary influences, 1600–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 11.

<sup>54</sup> A. E. Zucker, "The Foundation's Library—A Unique Aid to Scholars," *American German Review* 12, no. 2 (December 1946): 39f. The substantial card catalog of the Foundation is stored in the Archive of the German Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>55</sup> Cornelia Wilhelm, "Nazi Propaganda and the Uses of the Past: Heinz Kloss and the Making of a 'German America,'" *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 47, no. 1 (2002), 55–83.

<sup>56</sup> John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century—and After* (New York/ London: Putnam, 1940), 301.

<sup>57</sup> Gramm, *The Oberlaender Trust*, 73–83.

<sup>58</sup> Harry W. Pfund, *A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania, 1944); Pfund, *A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania: Bicentenary Edition 1764–1964* (Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania, 1964).

<sup>59</sup> Deutsches Konsulat Philadelphia, Bericht vom 27. 5. 1940 (signature illegible), Pol. Archiv des AA, R 61304.

<sup>60</sup> Birte Pflieger, *Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2006), 63–103.

<sup>61</sup> Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-Americana: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1975); Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953); Steven M. Benjamin, "The Current State of German-American Bibliography," in *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 169–80.

<sup>62</sup> Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field*, ed. La Vern J. Rippley (Hamburg: Buske, 1980).

<sup>63</sup> Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-American Studies: Selected Essays* (New York: Lang, 2001), esp. "History of The Society for German-American Studies," 25–32.

<sup>64</sup> *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration*, ed. Hans L. Trefousse (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), xiii.