

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN AMERICA

Mr. President:

Since the dark dawn of the present period of world-wide strain, I have felt it essential that some one stand up and state clearly to our nation those fundamentals and backgrounds of the great American pageant which are, in a manner of speaking, present within everyone of us, but which not one of the people's representatives, elected or appointed, has stressed for a very long time.

The people of America are being swayed by events in a continent some three thousand miles from our shores. There exists a spirit of deep compassion not only for the rest of the white race, but for all humanity. There exists a spirit which makes it difficult or impossible for the individual to remain calm and unaffected, when he reads or hears the endless reports of crises, destruction and bloodshed among our brothers on the other side of the Atlantic.

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Many of us declare that we should try to stop it all; that we should intervene in this newest European war; that we should risk and sacrifice the health and the lives of thousands, possibly millions of our sons; that we should endanger not only the wealth but also the very economic existence of our nation. Others, like myself, cling to our belief that to an American, America must come first. They feel that the protection of our country cannot be achieved by meddling in foreign imperialisms. In support of this conviction, we point to America's previous attempt to put an end to imperialism, secret diplomacy, militarism----in a word, to put an end to war.

~~Mr. President: It seems to me that, however well-considered such opinions may be, however great the number of arguments and sound the thinking of isolationists or interventionists, both groups are vitiated by the weakness that essential fundamentals of America's national life are not being given the consideration they deserve. Unlike the countries of Europe, America has not had a period of many centuries in which to develop that uniform~~

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approach to the important things in life which characterizes nations. In less than two centuries, America has completed, and completed with outstanding success, a task which England, France and Germany coped with for a thousand years. Americans have every right to be proud of this unique accomplishment, and every duty to be joyfully and gratefully aware of the forces that build our nation and of the contributions from the four corners of the globe which, in their amalgamation, have become our American civilization, our American way of thinking, our American way of life.

THE BACKBONE OF OUR WAY OF LIFE

Our American way of life has been founded on elements derived from numerous foreign countries. Its phenomenal development, which has been the envy and admiration of Europe and is the gratification and pride of America, has been due to conditions so uniquely American that they could not be duplicated anywhere else in the world. Our love of liberty, our independence of judgment, our industries, our achievements in the arts, and,

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more important than all these, our love and respect of the home
are the foundations of what we have come to look upon as the
American way.

~~There are countrymen of ours who, while being grateful
for what Europe gave us, are frankly a little ashamed as well
that our civilization is not down to its very roots indigenous.
It may be well to point out that nationalism does not preclude
civilization. Rather, it is cooperation that does---coopera-
tion not only between individuals, but between nations.~~

~~French~~
philosophers have deeply influenced thinking in England and
Germany. England gave birth to the industrial age. The works
of German poets were read avidly in the other European countries,
and the creative genius of German engineers revolutionized the
world. Nevertheless, France has remained France. Germany has
remained Germany. England has remained England. And America
has become America. It is not culturally a province of England.

~~I have mentioned the small section of our great national
community which views with some resentment the fact that Americans~~

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~~should be indebted to any country but America.~~ Allow me to add
that ^A~~this~~ small but vociferous and, it seems, quite influential
section holds that----since America speaks the language of
England, since many early American laws were based upon English
models, since many of our institutions betray a certain similarity
to English institutions (as do other institutions of ours with
those of other European countries); since, in a word, it is
possible to draw any number of parallels between life and people
on the "tight little isle" and life and people in the vast
American expanses---^{that} the American way of life ~~cannot differ very~~
is the British way of life.
~~much from the English way of life~~

It seems to me that if there is any merit to such an argument,
1776 should be stricken from the calendar and the Declaration
~~there cannot have been such reason for wanting to break away from~~
of Independence was an error.
~~England~~ If the people who hold such views are right, there is
only one logical course of action open to us: to send a delegation
to London, to present our most abject apologies for the wars of
1776 and 1812, and to ask that we be elevated to dominion status
and ~~be~~ allowed to pay our respects to his Majesty the King.

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JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL ^{CHIDES ANGLOPHILES.} ~~is ORIGIN~~

Fortunately, such views are by no means general. Indeed, many of our greatest writers have been fairly outspoken on the subject. For instance, James Russell Lowell, says in his Study Windows: "She (England) has a conviction that whatever good there is in us is wholly English, when the truth is that we are worth nothing except as far as we have disinfected ourselves of Anglicism."

