German immigrants have settled in America since the earliest days of English colonization under William Penn. By 1910, when the tide of this immigration had greatly diminished as the result of improved social and economic conditions in Germany and of government opposition to emigration, there were more than eight million first- and second-generation Germans living in the United States.¹

The Germans who came to America during the nineteenth century were mostly farmers or artisans who desired a secure, stable family life more than riches or adventure and who preserved, with inevitable modifications, many of the social, economic, religious and cultural patterns of their homeland.² Long before sociologists and historians became interested in “associationalism” as an American trait, these Germans had created a plethora of Logen, Vereine, Verbände, Gesellschaften and Bünde to aid each other in adjusting to their new life and to perpetuate old-country associations.³

Despite real ideological cleavages between those German-Americans who were loyal churchgoers and those who supported their clubs and organizations, between Protestants and Catholics, socialists and Turners and conservatives, “Grays” (those settled in America for one or more generations) and “Greens” (newcomers), Germans and their children resisted Americanization longer than most other European nationalities.⁴ They created a vigorous German-

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² John A. Hawgood, The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States of America During the 19th Century and After (New York, 1940), 25, 33, etc.
⁴ Heinz Kloss, Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums (Berlin, 1937), 42.
language press, attended churches staffed by German pastors and priests, listened to German speeches by politicians from their own ranks, and either settled in “little Germanys” or Germanized certain population centers like Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. They upheld their traditions of family life, and enjoyed moderate consumption of beer and wine, Gemütlichkeit, and recreation on Sundays and holidays in an often unfriendly, puritanical Yankee environment.

Many felt that their German cultural background was superior to American culture. The fact that the number of university-educated, thoroughly schooled, or well-read persons among them was relatively small made little difference. Germans in America knew, or had been told, that since the beginning of the nineteenth century American students and professors had attended German universities, and that German ideas had exerted a strong influence on American thinkers and writers from Emerson and Longfellow to the new “scientific” historians of the Johns Hopkins faculty.

The cultivation and maintenance of the German language became of central importance in this German-American struggle for ethnic and national identity. Americanization and Anglicization (Unglischisierung) were terms of reproach. Proponents of Deutschtum, often churchmen and editors of the German-language press with a vested interest in the perpetuation of the German language and national consciousness, complained that their compatriots’ fondness for organizing unnecessary clubs, their quarrelsomeness and excessive

5 Hawgood, 43.

6 Neither the Kaiser nor the Nazis liked the term German-Americans, spelled sometimes with and sometimes without the hyphen (Deutsch-Amerikaner or Deutschamerikaner). Wilhelm II thought that naturalized Germans in America and their children should call themselves “Americans of German descent (Abstammung).” The National Socialists and their German-American sympathizers tried variations to suggest their emphasis on German “blood” (Amerikaner deutschen Blutes or deutschen Stammes), but even Fritz Kuhn, Hitler’s Gauleiter in the United States, used the term German-American. Kloss, Um die Einigung . . . , traced the origin of the term to the first decade of the nineteenth century. In this essay the spelling used in the sources is given, though the author admits that absolute fidelity in this matter would surprise even him. (Marion Dexter Learned, who insisted that the hyphen should only be used for designating an unnaturalized German resident of the United States, often forgot his own injunction and inadvertently spelled “German-American Historical Society.” “Autobiographical Statement,” 3, Learned Papers, Dickinson College.)

sociability, defeated attempts to unite German-Americans politically and to maintain their sense of ethnic separateness (Volkstum, Deutschtum).  

The resistance to Americanization by German-Americans slowed rather than stopped the process of assimilation. Gradually, the German language, German schools, and the German theater gave way to the pervasive influence of the dominant Anglo-American culture. Georg von Bosse, pastor of the German Lutheran Paulus Church in Philadelphia and a self-styled fighter for all things echt Deutscht in the United States, admitted that his colleagues in the ministry were incapable of preaching in idiomatic German, and that his enjoyment of a dish of sauerkraut at a German folk festival in Philadelphia (about 1900) was spoiled when he saw that the sign on the booth where the kraut was sold read “Sour Crout Kitchen.”

Bosse confessed that some German-Americans cared little about the glories of German culture, that socialists among them had abandoned the God of their fathers along with the Reich and the Kaiser, and that the children of German parents in America often wished to give up all association with the old home and “dared” to request their pastors to preach in English.

German-born Bosse and others like him, including many American-born “Germans,” fought these manifestations of indifference and neglect with a sense of cultural mission and dedication that was not decisively shattered until America’s entry into the war against

8 Wittke, We Who Built America; Bosse, Ein Kampf . . ., 199; Kloss, Um die Einigung . . .; Georg von Bosse, Das Heutige Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika (Stuttgart, 1904). A movement known as Cahenslyism (after Peter Paul Cahensly, a German Catholic who visited the United States in the 1880’s), begun for the spiritual welfare of German Catholic immigrants, led to quarrels among the Catholic clergy and culminated in an unsuccessful appeal of German priests to the Pope to require attendance of German-speaking Catholics in America at religious services conducted in German. See Anson P. Stokes, Church and State in the United States (New York, 1950), II, 365.

9 Bosse, Ein Kampf . . ., 200, 220; Bosse, Das Heutige Deutschtum . . ., 41. The same difficulties beset even those who were professionally dedicated to the advancement and preservation of the German language in America. Julius Goebel, in a review of Albert B. Faust’s Charles Sealsjield, der Dichter Beider Hemisphären (Weimar, 1897), complained that Faust’s “very wicked” (bitterböses) German would lower the reputation of German-Americans in Germany. Americana Germanica, I (1897), 102.

10 Bosse, Das Heutige Deutschtum . . ., 173. Bosse cites the following passage from the Chicagrer Arbeiterzeitung: “Why should we, internationalists who profess no loyalties whatsoever to the Reich, care if this shameful creation of fire and filth were to perish. . . .” (Trans.)
Germany in 1917. Until then, their task of preserving and revitalizing German-American cultural life appeared hopeful, for the German victory over France in 1870–1871 had raised German self-esteem in America and had encouraged the vocal elements among German-Americans to assert their ethnic and cultural individuality (Stammesbewusstsein, Deutschtum). Even German-Americans who had been critical of Germany and antimonarchical in their sympathies found it difficult to hide their enthusiasm over developments in Bismarck's Germany.

Altogether, pride in the "new" Germany and their conviction that German ways were at least equal, if not superior, to what the Yankee had created in America made it possible for many Germans in the United States, from about 1855 to 1915, to live "not in the United States, but in German America." Moreover, the growing prestige of Germanistics among university professors, including some with solid "Yankee" pedigrees who had studied in Germany and returned to the United States as enthusiastic proponents of all things German, added to the feeling that aggressive, determined efforts to shore up the cracking walls of German America could at least postpone indefinitely the dissolution of German-Americanism and leaven Anglo-Saxonism with a vital infusion of Germanic culture.

In some degree, each of these tendencies—German-American pride in the progress of Germany, the last attempt of German-Americans to assert their ethnic separateness and to reject identification of American culture with Anglo-Saxonism, the high esteem of some university men for all things German—moved the men who in 1901 founded the German American Historical Society in Philadelphia.

One acquainted with the work of societies founded by Germans in Maryland, Ohio, and other states for the preservation of essentially historical memories may ask why these societies are disregarded in

11 H. M. Ferrer, "Monolingualism, the Bane of this Country," German American Annals, N. S., I (1903), 443–446, hereinafter cited as Annals.
13 Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (Louisville, Ky., 1957), 166.
14 Hawgood, xviii.
favor of a group whose guiding spirits were mostly Philadelphians and closely associated with the University of Pennsylvania. The answer is that, according to the evidence available, only the German American Historical Society attempted to promote German-American history on a national scale and that its history and the role of Marion Dexter Learned as its chief editor are therefore of significance for an appraisal of German-American-sponsored historiography.

Before proceeding with the examination of this Society it will be helpful to clarify, first, its relation to other German-American historical associations, and, then, in turn, to examine its connection with the National German American Alliance movement. This examination will be of interest because it constitutes a test of one of the premises of the “third-generation return” thesis associated with the name of the late Marcus Lee Hansen, professor of history at the University of Illinois until his death in 1938.¹⁶ The second part of the essay, largely devoted to the discussion of Marion Dexter Learned’s activities as editor of the *German American Annals*, the official organ of the German American Historical Society from 1903 until its dissolution, shows that the popularity of German-American historical studies among American university professors was a significant factor which shaped both the kind and quality of history produced under the auspices of the German American Historical Society.

Hansen’s division of immigrant historical societies into “pioneer” and “third generation” associations is at first glance a useful schema-

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Hansen asserted during a lecture in May, 1937, at Augustana College that “as a broad generalization it may be said that the second generation [of immigrants in the United States] is not interested in and does not write any history.” But the third generation experiences a “resurgence of national spirit” and, as one aspect of their “return” to cultural values rejected by the second generation, organizes historical societies to study the history and culture of their ancestors. Hansen thought that such a “breeze of historical interest” stirred the German-American community in the United States in the “first decade of the twentieth century.”
tization, but it becomes less so after the backgrounds of the leaders of the German-American groups and particularly their aims—largely defensive, sometimes aggressively anti-English, always stanchly pro-German—are examined. Hansen was, of course, correct in noting that "pioneer history" included many reminiscences of first settlers who, risen to prosperity, liked to recall scenes of the old home and of beginnings in the new and to pass on to future generations what they had done and experienced. And some of the earliest German-American publications achieved high standards of historical research and real literary merit, as, for instance, Der Deutsche Pionier, published from 1874 to 1885 under the able editorship of Heinrich A. Rattermann of Cincinnati.\(^{17}\)

On the other hand, some raisons d'être of German-American historiography remained constant from the post-Civil War period (Hansen's "pioneer era") to the dissolution of German-America after United States entry into World War I (the era coinciding with the "third-generation" span of activity according to Hansen's thesis). Without attempting to refute all of Hansen's observations concerning immigrant historiography—many of them remain valid and instructive even if his third-generation "law" does not—it can be said that he overlooked, or minimized, what even a superficial sampling of the earlier, largely local and regional German-American historiography shows, i.e., that a defensive and apologetic strain runs through it, and the fairly obvious fact, ascertainable by a random check of membership lists and contributors' vitæ, that "third-generation historiography" of the kind produced by the German American Historical Society was seldom written, read, or supported by third-generation German-Americans.\(^{18}\)

Like immigrants of other nationalities, German-Americans pointed to the "proof" of history to confound hostile critics and to document the decisive influence for good exercised by them on their new home.

\(^{17}\) Wittke, *The German-Language Press*, 192.

\(^{18}\) Albert B. Faust, "German-American Historical Societies: Their Achievements and Limitations," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland Report* (Baltimore, 1953), Vol. 28, 21-28. In this posthumously published lecture, Professor Faust said that in the publications sponsored by various German-American historical societies from the middle of the nineteenth century to about 1930, the prevailing feeling is that "American historiography has not done justice" to the role of the Germans in the "upbuilding of the American nation and people." See also the *Festrede* (anniversary lecture) delivered at the second anniversary of the Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati (1870), in *Souvenir Zum 25th Anniversarium des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Cincinnati* (May 22, 1893), 49.
They also regarded history as an effective tool for the cultivation of the German language and of German ideals in the United States and for countering the identification of some Germans with radicalism, socialism, and atheism.\(^{19}\) Adverse comments, especially when reported in the newspapers, on the performance of some regiments of German-Americans and their general officers in the Northern armies during the Civil War called out many impassioned editorials, speeches, pamphlets, and books to attest the valor, loyalty, and sacrifices of German-Americans and the ingratitude and hostility of American historians who failed to do them justice.\(^{20}\)

One such episode involved an "unfortunate controversy between some of the survivors of the First and Third Corps at Gettysburg."\(^{21}\) The alleged slander of German-Americans prompted Joseph G. Rosengarten, assisted by Heinrich Rattermann of the Cincinnati Der Deutsche Pionier and Oswald Seidensticker, professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania from 1867 to 1894, to produce a book to show that Germans had served honorably in all wars fought by Americans and had done "their share in the war for the Union, alike in numbers, in courage, in endurance, in zeal, in all the qualities that make the good soldier and the good citizen."\(^{22}\)

\(^{19}\) Joseph G. Rosengarten's *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1886) was reviewed as follows in a German-language paper, *Der Long Islander* (Feb. 25, 1886), published in Brooklyn: "Especially now, when a few German socialists and anarchists violate the laws of the country, is it important to show the nativists, already encouraged to new activity by such acts of a minority, that the German immigrant has always proved his patriotism, nay, often has surpassed the native in love of his adopted country, by serving in the armies of the Republic when such service was most needed." (Trans.) This and similar clippings are pasted in a copy of his book presented by Rosengarten to the University of Pennsylvania Library.


\(^{22}\) Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*; the quotation is taken from Rosengarten's article "The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States," in *The United Service*, a New York monthly "devoted to the interests of the military, naval and civil service," XII (1885), 657-670. The book and the article were in turn expanded versions of an address delivered by Rosengarten before the German Pionier Verein of Philadelphia, Apr. 21, 1885.
Rosengarten, a Philadelphia-born lawyer and trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, had been linked with an early effort to found a German-American [sic] Historical Society in 1892. But the group was not a functioning body, and it remained for Professor Marion Dexter Learned, Seidensticker's successor as head of the German department at the University of Pennsylvania, Rosengarten, and officers of the German American Alliance, especially its president, Dr. Charles J. Hexamer, to found such an organization.

The Alliance, known among Germans as Deutsch-Amerikanischer Nationalbund, was a federation of German societies which eventually reached a strength of some two million affiliated members in 1914, making it the largest nationality organization in the United States to that date. The federation had evolved from deliberations among leading German-Americans from Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other cities. It tried to unify Germans in America on the basis of grievances and objectives shared by church and secular groups of all ideological complexions and to unite them for political action in a "non-sectarian, nonpolitical" movement.