Douglas Campbell in his work, The Puritan in England, Holland and America, expresses a similar view. "Certainly", he contends, "no intelligent American can study the English people as he does those of the Continent, and then believe that we are of the same race, except as members of the Aryan division of the human family, with the same human nature."

William Elliot Griffis, who probed the roots of our racial history with tireless energy and wrote, among other works, The Romance of American Colonization, holds that "we are less an English nation than a composite of the Teutonic people."

A great change has set in as to this question since the early days of the World War. Gradually we have been taught to ignore, and, ~~specifically~~ to suppress the simple truth that element in general, and to reminds us of our debt to the Teutonic, ~~specifically~~ the German in particular. The World War created a widespread confusion of thought and is responsible for a great deal of misunderstanding---misunderstanding that must be corrected.

FREEDOM BORN IN "GERMAN FORESTS"

~~HOW THE WAR LEADERS FELT~~

Our elder thinkers and statesmen, those of the pre-War period, possessed a clearer and more just sense of the historic and racial foundation of the American nation. Let me read the statements of President Garfield and Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes on this point.

Alluding to a speech he made on the death of his friend, Representative Gustav Schleicher of Texas, in 1887, President Garfield wrote in the North American Review for June, 1887:

"We are accustomed to call England our fatherland. It is a mistake. One of the greatest of modern historians, writing the

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human values, of essentials of American life, and to lead us to a tragic awakening, which followed our fight for ideals

history of the English people, has said that England is not the fatherland of the English-speaking people, but Germany.

I go into that and say, The real fatherland of the people of this country is Germany, and our friend who has fallen came to us direct from our fatherland, and not like the rest of us by way of England. Then I give a little sketch of German character, and what Carlyle and Montesquieu said, that the British constitution came out of the woods of Germany."

Justice Hughes, when Governor of New York State, in a speech at Mt. Vernon in 1908, gave voice to a similar thought:

"Did you ever think that a large portion of our people, despite their present distinction of home and birthplace, and even nationality, are descended from those common ancestors who a few years ago lived their life in the German forests? There were nourished the institutions of freedom; and if anyone were to point to any place in the world to which, of all, we trace our free institutions, we could point, above all, to the forests of Germany."

Such acknowledgements of the fact that the German-American element has meant very much in the making of America are needed today. We must cease concealing the vast accomplishments of that element. If we were more aware of the invaluable contributions by our cousins that hail from continental Europe--by our people of German, Scandinavian, French, Polish, and other ancestry--we would finally realize that the American way is not the British way. The American way is the American way: the way of life and thought which has grown from the lives and the thinking of our forefathers and which has been developed by Americans of the past and of the present.

American thought is, in its essence, the thought of a young nation. We are full of enthusiasm and ideals. We are enterprising. In contradistinction to the older nations of Europe, we are ready and willing at any moment to discard ways which we recognize as inadequate. The nations of Europe go to war over bread. We are ready to go to war for our ideals. And our enthusiasm is apt to lead us to the sacrifice of great

human values, of essentials of American life, and to lead us
to a tragic awakening, which followed our fight for ideals
once before.

European
~~EVERY WAR~~
WAR AND FRATRICIDE FOR U.S.

Solution
The historians tell us that many wars have been necessary:
the Revolutionary wars were--so was the Civil War. And yet it
can never be right for man to kill man. Organized murder can
be excused only when the very existence of a nation is
unmistakably threatened. To take lives for ideals may be noble.
But for America to engage in a European war is even worse than
for European nations to combat each other. They may claim with
some measure of justification that they are killing in self-
defense. We cannot.

In our world of intellectual and economic cooperation, in
which every country is so intimately dependent on the creative
ability of every other nation, war is, in a sense, fratricide.
This is especially true of the United States, whose roots reach
into every country of Europe. Every war that America fights is

fratricide. As in 1917, we would today be compelled to travel thousands of miles to commit that crime. We prefer to wait for other European nations to irritate and insult us. But we seem to go out of our way to pick quarrels with the Germans. Yet, if we do not travel to Europe to fight Germany, the chances are that we will never be at war with her. Unlike other nations, she has never come to battle with us in our continent.

From the country we would be fighting, we have derived a major part of our progress and of our population. According to Professor Albert Faust, the distinguished Cornell University scholar who has made himself the historian of America's German element, and to whom I am indebted for much of my information, the Germans in America shortly after the turn of the century numbered more than eighteen million. Since that time, the population of America has doubled, and today well over thirty million--roughly one quarter of our total population--are of German blood.