According to its constitution, the Alliance was formed for the protection of the German element against "nativist" attacks, for the promotion of good relations between Germany and the United States, and for the fostering of the German language and German culture in the United States. Its platform urged the introduction of German-language instruction and physical education (Turnen) into the public schools and asked for inclusion of German-American contributions in school histories to offset erroneous identification of American civilization with Anglo-Saxonism. Alliance leaders complained that immigration restrictions kept out "healthy Europeans," and maintained a spirited defense of "personal liberties," attacking chiefly prohibition, local option, and Sunday "blue laws."
Its dependence on the German-language press for publicity recalled an earlier attempt at German-American unification through a newspaper publishers' association which met in Philadelphia in the 1870's to co-ordinate policies on vital issues and to establish a national German-American "information bureau." This Presseverein, which included Oswald Seidensticker, Heinrich A. Rattermann, Georg T. Kellner, editor of the Philadelphia Demokrat, and even a representative of the "Pennsylvania Dutch," who generally held aloof from associations formed by naturalized Germans, slowly disintegrated in the 1880's.28 "German Days," suggested by Seidensticker and supported after 1883 by Philadelphia groups and the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, also failed to become the focal points for German unity envisioned by their sponsors.29

The Alliance movement seems to have received its initial impetus from the growing, turn-of-the-century sentiment for Anglo-American friendship, unification of all English-speaking peoples in the "Anglo-Saxon century,"30 proposals to exclude non-English-speaking immigrants, and a worsening of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany as a result of the Spanish-American War.31

On March 27, 1899, German-Americans met in Chicago to protest angrily against "defamation" of German-Americans and the Reich, to denounce plans for an Anglo-American alliance, and to demand the maintenance of friendly relations with the Fatherland. German-born former Congressman Wilhelm Vocke and other leaders declared that the United States was not an Anglo-Saxon country, and invited all German societies and churches to send delegates to a national convention "at an early date" to form a permanent organization for the protection of their interests.32

The Chicago proposals for a national organization came to nought, but they did lead to the founding of the German-American Zentralbund of Pennsylvania, which became the parent group for the Na-

28 Kloss, Um die Einigung . . . , 16, 240.
32 Ibid., Mar. 28, 1899.
tional German American Alliance. The Zentralbund was organized in April, 1899, under the leadership of Dr. Charles J. Hexamer of Philadelphia, who remained its president until 1915. Hexamer was born in Philadelphia in 1862, the son of a “Forty-eighter” who had fled from Germany. He attended the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received his doctorate in engineering in 1886. His biographer, Pastor Georg von Bosse, vice-president of the German American Historical Society, described him as a “born leader,” a good speaker, and a thoroughly “Germanized American.” Hexamer served on the committee which organized German Days in Philadelphia in 1883, and was president of the German Society of Philadelphia from 1900 until 1916. As president of the Alliance, he became one of the best-known leaders of German-Americans until the outbreak of war brought the Alliance under suspicion of being a mouthpiece of Pan-Germanism.

After 1908, according to Clifton Child, the Alliance was solidly subsidized by German-American brewery interests. Its historical activities, gauged by the attention accorded to reports of the historical committee at national and state conventions, were thereafter subordinated to the battle against the “drys.” Following the outbreak of war in Europe, the Alliance conducted an especially active—and, of course, then entirely legal—publicity bureau and lobbied to pressure congressmen to support American neutrality and pro-German foreign policies. Its network of state organizations grew from twenty-five in 1907 to forty-seven in 1917, but its influence in

34 Ibid., 1.
35 Careful students of the movement point out that before 1914 Pan-Germanism received an indifferent reception in Germany and that tales of Hexamer as the Kaiser’s second-in-command in the United States, which appeared in the American press after 1914, were obviously British propaganda plants. Official statements by officers at the national conventions of the Alliance support the view that except for the clamor set up by prohibitionists and the outbreak of war, the Alliance would have remained a relatively unimportant German-American enterprise. Child, 8–9. See also *Annals*, N. S., I (1903), 680, for an example of an uncompromising blast against Pan-Germanism. The Learned Papers at Dickinson College contain numerous letters from university teachers of German who speak scornfully of the rank and file of Alliance members as “beer brothers.”
American politics and its active aid for Germany after the outbreak of war were probably exaggerated under the stress of wartime fears and propaganda.  

As part of their effort to unite German-American groups, Alliance leaders encouraged the formation of local and regional German-American historical associations and the affiliation of already existing groups of this kind as branches of the German American Historical Society. Chartered under Pennsylvania law in 1901, the Society was to encourage the publication of material of national or international interest in its own Annals, or in the Geschichtsblätter of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, an independently organized society which became affiliated with the Alliance. The directors of the German American Historical Society included Hexamer, Rosengarten, Charles C. Harrison, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Wilhelm Vocke, president of the Illinois group, and Marion Dexter Learned, editor of the Annals.

Born in 1857 near Dover, Delaware, into a family of colonial English descent, Learned was educated at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania and the Johns Hopkins University, receiving in 1887 the first doctoral degree in German granted by the Maryland institution. He developed a lifelong interest in the Pennsylvania-German language and way of life while teaching at Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport, Pennsylvania; after visiting Germany for advanced study in Germanic philology, and to collect materials for his doctoral thesis, he returned to Johns Hopkins as instructor (1886) and later associate professor of German. In 1895, he took over the chairmanship of the German department at the University of Pennsylvania.

38 Emil Mannhardt to Dr. Joseph Morwitz, Sept. 17, 1901, Learned Papers, Dickinson College.
39 Americana Germanica, IV (1902), 207-213.
40 "Marion Dexter Learned," Dictionary of American Biography (DAB), VI, 78; Hugh Hawkins, Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889 (Ithaca, N. Y., 1960), 162; Pennsylvania-German, XII (1911), 354, and Learned Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). The largest collection of Learned materials is in the possession of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. It includes more than 3,000 items, including letters, books, and pamphlets from his library, manuscript drafts of articles, notes, bills and receipts, and memorabilia.
Learned brought new vigor to Germanic studies at the University. He encouraged the production and publication of scholarly research, supervised the work of advanced students, continued his studies of the Pennsylvania-German dialect, edited diaries of Germans who had served in the American Revolution, and compiled grammars and texts for school use. After extensive and meticulous researches in German and American archives, he produced an important guide to manuscript materials relating to American history in the German state archives and many monographs dealing with philological, ethnological, and cultural aspects of German and German-American history. His major work, issued in 1908 under the auspices of the German American Alliance, was a documentary *Life of Pastorius*, the leader of the Germans who in 1683 settled the community of Germantown, near Philadelphia. Learned's scholarly attainments and breadth of learning were matched by a genuine, but not obsequious, admiration for German ways and values. In retrospect, his career (he died in 1917) is seen to coincide, in one of those almost symbolic coincidences, with the final rise and irrevocable decline of German-American ethnic self-assertion and separateness and the concomitant weakening of the academic prestige enjoyed by German methods in American higher education.

Learned was an active member of many general American scholarly societies and an important figure in German-American organizations in Pennsylvania and neighboring states. He regarded the German-trained university professor as the logical middleman for encouraging peaceful cultural exchange between the United States and Germany, the country which, in his view, was destined to engage in economic competition with his own and which had done most, after England, to shape a still emerging American character and nationality. He favored the introduction of German into the public schools and regarded German-American organizations as the most important agencies for maintaining German values and for infusing them into American life.

41 A bibliography of Learned's scholarly writings may be found in Henry A. Pochmann and A. R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America* (Madison, Wis., 1953), 209-210.
42 Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown (Philadelphia, 1908), originally issued in *Annals*, N. S., V (1907) and VI (1908).
43 He served as president of the Modern Language Association in 1909.
44 *Annals*, N. S., I (1903), 565.
Learned came to Philadelphia at a time when the president and trustees of the University of Pennsylvania were engaged in a vigorous campaign to raise the standing of their school to that of such citadels of scholarship as Johns Hopkins, the University of Wisconsin, and Harvard. J. G. Rosengarten and Provost Charles Harrison were investigating publication methods of other universities and passing their findings and suggestions on to a faculty committee on publication. Eager to emulate other graduate schools which published the fruits of their teachers' and students' researches in outstanding journals, this committee, of which Rosengarten was a key member, was glad to guarantee expenses incurred in the printing and editing of a new publication begun by Professor Learned in 1897.\footnote{Letters, memoranda, and correspondence (1895–1915) in University of Pennsylvania Archives. The Learned Papers at Dickinson College show that Rosengarten, as a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, paid for clerical assistance for Learned's work during certain periods and generally advanced considerable amounts of money to support the plans of Learned and the University for the creation of what was to be known as the "Emperor William Institution of German American Research." The project was authorized early in 1909 by the University trustees, and would have been housed in a Deutsches House, for which Learned endeavored to raise funds. C. J. Hexamer to Learned, Oct. 29, 1910, Learned Papers, Dickinson College. The Learned Papers at Dickinson College reveal that the outbreak of war in Europe, our eventual involvement in it, the difficulty of raising money for the building and the ambitious programs planned for it (exhibits, lectures by exchange professors, etc.), and Learned's death seem to have prevented the translation of these plans into actuality. Permission to use the Kaiser's name had already been received through official channels, and Learned was in correspondence with various men in the United States and in Germany to implement his plans.}

Entitled \textit{Americana Germanica}, the quarterly's masthead explained that its contents would be "devoted to the comparative study of the literary, linguistic and other cultural relations of Germany and America." Among the contributing editors of this scholarly venture could be found a recognized Germanist from nearly every major center of graduate study in the East, Middle West, and Far West. It was this quarterly which the German American Historical Society in 1901 made its official organ.

In January, 1903, the name \textit{Americana Germanica} was transferred to a series of monographs, also edited by Learned, of which thirty-two titles appeared before his death.\footnote{\textit{Annals}, N. S., XV (1917), 153.} The quarterly itself was changed in the same year to a monthly, known as \textit{German American Annals}. The \textit{Annals} were no longer connected with the University of Pennsylvania, but became the organ of both the German American Historical Society and the Alliance. To the confusion of many read-
ers, Learned, who continued as editor of the Annals, retained "Americana Germanica" for its subtitle. The title page indicated, furthermore, that the Annals also served as the organ for the Deutsche Pionier Verein of Philadelphia (until 1905) and of the Union of Old German Students.

At their first meeting in 1902 in rooms of the University of Pennsylvania the members of the German American Historical Society agreed to keep minutes of the meetings in English, with German and English to be "on an equal footing" in the official publications. Learned was elected the English secretary of the Society, Adolph Timm, the German secretary. Learned also became chairman of the publication committee. His fellow committee members and contributing editors included every well-known Germanist then teaching in an American university or college: Starr W. Cutting, University of Chicago; Albert B. Faust, University of Wisconsin (later at Cornell); William H. Carpenter, Columbia; Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford; Waterman T. Hewett, Cornell; Hugo K. Schilling, University of California; Calvin Thomas, Columbia; Kuno Francke, Harvard; Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins, and others from eastern and western private and state universities.

As editor, speaker, and writer, Learned maintained high standards of professional competence and objectivity, always separating the newsletter or communications of the Alliance from the articles and book reviews in the Annals, and even scorning, according to A. B. Faust, the "popular demand for readable books" as "tending to lower scientific standards." Learned apparently exercised undisputed control over the historical contents of the Annals and had drawn up the prospectus for the guidance of researchers and contributors. The Society was to concern itself with Kulturgeschichte in the broadest application of that term. There is no evidence that Learned was particularly enthusiastic over projects involving the public relations aspects of German-American history.

48 Learned to J. Hartley Merrick, Heidelberg, Germany, May 13, 1903, University of Pennsylvania Archives.
49 "Marion Dexter Learned," DAB.
50 Joseph G. Rosengarten, "In Memoriam—The Late Professor Learned," Annals, N. S., XV (1917), 147-159.
51 Professor Kuno Francke, curator of the German Museum at Harvard, remained a contributing editor of the Annals despite his criticism of the Alliance as encouraging "a German national party" in the United States which put sympathy with Germany before duty to America. New York Times, June 6, 1915.
Learned’s recommendations as chairman of various historical committees of the Alliance and of the Zentralbund of Pennsylvania were mainly appeals for a larger publication fund and for support of projects supervised and conducted by him under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. The most important of these was begun in 1902, when the German American Historical Society and the Alliance collected funds for a “Conestoga expedition,” organized for the systematic study of the German settlements of Lancaster County and neighboring areas in Pennsylvania. This “dragnet” for historical and literary materials was conceived and largely planned by Learned. He asked his collaborators to collect source materials for the study of German industries in Pennsylvania before 1830; of German agriculture, and rural architecture; of the domestic life, language, and literary activities of Germans in colonial times; of German religious, social, and political life in relation to other colonial nationality groups (Welsh, English Quakers, Scotch-Irish); and “archaeological collections,” including road maps, charts, and tables, to trace the development of commerce and travel in these early German settlements.

The “Conestoga expedition” was the first step in what Learned hoped would develop into an “American Ethnographical Survey,” a plan which he presented to the American Philosophical Society in April, 1902. All nationalities were to be studied in the same comprehensive manner already outlined for the Germans in Pennsylvania. Contributions for this first “expedition” came from Rosengarten, the University of Pennsylvania, the Welsh Society, the Hebrew Association of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania German Society (organized in 1891), and interested individuals.

Some results of the “Conestoga expedition” were published in the *Annals* of 1903, the first numbers of the newly titled *Americana*.
Germanica series to be officially subsidized by the Alliance. Included was a first printing of a journal describing life in Pennsylvania in the 1830’s, lent to the expedition by a descendant of the original writer from Lancaster. Learned and a collaborator edited “An Old German Midwife’s Record” from Lancaster County covering the years 1791–1815. A long article on the “Industries of Pennsylvania after the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, with Special Reference to Lancaster and York Counties” provided source materials for an economic history of Pennsylvania. The author, G. D. Luetscher, introduced his meticulously compiled and arranged statistics, tables, graphs and charts with the reminder that “industrial life is the most prominent element in human activity,” that “political phenomena and even constitutional theories” must be studied in the setting of their industrial background.  

Additional articles on a variety of literary, linguistic, military and biographical topics, photographs of historic houses and objects, book reviews of the latest publications, in German and English, of German and American scholarship relating to the Germans in America, and Mitteilungen of the Alliance, the German American Historical Society, and the Union of Old German Students completed the volume.

In September, 1904, the Alliance, represented by Learned, Timm, and Hexamer, sponsored a Germanic Congress in connection with the Universal Exposition in St. Louis. Representatives from Swedish, Danish-Norwegian, English, Dutch and German groups attended. It is not unlikely that the Congress encouraged certain of the leaders of the Swedish section, especially its chairman, Johann A. Enander, to perfect already pending plans for organizing the Swedish-American Historical Society in Chicago in the following spring. Learned, who acted as chairman of the Germanic Congress, opened the pages of the Annals to articles dealing with Scandinavian-American topics, including a contribution by his student Amandus Johnson, then a young instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, who in the mid-1920’s became the founder and first curator of the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia.