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Surely, these thirty millions and their forefathers have made contributions to American life which entitle them to a just and generous appreciation.

GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

~~GERMAN TYPES AND GERMAN CHARACTERISTICS~~

The German element in America has always been particularly well equipped to act in the interests of civilization. No doubt, the Germans who came here, settled, raised families and worked for the common weal and for their own benefit were not all cut after the same pattern. Our tendency to generalize leads us too easily to forget the distinctions, as are made in Henry Pratt Fairchild's book, Immigrant Backgrounds, between the "choleric Bavarian, the light-hearted Franconian, the deep, mystically inclined Swabian, the effervescent Rhinelander, the bright and gentle Thuringian, the impassionate, melancholy Silesian, the stubborn, slow-moving Low German, the smart and versatile Prussian." Nevertheless, the elements from the various districts of Germany, from town or country, from deeply religious or atheist families had several important

qualities in common. To quote Fairchild again, the German immigrant showed the effects of systematic intellectual drill. His sense of orderliness and thrift was highly developed. He had been living under home influences which in one way or another favorably affected his aesthetic and cultural sensibilities. The German immigrant, in his spiritual, literary and artistic culture, betrays the fact that "Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven, Kant--to mention only the greatest names--are in a way still contemporaries", while such countries as England and France reached and passed the climax of their national culture centuries earlier. The six essential characteristics of our German element are summed up as follows by Fairchild:

"High degree of systematic schooling, instinctive thrift and orderliness, sense for aesthetically pleasing home surroundings and recreations, strongly developed pride in national achievement, lack of churchliness, lack of experience in political organization." The last feature may be responsible for the fact that the German element's contributions to our

national life are not being appraised at anywhere near their
real value. I feel that, since in all my years in public life
no one has seen fit to pay tribute to the great achievements
of our German element, I am more than justified in calling
the attention of every American to this part of our country's
background: to the notable accomplishments of our German

element in every field of endeavor in the United States. It was
only recently that the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Phil.
took energetic steps in cooperation with the national government
THE BITTER LESSON BEHIND US

Let us not again be catapulted into an unjustifiable
fury of hate and revenge against an element of our citizenry

which has contributed so much to the making of our country.
Let us not again fall, as once we did, under the sinister spell
of foreign propaganda. Let us remember that for a long time no
alleged outrage attributed to German soldiers in the World War,
no matter how unfounded or incredible it was, could be questioned
with impunity. Citizens were sent to prison by American juries
for saying they doubted what were obvious fabrications.

I hope we shall never again hear of such cases as, for

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*Assume the records of the
German element are in
a museum
also. This is
true.*

instance, that of a non-German citizen of Lansing, Michigan, who was sentenced to prison for twenty years for saying in private that the stories of German atrocities were propaganda.

While the method may be applied again, I hope it will not again meet with the terrible success of 1914-1918, when one hundred and fifty million dollars of foreign money and ten thousand trained Allied agents were dispatched from Europe to manacle the American mind. Charles Grant Miller tells the story in his book, The Poisoned Cup. He relates how English agents set out to change our school books and our textbooks on literature in order to give our children a distorted impression of our American civilization.

It is really ironical that it should be necessary for me or for anybody else to emphasize facts which seem only too obvious. Yet, because of the unjust soft-pedaling of German contributions to America, few of us realize that there is not a town in America without inhabitants of German extraction, that in some of our large cities the majority of the population are descendants of German forefathers. In innumerable cases, the

origin of our German-Americans has been so completely obliterated that, were it not for their names, it would be impossible to discern their heritage. In fact, even many of the names have been Americanized or shall I say Anglicized.

best methods of WHAT OUR MELTING-POT MEANS employed in countries

of age. Our melting pot is an unprecedented success, our ability as a nation to incorporate and assimilate foreign peoples is unique. But that does not mean that our adopted citizens should be expected to forget those ties of sentiment, of gratitude and of blood which connect them with people in other lands. He who is able to forget such ties usually has little disposition to establish new durable bonds. A man's civic virtue is determined not alone by his membership in civic organizations. Love of kin and loyalty to friends are the basic qualities of any good citizen. And his activities in the interests of the greater communities of the municipality, the state and the nation must be built upon such a foundation.

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Our thirty, or perhaps thirty-five million Americans of German origin would not be the valuable element that they are if they could callously cut away their roots. The thrift and orderliness, the instinctive knowledge of the soil and of the best methods of tilling it, which were developed in centuries of agricultural progress at home, are what enabled our German farmers to bring to American farming the invaluable contributions symbolized by such names as Hilgard, Nordhoff, Husmann, ~~Rockefeller~~, ~~Villard~~ or Pfeffer. The teachings of German institutes of technology enabled Roebling and his successors to build America's greatest bridges. The American sugar industry was developed by Spreckels, who often returned to Germany, to keep pace with the progress made there in his chosen field, and then proceeded to invent new processes. It was Spreckels who reduced the time required in the making of hard sugar from three weeks to one day. Rockefeller, the oil king, Villard the railroad builder were Americans of German extraction.

I could go on ad infinitum quoting the individual achievements of our Germans in industry, the sciences, business and the arts. I could lecture at length upon the accomplishments of the

Havemeyer family, the Hersheys; the progress of electricity made possible by the electrical wizard, Steinmetz. However, I think that it is sufficient to say that every American, every day of his life, uses and admires products created by Americans of German origin.

JACOB LEISLER
FIRST MARTYR TO AMERICAN IDEAL.

Germans have contributed immensely to American life since the days of our earliest settlers. Faust describes at length their activities in early American history. He tells us that Jacob Leisler, German-born Governor of New York, who arrived in New York in 1660, "was as public-spirited as he was wealthy. He gave little attention to party strife and to the intrigues by which leading families gained influence with the Governor, but whenever an occasion of moment arrived, Jacob Leisler was the man who impressed the people with his exceptional integrity, liberality, and firmness." When in 1689 there was unrest in New York, "the committee of safety appointed Leisler supreme commander of the province." Leisler ruled firmly and restored

order. He was later slandered, then put to death by the English.

But even the English Parliament had to admit that a shocking injustice had been done, and four years after Leisler's death justified every one of his measures. Thus they admitted that, as Increase Mather put it, Leisler was "barbarously murdered."

Leisler stands out in American history for two reasons:

He called together the first Congress of American Colonies, thus creating the basis upon which, many decades later, the Continental Congress was founded. He took the first official step toward the creation and promotion of cooperation among the Colonies. Leisler was the man who first gave expression to that spirit of solidarity which later led to the formation of our Union. Leisler was the first martyr to the idea of a United States of America. Leisler also led the fight of "the popular party against the aristocratic element, of plebeians against patricians, or of Democrat against Tory." This, it seems to me, is a record of which any American could be proud.

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GERMAN BORN PETER MINUIT BUYS MANHATTAN ISLAND
FROM INDIANS.

What American has not heard of Peter Minuit, the first Governor of New Netherland, who, according to all sources, was born in Wesel, Germany.² It was Minuit who made the celebrated deal through which the Indians turned Manhattan Island over to the settlers.

It is impossible to think of any major event in American history in which men of German origin played no part. Naturally we are aware that ideas and men from every part of Europe played important roles in the shaping of our destiny. The strange feature, and the reason why I am discussing the contribution of German ideas and men of German blood, is that those ideas and those men have for so long been "studiously overlooked".

We are proud of our ancestors from Britain--of the Quakers and the Puritans. We acknowledge happily what people of French descent have done for the United States--the early settlers along the southern Atlantic seacoast, the men who lived and fought near the Great Lakes, the Revolutionary War volunteers,

and the Huguenots. We think of the many other European nationalities represented in America and of the achievements of their sons here. But what is so strange is that most of us need ^{to} be reminded directly of the contributions of the German element. Most of us do not realize how important the share of that element has been. Yet the German element in America represents more than one quarter of the total population, and is second only, and only by a fraction, to the Anglo-Saxon element. *daughters from such families have become mainstays*

What is responsible for this peculiar attitude? Have the Germans showed less ability for public life? Names such as Carl Schurz, Charles Nagel, General Von Steuben and many others disprove such a theory. Were the German settlers lacking in enterprise or education? Quite to the contrary, the average German immigrant has ^{not been inferior} ~~been superior~~ to the average immigrant from any ^{other} ~~other~~ country, ^{including} ~~not including~~ England. Illiteracy, a fairly common phenomenon in immigrants from all other European countries, has been practically nonexistent among those who came to us from

Germany. Many of us have heard of, for instance, the "Latin farmers", a group of German immigrants who knew both how to till the soil and how to read, understand and enjoy the Latin poets and philosophers. These "Latin farmers" did much to help build our American educational system. They brought to America the gentle art of cultured relaxation after a hard day's work. They treasured the works of the greatest thinkers and of the great musicians of all countries. It is not surprising that sons and daughters from such families have become mainstays of our schools and universities.