56 Ibid., I (1903), 135.
57 Ibid., II (1904), 505.
58 New York Evening Post, May 10, 1904, Learned Collection, HSP.
Through Hexamer's suggestion, Mrs. Catherine Seipp, mother-in-law of the president of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois and widow of Conrad Seipp, a prominent brewer of Chicago, offered a prize of $5,000 for the three best essays dealing with the influence of the Germans on American life. Entries were judged by a committee led by Starr Willard Cutting, professor of German at the University of Chicago. The first prize of $3,000 was awarded to Albert B. Faust, professor of German at Cornell University. His book, published in an English and a German edition, was "recommended and endorsed" by the Alliance, and was generally favorably reviewed. Learned praised the book, but pointed out that instead of offering a prize for works dealing with identical subjects it might have been better to commission recognized scholars to produce three studies dealing with different aspects of German-American history.

Learned's own views of the value of German studies were scattered throughout his contributions to the Annals and Americana Germanica. He summarized them in several lectures delivered before groups devoted to the study of German and German-American history and literature. In 1892, while still at Johns Hopkins, he already believed in the mission of German-Americans to found a "second, ideal Fatherland" in the United States. While Kaiser Wilhelm I, Bismarck, and von Moltke, that "trilogy of heroes" (Heldentrilogie), built the "new, great German Reich," the Germans in America were erecting "a spiritual nation" whose various culture elements were being refined (veredelt) and transfigured (verklärt) through German science and art.


61 Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate ... , 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., on a bill to repeal the National German American Alliance (Washington, D. C., 1918), 175, hereinafter cited as Hearings; Bosse, Dr. C. J. Hexamer ... , 14.


63 Annals, N. S., X (1912), 258.

In 1900, he said at Columbia University that Germanistics gave Americans the opportunity to study literary masterpieces combining the best of the classic with the best of the modern spirit. America, having not yet attained a classical epoch in its own literature, should seek classic models among people who had experienced such an epoch under the direct influence of antiquity. Germany, whose spirit and culture were so closely related to our own, and whose culture had already influenced American life for two hundred years, was ideally equipped to offer American students a method, at once scientific, historical, critical and comparative, which could lead to the appreciation of the classic spirit and provide the kind of foundation for the aesthetic education of the whole nation suggested by Schiller's famous *Letters Concerning the Aesthetic Education of Man.*

He divided the history of the United States into three epochs with respect to "racial" development. In the first, or colonial, epoch, transplanted forms, by no means all English (Swedish, Spanish, Dutch), struggled for dominance. During the second, or ethnic, period, a revolution and a civil war determined that the United States would be one country, politically, with many nationalities. As the United States became a world power and entered the third, or panethnic, period, its future yet uncertain, it could either become a model of race harmony for the strife-torn nations of Europe, or allow old hatreds to come again to the surface. The slumbering forces of race were already making themselves felt as Poles, Irishmen, and Czechs reasserted their national identity; in the United States it would be possible to create a new man from the best of the old, for

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66 The term "racial" today has acquired a noxious, made-in-Germany dimension which seems to make its use (translated from the German *Rasse* or *rassisch*) singularly inappropriate in this context. It must therefore be remembered that when Learned and his generation used these terms, together with such words as "blood" or "strain," they usually meant no more than what we would today call ethnic group, or nationality, or, perhaps, people. This "racial" theory, untenable today, was not generally intended to prove the inferiority of a "race"—though some writers did use it for that purpose—but was customarily employed to point out the special cultural, social, sometimes political and, least frequently, biological traits which distinguish one people from another and which we now ascribe to "cultural" differences. For a first-rate discussion of this slippery topic (i.e., "race" and "blood" as used by the nineteenth-century writer who was primarily a historian or literary expert), see Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold* (New York and London, 1949), 232–243.
Americanization was not merely assimilating or “melting” the races (nationalities), but “an organic consolidation of racial (ethnic) elements, evolved from a combination of random as well as socially and politically conditioned processes of selection.”

Learned clung to his Crévecoeurian ideal even when he saw the “younger generations of Germans in America themselves turn[ing] their backs upon” the old Sprache und Sitte (language and customs), intermarrying with non-Germans, and in many cases “ashamed of their German origin.” He envisioned a cultural pluralism (the phrase was not his, of course) in which the children of German immigrants, “taking over into their American citizenship the cultural stimulus of the land and language of their fathers,” would unite this “heirloom” with the “best of Anglo-American culture.”

Convinced of the cultural and commercial importance of German as a modern language, he urged that German instruction be accorded first place in the schools, and supported the German High School Teachers’ Association of New York City when it demanded the introduction of German into elementary schools “for practical and pedagogic reasons.” At the same time, he cautioned that the claims he and other spokesmen made for German “as an essential element in popular education” should not be misconstrued “by the more radical exponents of the German cause” as an unqualified endorsement of their extremist views.

Learned opposed a literacy test for immigrants. He claimed that “guesses, not actual knowledge” supported many of the recommendations made by the Immigration Commission created by Congress in 1907 to study the “new immigration.” “Desirable” characteristics of one period, Learned wrote, had a habit of becoming undesirable at another, later time. Even the German Palatines whom Frederick Jackson Turner praised and who in Learned’s opinion were

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67 Translated from Annals, N. S., II (1904), 744.
68 German as a Culture Element in American Education (Milwaukee, Wis., 1898), 23–24, a lecture delivered by Learned before the National German American Teachers’ Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 8, 1898.
69 Learned, When Should German Instruction Begin in the Public Schools, an address delivered before the German High School Teachers’ Association of New York City and accepted by the Association as their recommendation to the Board of Education of New York City, Jan. 18, 1902.
the "founders of the agricultural prosperity in America and of our inland trade," were not cordially received in colonial America, and Franklin, who disliked them, referred to them as "a swarthy race." Learned concluded that his researches showed that the process of assimilation was always slow. Measurements of literacy or even of the physical characteristics of two generations of immigrants provided unstable historical indices of the worth of newcomers; hence, conclusions based on United States census reports of the conditions of immigrants were of doubtful validity and ought to be supplemented by new studies. Even in the past, American conditions were not characterized by uniformity but diversity. The assumption that "the early German immigrants were superior to those coming from other countries at the present day" was unwarranted, especially since the United States was no longer an agricultural nation as commerce and cities played an increasingly significant role in national life and prosperity.

Admiration for German methods and values did not lead Learned into the exaggerations and errors of which German-American writers and speakers were often guilty. When a researcher for the Society of the History of the Germans in Maryland, for example, concluded that Lincoln's ancestors were Germans named Linckhorn, Learned, who seems to have questioned this "fact," was asked to supervise an investigation of the matter and, if possible, settle the question. After an exhaustive search of original documents, he concluded that "the tradition which has taken such a hold upon the German mind as to give rise even to German poetry on Abraham Lincoln as a German, must be considered as without historic foundation."