GOOD DOERS AND POOR BRAGGERS.

Why are such valuable contributions to American life all but forgotten? It seems to me that it is due largely to the inability of our German element properly to publicize its own achievements. Germans have usually been good doers and poor braggards. How little they emphasize their own accomplishments could not be better illustrated than by the fact that, although there are numbers of gentlemen of German descent in this dis-

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tinguished assembly, a man of another blood stream ~~has~~ to rise
to pay this well-deserved tribute.

Had the German element in America publicized its own
performance, it would have contributed even more to the building
of our nation. It would have been impossible for another element,
only slightly stronger in numbers, to imbue us with the altogether
erroneous idea that our civilization is its civilization, that
their "way of life" is our "way of life". We must realize that
the American way of life is specifically American. But owing to
the influences to which we have been exposed for many decades,
our impressions do not altogether agree with what we know to be
true. We feel that our civilization has been founded almost in
its entirety on that of England.

Had our German element strengthened our conviction in what
we know is true, namely, that its contribution is as important
as that of our English settlers, we would never have become the
prey of the propaganda, from without and within our borders, which
obtained our freedom from the English at the point of the sword.

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once led us to believe that a war in Europe was being fought for our ideals. Even now, there are many who believe that this war is not a bread-and-butter war. They would have us save "European civilization". They would have us put England in a position to duplicate the performance of Versailles. They would again have us sacrifice the blood of our sons to put an end to war--for an "eternity" of perhaps twenty years.

The fighting spirit shown by our German element in that last war was remarkable. There cannot be any doubt that if America again engages in a European war, Americans regardless of their racial origin will do their duty. We can be sure that our German element will faithfully respond to the appeal of America. ~~not only to the appeal of America but to the appeal of the British Empire~~ But we can also be sure that duty however faithfully performed would not under such conditions be duty gladly done.

We have been at war at various times with one or the other European power, fighting on our own continent to frustrate encroachments upon our territory and our rights. We had to obtain our freedom from the British at the point of the sword.

Earlier in our history we defenced American soil against the French. We have never had to fight Germany on our own continent.

We have passed through difficult times in our history.

In struggles for the preservation of our own country and people on our own Continent, we have at one time or another been helped by the French and by the Germans. However, it was during the Civil War, the darkest hour in our history, when collapse threatened the financial structure of the Union, that we turned for aid in vain to England and to France. The City of London and the financial market of Paris ~~was asked to~~ cold-shouldered us. As a matter of fact, they would have welcomed our collapse, and they might

well have seen it come about had not the German people raised the hundreds of millions of dollars needed to save us.

I shall say more anon.
LOP-SIDED HISTORY

It is not modesty alone that is responsible for the obliteration of what German immigrants and their descendants have done to help build the United States. One of the features of our educational system has been, and continues to be, that

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while it has woven into American history every New England way-
side romance since the landing of the Puritans, it has simply
suppressed the story of the pioneer achievements of the Dutch,
the Germans, ^{the}Swedes, ^{the}Norwegians, ^{the}and Danes, *and others*

The Puritans brought with them their own historians and
novelists, ^{their own press agents.} The others had to be satisfied with having their
accomplishments chronicled by men who regarded them as strangers
and who portrayed them as inferior Americans. We have to ransack
the works of historians for only a partial acknowledgment of the
remarkable work non-English people have done to make the United
States what it is today. *in the first instance, the colonists*
from One reason why our historians are so reluctant to give the
Germans credit, aside from the cause I have mentioned, is perhaps
best explained by the words of Friedrich Kapp, a German-American
historian: *Kapp and Conrad Weiser.*

"The French sent to America officers with an army, the
Germans sent an army without officers, the English sent an army
as well as officers."

The Germans became lost among the English immigrants.

No German Government ~~existed to look~~ ^{looked} after the interests of its wandered sons, ~~or to record~~ ^{ed} their doings in its national archives.

There was a German country but no central government--only a number of kings, petty princes and dukes. It was because they ^{who often shut them out from their circle,} felt lonely among strangers ¹⁰ that the Germans moved westward in large groups.