72 Learned, "The Early German Immigrant and the Immigration Question of Today," Pennsylvania-German, XII (1911).

73 Annals, N. S., II (1904), 451.

74 Learned, Abraham Lincoln, An American Migration, Family English Not German (Philadelphia, 1909), 134. Learned settled the name question by proving that "Linckhorn" was a surveyor's misspelling of the Lincoln name. He also showed that twelve other variant spellings in old deeds (Lincolne, Lincoln, Lincon, Lincen, Linckon, Linkhoon, etc.) illustrated the interchange of liquids (substitution of "r" for "l") in Germanic and Romance languages, and that the variant spellings were "entirely in keeping with the traditions of English speech and orthography."
Learned also reprinted in the *Annals* a lecture delivered by Rattermann in 1892 in which the Cincinnati editor declared that the Mecklenburg Declaration, hailed by "ignorant [German-American] newspaper scribes" as "a genuine document made by German settlers," was a clever forgery manufactured to hurt Jefferson's reputation.\(^{75}\)

Learned's contributing editors were not always so circumspect as he, or so loath to generalize on the basis of scant historical knowledge. Julius Goebel, for example, an outspoken nationalist who taught German at the University of Illinois, lectured Theodore Roosevelt about German-American hyphenates in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association and asserted modestly that "we Germans have furnished in modern times" more and better champions of the "higher spheres of life" than any other nation.\(^{76}\) In the *Annals*, Goebel said that nicknames like "Dutchman" and "Dutch" for Germans in the United States and England were a "mirror" of English feeling toward Germany and the Germans and demonstrated the ignorance, jealousy, and haughty pride of the English.\(^{77}\)

Despite the wide range of subjects discussed by contributors to the *Annals* and the monographs known as *Americana Germanica*, the professional interests of these men, largely teachers in the German departments of American colleges and universities, were reflected in the fact that more than two thirds of the contents of the *Annals* consisted of studies in literature, drama, philology and etymology. The remainder was taken up by political history, the study of names, and miscellaneous topics.\(^{78}\) After 1915, however, articles in the *Annals* dealt exclusively with literary topics, probably because of tensions engendered by the war in Europe. Insofar as the contents of the *Annals* have a common, underlying, although not necessarily stated, orientation, they may be said to reflect what one writer called

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\(^{78}\) Thirty-three out of forty-six articles, or 71%, in volumes I-IV (1897-1902) deal with literary or dramatic matters; three (6.5%) with philology and etymology; seven (15%) with music or song; three (6.5%) with political history.
the “sublime mission” of the German to transplant the best of his culture to bring “versatility and richness of content” to American social life. Americanization in the Annals was conceived as “allowing each constituent part of our heterogeneous population ample time and opportunity to contribute its share of what is typically strong and good.”

Hexamer wrote approvingly of Karl Lamprecht’s historical efforts in Germany, and Learned printed an essay by Albert J. W. Kern, “Geschichtsschreibung, Karl Lamprecht und Die Neueste Zeit.” Kern praised Lamprecht for widening the once highly specialized approaches of the historian of culture to accommodate sociological and psychological insights. With Lamprecht’s broadly conceived method, comparative Kulturgeschichte need no longer merely ask, with Ranke, “how things really happened,” but could attempt to explain “why they happened.”

Hexamer said in one of his last public addresses that the hyphen was “a badge of merit” and to be a German-American was in no way to be less true to America. In a footnote to this address, Learned pointed out that as editor of the Americana Germanica and the Annals he had removed the hyphen on “purely aesthetic grounds” long before the sign “acquired the scandalous notoriety which it now enjoys.” He believed that all Americans were hyphenates at some point in their history, that the political significance of the hyphen could only be its reference to citizens not yet naturalized though residing in the United States, and that it was in better taste and better English to let adjectives tell their own story by omitting the hyphen.

Learned’s last remarks in the Annals contained a poignant reiteration of the principles he upheld as teacher, scholar, and editor. With a war raging in Europe, he thought Prussia could still teach America “by precept and example.” The “lessons of precision and thoroughness” which Americans learned so well in German laboratories and seminars, he wrote, ought now to be applied to American preparations for defense in a time of danger.

79 Annals, N. S., I (1903), 443.
80 Ibid., IV (1906), 335–344.
81 Ibid., XIV (1916), 54.
82 Ibid., 55.
83 Learned, “General Von Steuben and the New Lesson of German Militarism,” ibid., 64.
Despite Learned's high standards of scholarship and objectivity, he identified himself so completely with the Alliance from the very beginning of its organization that it is a nice and unresolved question as to whether his enthusiasm did not draw him closer into Alliance affairs than prudent foresight should have permitted. He served as vice-president and member of the executive committee of the Alliance, was president of the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Lehrerbund (1899–1900), and organized the Philadelphia chapter of the Union of Old German Students in America.

He was so much the Yankeedeutscher that he exhorted an audience at a German Day celebration in Brooklyn in October, 1912, to support the Alliance and unsere Vereine (our organizations) as the only real Pflegestätten (places of nurture) of German culture in America. He often addressed German-American groups, represented the Alliance and the University of Pennsylvania at scholarly meetings and conferences in Germany and in the United States, and, in 1909, investigated German state archives for the sources of American history under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of Washington, D. C. In the following year, Kaiser Wilhelm recognized Learned's contributions in word and print as a leading figure in German and American cultural relations by the award of the Order of the Red Eagle, Third Class.

With the exception of the German American Historical Society, and the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, Alliance-sponsored historical associations were generally short-lived and not very productive. The rank and file of the Alliance were not history-minded and cared little about scholarly method. Emil Mannhardt said that a mailing of ten thousand invitations and wide publicity brought in exactly forty-two inquiries for the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft, that not quite two hundred

84 Kloss, Um die Einigung . . . , 272.
85 Learned, "Der Deutsche Verein als Pflegestätte der Deutschen Kultur in Amerika," Annals, N. S., X (1912), 249–255.
87 Learned Collection, HSP.
88 Mitteilungen, I (June, 1909); Annals, N. S., I (1903), 645; and Das Buch der Deutschen, 789, 828, contain repeated plaints of Alliance leaders concerning the apathy of German-Americans for Alliance-supported aims.
members signed up after much tedious personal solicitation, and that these were "nearly exclusively from Chicago." He admitted that its plans for a quarterly publication and the gathering of local historical data were unsuccessful until a paid researcher had been appointed, and that the Gesellschaft came into being only because the claims of those who ascribed "an English origin for whatever of lasting good had been done in this country" could not go unanswered.

H. A. Rattermann and Dr. Hexamer repeatedly urged greater support of the historical activities of societies sponsored by the Alliance. Its national and state conventions invariably affirmed the importance of the work of the historical committee and its plans, but appropriations seldom equalled the needs outlined by Learned as its chairman. In 1908, only about forty persons turned out for the meetings of the German American Historical Society in Philadelphia. National membership (the clause limiting membership to two hundred seems to have been removed after 1903) was reported at "less than one thousand" in that year.

A Deutsche Historische Gesellschaft for the District of Columbia was organized in April, 1904, to aid the Alliance in its campaign of "weeding" untruths about Germans from American history books. It elaborated a program for research after the model of the German American Historical Society, acquired some forty members, and issued two *Berichte* before collapsing from inactivity.

Hexamer’s qualifications and interests as a historian were not impressive. Like Timm, national secretary of the Alliance who published a German weekly in Philadelphia, Hexamer spent a good deal of energy arguing publicly with supposed detractors of the Germans and protesting when he believed them injured. In 1905, when Hexamer resigned as president of the German American Historical


91 *Annals*, N. S., III (1905), 427, 480.

92 *Ibid.*, 481; *Das Buch der Deutschen*, 796.

93 *Annals*, N. S., VI (1908), 180.


Society because he was busy with other affairs of the Alliance, Timm reported proudly that the historical department of the Alliance had been instrumental in persuading the Daughters of the American Revolution to change the name of General Nicholas Herkimer to Herchheimer on a projected monument, had influenced Congress to authorize the erection of a General Steuben monument, and had published a Schiller album.97 Hexamer’s successor as president of the historical society was Dr. Albert Bernheim of Philadelphia, who presided over the infrequent meetings of the society but took no active part in its historical activity. The Annals continued to be Learned’s province.

Timm himself, on the witness stand before the Congressional committee investigating the Alliance, pretended that he “did not know” that Learned had issued the Annals as the organ of the Alliance, said he had never read them, and always considered them and the Américana Germanica series “publications for academic people.”98

The “Pennsylvania Dutch” proved to be largely disinterested in the aims of the Alliance and refused their membership and support.99 The Pennsylvania-German Society published its own Proceedings, first issued in 1891. The Pennsylvania-German, a quarterly issued after 1900 by the Rev. P. C. Croll of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, was devoted to “the history, biography, genealogy, poetry, folklore and general interests of the Pennsylvania-Germans and their descendants.” Both were in English and rather inclined to the view that the Pennsylvania-Germans had done more than anyone else to drive the British from the thirteen American colonies and secure the foundations of the Republic.100 After 1911, the Pennsylvania-German car-

97 Ibid., III (1905), 428.
98 Hearings, 402–403.
99 Annals, N. S., III (1905), 448; Kloss, Um die Einigung . . ., 271.
100 In 1908, the Pennsylvania-German Society reprinted from its Proceedings an account of Pennsylvania-Germans in the Revolutionary War. The book aimed to show that the Pennsylvania-Germans were the “First Defenders” of the Revolution; that without the Pennsylvania-Germans, there would have been no Declaration of Independence; that, by his valor, the Pennsylvania-German saved the cause and its army from destruction at Long Island; that, without him, there would have been no means of holding the American army at Valley Forge, nor of “bottling up” the British in Philadelphia; and that, finally, whenever and wherever called upon to do his duty he never failed to respond nobly. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards, The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783 (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), 15.
ried news of the Alliance. Alliance leaders, for their part, tried to woo the Pennsylvania-Germans with English-language brochures, explaining to their own champions of *Deutschtum* that one either reached the Pennsylvania *Landsdeutsche* in that Anglo-Saxon medium or not at all. 101

The identification of the Alliance with antiprohibition lobbying, aid for Germany, and strict neutrality (i.e., opposition to war matériel shipments to the Allies) had made it generally suspect as a mouthpiece and tool of German interests. 102 As the war progressed, its position became untenable. Hexamer was expelled from the Manufacturers’ Club of Philadelphia and resigned as president of the Alliance. Siegmund von Bosse, son of Georg von Bosse and, like his father, a pastor in the German Lutheran Church, became his successor. In January, 1918, Senator William H. King of Utah introduced a bill, passed after hearings in the spring, which revoked the national charter of the Alliance on account of “its disloyal and disgraceful career.” 103 Officers of the organization defended its American character fervently before the Congressional committee. When it became apparent that Congress was going to revoke the charter, the officers dissolved the Alliance and turned its remaining funds over to the Red Cross. 104 The German American Historical Society, already a paper organization, lingered on for a few more months. After Learned’s death on August 1, 1917, Edwin M. Fogel signed as editor of the last four *Annals* (XVIII–XXI, 1916–1919). 105 Their

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101 Kloss, *Um die Einigung . . .*, 270; *Mittheilungen*, III (August, 1911). The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, founded in the spring of 1935, has emphasized that its sphere of activity is ethnological, that it seeks to “record permanently the folk-mind” of the Pennsylvania-German past, and that “history, as such, is therefore to be subordinated.” *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, I (1936), “Foreword.”

102 Argument delivered by Charles J. Hexamer, President of the National German American Alliance at a Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, Mar. 12, 1912; An Open Letter of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, . . . to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, Feb. 3, 1915.

103 *Hearings*, 698.


105 During his occasional absences from Philadelphia, Learned entrusted the management of the *Annals* to Fogel, the business manager of the magazine, an expert folklorist of Pennsylvania-German birth. In later years, Fogel was one of the founders and the first treasurer of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, organized in Allentown, Pa., in 1935. Kloss, *Um die Einigung . . .*, 271.
purely literary contents seem to have been accepted for publication under Learned's aegis, just prior to his retirement.

After the war, the Steuben Society continued some of the traditions of the Alliance. Its Bulletin dealt frequently with the contents of American history textbooks and praised the Hearst newspapers for uncovering a "British-American conspiracy" to alter United States school histories in favor of pro-British designs.106

The formal agreement for co-operation which had existed between the Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians107 was continued by the Steuben Society's informal but openly acknowledged support of the Knights of Columbus' drive to stop the "emasculating" of historical "truth" in American school histories.108 German Day celebrations were revived in 1920 to help erase the memory of anti-German feeling and to show "the German group in the best possible light."109

The Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois was also revived and published its Geschichtsblätter until 1932, when the few remaining members and officers handed its library over to the Chicago Historical Association and dissolved the Gesellschaft.110

In 1931, a second Nationalbund was organized, including representatives of pro-Nazi German-American groups. This revival of German nationalism and the discomfort experienced by some German-Americans over happenings in the early 1930's, when Congressional investigations disclosed that the "Friends of New Germany" was an "American section of the Nazi party," contributed to the founding of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.111 It was organized in 1930 by a group of men "engaged in manufacturing in the United States" who "devoted too much time to industrial pursuits" and who now wished to make up for this "neglect" by being "of greater service to our fellow citizens." The founders said rather

106 Pierce, 240.
107 Mittheilungen, II (July, 1910).
108 Pierce, 241.
110 Hawgood, 318. The Gesellschaft, according to Hawgood, issued some "admirable monographs" and articles, including dissertations accepted at the University of Chicago. A "special edition" of the German-American Historical Review was published in 1937 to honor the memory of the last president of the Gesellschaft, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, who died in 1935.
111 Hawgood, 305.
pointedly in the first issue of their *American-German Review* (1934) that they would be guided by a well-known patriotic dictum “courageously amended by Carl Schurz”—namely, *Our Country, “if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right.”*\(^{112}\)

Contributors to the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation fund included a number of German Jews—Julius Rosenwald, Felix Warburg, and others. In 1936–1937, Dr. Heinz Kloss surveyed the status of research in German-American cultural areas at the direction of the Foundation and summarized his findings in a “Report on the Possibilities for Research Work of an American-German Institute.” Kloss, a Nazi sympathizer, soon thereafter returned to Germany, where he became a specialist on American affairs in the Nazi Foreign Office.\(^{113}\)

In 1941, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation moved into the Old Custom House in the National Park area of historic buildings in downtown Philadelphia. It employs a full-time research director and devotes its main emphasis to the fostering of cultural relations between Germany and America and the appreciation of German-American contributions to American life. Since World War II, its librarian has continued the compilation of a Union Catalogue of German-Americana, while the Foundation and its director have supported the publication of a number of important specialized studies of German-American history. Until a decade ago, the mass and variety of source materials and secondary studies relating to Germans in America frustrated all but a few intrepid scholars from sifting these often inaccessible data to arrive at generalizations applicable to more than regional or local aspects of German America. Since about 1940, special studies, indexes, guides to archives, checklists and bibliographies have appeared in greater volume.\(^{114}\)

\(^{112}\) *American-German Review*, I (1934), 1–2. The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation has published the *American-German Review* as a bimonthly since 1934. Hawgood noted that in its title the hyphen “reappeared in a new and inverted form,” with American placed before German. Hawgood, 305.