"In our Colonial Period", writes ~~the late~~ ^{the late} John W. Burgess, one of our leading authorities on Constitutional Law, "almost the entire western border of our country was occupied by Germans.

It fell to them to defend, in the first instance, the colonists from the attacks of the French and the Indians. They likewise formed what was known in those times as the Regiment of Royal Americans, numbering some 4,000 men and the bands led by Nicholas Herkimer and Conrad Weiser."

Professor Frederick Turner tells us, in Frontiers in American History, that in 1750 "a zone of almost continuous German settlements had been established from the head of the Mohawk

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Valley in New York to Savannah, Georgia".

The German settlers did not have an easy time. They first had to level the forests. And when they plowed the land they had broken, they had to remain ever armed to protect themselves and their homes from the Indians. In fact, they were the victims of some of the bloodiest Indian massacres in our history, from before the Revolution down to New Ulm, Minnesota, during the Civil War.

NO TROJAN HORSES FROM GERMANY.

~~OUR DANGEROUS ENEMY~~

It seems that it is both ungrateful and unfair to deny to our citizens of German descent exactly the same status as is enjoyed by those who came here from England or any other country. They have left their indelible mark on our army, our navy, our universities, our art, our music--and they have always been Americans first in spirit and in deed. Don't blame them for a spiritual attachment to the country of their birth or ancestry. Be our heritage French, English, Irish, Scandinavian or Italian, all of us cherish the same hopes for the prosperity and success

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of the countries from which we hail as do our citizens of German stock.

It is human nature and it is for that reason that I raise my voice against the dangerous and all too widespread talk about dual allegiance, divided citizenship and the "Trojan Horse", which draws invidious distinctions between groups of citizens, with all the advantage on the side of those who control the channels of public information.

There were no Tories in the Revolution among the Germans, no skulking draft-dodgers in the War between the States, no slackers when the loyalty of the German element was given the acid test in the World War. There were more than 165,000 Lutherans in the American Expeditionary Force in the World War, and the majority of them were Germans.

Let me quote a statement of General William Mitchell in his book Leaves from My Diary, on the subject. "It is strange how many Germans we have that have distinguished themselves in our service, and what efficient officers and patriotic Americans they are."

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German, John Peter Zenger. It was Zenger whose newspaper, the New York Weekly Journal, established in 1733, carried a series of scathing attacks upon the English Governor's infractions, interference with juries and arbitrary removal of the chief justice of the colony.

The Governor ordered the publisher's arrest in 1735.

Zenger was tried for criminal libel in an indictment charging him with publishing fake and seditious news.

But the jury was out only a short time before returning a verdict of "not guilty". The decision was received with loud cheers by the crowded hall. Zenger was discharged from prison, and the freedom of the press was established as a fixed American principle.

Gouverneur Morris styled the acquittal of the daring editor "the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America". But Woodrow Wilson in his book, American People, misspells Zenger's name "Ziegler" and dismisses the case in a colorless paragraph.

Zenger was a native of Germany and came over as a boy with the Palatines, whom Queen Anne shipped to the Colony of New York. He became a printer's apprentice. Eventually he established and edited his own paper, with the far-reaching result stated by Gouverneur Morris. Morris, by the way, was a lineal descendent of Jacob Leisler.

THE PALATINATE GERMANS

History of Herkimer County Including the Mohawk Valley,
published in 1856 by Judge Nathaniel S. Benton, says: "The particulars of this Palatine German immigration seem worthy of extended notice. The events which produced the movement in the heart of an old and polished European nation, and the causes which prompted these people to seek a refuge and home on the western continent, are quite as legitimate a subject of American history as the oft-repeated relation of the exodus of the Pilgrim fathers from Europe and their landing at Plymouth Rock."

"You may concede that their influence on the future development of the country and its institutions", writes Sanford

H. Cobb in The Story of the Palatines, "was not equal to the formative power exerted by some other contingents (the Puritans), and yet their story is not without definite and permanent monuments of beneficence towards American life and institutions. At least one among the very greatest of the safeguards of American liberty--the Freedom of the Press--is distinctly traceable to the resolute boldness of a Palatine."

Lord Macaulay described these Germans as "honest, laborious men who had once been thriving burghers of Heidelberg or Mannheim, or who had cultivated vineyards on the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. Their ingenuity and their diligence could not fail to enrich any land which should afford them an asylum."