\(^{114}\) Hawgood’s *The Tragedy of German-America* is the best study of Germans in America during the nineteenth century and after. Carl Wittke has added a volume on the German-language press to his previous, indispensable books on Germans in the United States. Pochmann and Schultz’s *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* and Pochmann’s *German Culture in America* are definitive in their areas.
other immigrant groups, a number of topics relating to "controversial" aspects of immigrant historiography remain neglected problems in German-American historiography. Among these are a comprehensive church history of German America and the influence of German socialist and communist communities upon economic, political, and social theory in America.\textsuperscript{115}

The amorphous community known as German America, which lasted from the middle 1850's to World War I, has disappeared. Our second declaration of war against Germany was neither preceded by significant German-American protest demonstrations for the Hitler regime, nor followed by a wave of distrust against citizens of German descent. German studies in our universities suffer from general American neglect of the humanities and are overshadowed by a new interest in Slavic, Russian, and Oriental languages and history growing out of postwar political trends. German-American history has become the undisputed province of a few recognized specialists in a few universities. Support of their work comes not from active associations of Americans of German descent, but from endowed groups like the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation or similar, often university-sponsored, funds.

Only a lengthy and tedious examination of the many German-founded regional and local groups in the United States would yield complete data for generalizations about historical activities among Germans in America. But as the only group of its kind whose aims encompassed the stimulation of German-American historiography on a national level, the German American Historical Society provides at least some general clues for the student of immigrant history and historiography.

The most obvious of these is that as an agency for the dissemination and the maintenance of ethnic and cultural values among German-Americans, as what a speaker for the Alliance called "cultural cement," the German American Historical Society and its sister societies were ineffective. Beer rather than history certainly was a more potent issue for commanding the attention of the great masses of German-Americans. According to Hugo Muensterberg, the German immigrant in America, with the exception of the generation

\textsuperscript{115} Pochmann, \textit{German Culture in America}, 12.
of which Carl Schurz became the best-known representative, was indeed unable to perform the Germanizing mission because he stood "in some respects below the level of the average German at home."\textsuperscript{116}

On the other hand, the high prestige accorded German methods and German scholarship in the United States enabled Alliance-sponsored historical societies to contribute to the reduction of the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of American history and encouraged other non-English stocks to join this attack against historians who traced all American beginnings to Plymouth and Jamestown.

The formation of the German American Historical Society itself was part of a process which may be likened to a kind of chain reaction, whereby the claims of one ethnic group, justified or exaggerated, documented or fanciful, spurred on spokesmen of other groups to assert their "contributions" to American life. German-American writers themselves were not always content to snatch laurels from the brow of their chief antagonist, the Anglo-Saxon, but insisted on "due credit"\textsuperscript{117} for past performances "monopolized" by other ethnic stocks.\textsuperscript{118}

Hansen thought that the formation of German historical societies in the first decade of the present century was one more indication that "a breeze of historical interest" was stirring the third generation of German-Americans.\textsuperscript{119} He believed that other manifestations of this phenomenon were the popularity of German literature in American universities and schools, the publication of books about German contributions to American life, and the establishment of American exchange professorships at the University of Berlin. Except for the exchange professorships, all these observations could have been

\textsuperscript{116} Hugo Muensterberg, \textit{American Traits from the Point of View of a German} (Boston, 1901), 18.

\textsuperscript{117} Oscar Kuhn, reviewing Faust's \textit{The German Element in the United States} in the \textit{American Historical Review}, XV (1909–1910), 616, said that the book had "done much to give due credit to the Germans in the work of defending and advancing the frontier of the American colonies—a credit which has hitherto been largely monopolized by the Scotch-Irish."

\textsuperscript{118} W. Kaufman, in "Der Deutsche Soldat im Bürger-Kriege [Civil War]," in \textit{Das Buch der Deutschen}, 131, wrote: "No nationality fought more heroically at the siege of St. Louis than the German patriots. And yet the modest German would not boast of his deeds. Imagine the fuss that would have followed if the Irish had been responsible!" (Trans.)

\textsuperscript{119} Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant," in Saveth, 480.
dated, and generally were dated, from 1870–1871, and the available evidence by no means indicates that the second generation of Germans in America were invariably less proud of their *Deutschtum* than their parents. In fact, lower-class families who in Germany were automatically identified as such by their dialect often were glad to give up their speech and old-world ways for English as they acquired money and social prestige in the United States. Their children, on the other hand, sometimes became better “Germans” than the parents and began that romanticization of the parents’ culture which Hansen thought he discovered particularly among the third generation.\(^{120}\)

Above all, it is clear that the high standards maintained by contributors to the *Annals* of the German American Historical Society and, to a lesser extent, to the *Geschichtsblätter* of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, were the result of the restraining influence of academic historians steeped in German methods and with a deep respect for all things German. Whenever the editorial scrutiny of Learned and his academic collaborators was lacking, the historiography produced by the Alliance confirmed Hansen’s observation that immigrant history easily degenerates into ethnic jingoism and exaggerated nationalism.\(^{121}\)

In the end, the story of the German American Historical Society presents a paradox. It reveals German-Americans basking in the reflected glory of the high prestige of German scholarship in American universities, with their leaders using history as a tool in a last, futile attempt to unite German-Americans politically. At the same

\(^{120}\) Emil Rothe, “Das Deutsche Element in Amerika,” in Tenner, *Amerika, der Heutige Standpunkt der Kultur in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Rothe said, pp. 212–213: “The low social origins of German-American families with limited education are revealed by their linguistic habits—the use of one of the German regional dialects. When such families become affluent, their members try to deny their origins by speaking only English and by refusing to speak German at all. Their children, on the other hand, often are no longer ashamed to be known as German.” (Trans.) See also Muensterberg for the influence of education and class status in Germany on the retention or rejection of *Deutschtum* among immigrants in the United States.

\(^{121}\) The press bureau of the Alliance, subsidized (according to Clifton Child) by brewers’ money, issued a more potent brand of apologetics than the historiography favored by Learned. In books and pamphlets, not always issued under the imprint of the Alliance, German achievements in America were touted in the manner all too familiar to the reader of immigrant-sponsored “popular” history. A typical title was Rudolf Cronau’s *German Achievements in America* (New York, 1916).
time, the direction of their historical society was placed in the hands of a Yankee whose ideals of culture and historical method, though derived from German sources, were largely beyond the ken of the leaders as well as the members of the Alliance.\textsuperscript{122}

\textit{Baltimore, Md.} \\
\textbf{JOHN J. APPEL}

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