FRANZ DANIEL PASTORIUS: A GERMAN
PILGRIM FATHER.

Another name that is all too unfamiliar to Americans is that of Franz Daniel Pastorius, founder of the first German settlement in our country. Pastorius, a learned jurist and scientist and considered the leading American scholar of his day, was the founder of Germantown, Pennsylvania.

On March 10, 1682, William Penn turned large parcels of land over to a number of merchants of Crefeld, Germany. On July 24, 1683, the Concord, an English vessel, carried the first German compact colony to America. October 6, the day the ship reached port, is still celebrated annually by many Americans of German descent who regard the Concord somewhat as Anglo-Americans do the Mayflower. Pastorius, who had sailed ahead, had arrived in Philadelphia on August 20, and by the so-called Germantown patent, acquired from William Penn, founded Germantown.

The settlers occupied themselves chiefly in the textile industry, farming and the planting of vineyards. In 1689 the town was incorporated.

Pastorius was elected mayor and a member of the Philadelphia schoolboard. Later he was twice elected to the Assembly. He also acted as Magistrate. He left a large number of writings in English, German and Latin, which throw much light on the early life of the settlement.

FIRST PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY.
GERMANTOWN'S FAMOUS FAMILIES

Three famous families grew up in Germantown. The

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Rittenhausens, who established the first paper mill in America and from whom descended the great astronomer and scientist, David Rittenhouse; the Gottfrieds, from whom descended Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, and the Sauers, of whom Christoph and his son attained fame as printers and publishers of the first Bible in a European language.

Still standing in Germantown, if I am not mistaken, is the colonial house build by Thomas Kunders, one of the original settlers and forefather of the Cunard and Conrad families.

Among his descendants was Sir Samuel Cunard, founder of the Cunard steamship line. It was in this house that the first meeting of the Society of Friends was held, and it was from out of the membership of this little congregation that the first protest against human slavery issued on April 18, 1688.

Seidensticker, the German American historian, said that in 1683 William Penn preached in Tunes Kunders's house in the German promised Utopia, they found nothing but a wilderness deserted by tongue, and that General Washington in 1793 attended German service of the Reformed Church. Penn's personal interest in

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Germantown and his sincere friendship for its inhabitants is best described by Pastorius in his writings on Pennsylvania:

"He (Penn) heartily loves the Germans, and once said openly in my presence to his councillor and those who were about him, 'I love the Germans and desire that you should also love them.'...

Only the day before yesterday, the Governor (Penn) said to me that the zeal of his High Germans in building pleased him very much, and that he preferred them to the English and would grant them special privileges."

EARLY GERMAN SETTLERS IN THE SOUTH

Now let's swing down into the sunny Southland and outline a brief sketch of the first German settlers there.

Tempted by grossly exaggerated descriptions in books and circulars widely distributed throughout Germany and Switzerland by the Campagnie des Indes, German colonists first came over to "the wonders" of the lower Mississippi in 1720. Instead of the promised Utopia, they found nothing but a wilderness deserted by the earlier French farmers who preferred hunting, trapping and gold-prospecting to plowing and sowing. The luckless immigrants

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underwent terrible ordeals, aboard ship as well as after reaching America. Of the 1200 that embarked from a French port in January, 1721, only 200 survived long enough to disembark in New Orleans. The rest were swept away by disease.

However, the ~~staunch~~^{plucky} settlers proved their worth. They gradually established themselves, cleared the land and built their homes, until even the French acknowledged their value to the country.

In a letter to Minister of the Interior Chaptal, in Paris, Governor Laussat wrote:

"This class of peasants, and especially of that nationality, is just the class we need and the only one which always achieved perfect success in these parts. What is called here 'the German Coast' is the most industrious, the most populous, the most at ease, the most upright, the most respected part of the colony... The emigrants of our southern provinces are not worth anything."

The descendants of these first settlers, Creoles of German ancestry, formed a large part of the population of the German Coast and of the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the

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Baptist until the nineteenth century.

I cannot leave the subject of early German contributions to America without mentioning two names which antedate organized settlement of the New World.

(We all know of Leif Ericson's expedition to America's shores many centuries before Columbus's day. In that expedition there was a German named Tyrker, who, the Norse saga tells us, discovered the grapes which led Leif Ericson to call our country "Vineland".

AMERICA NAMED BY A GERMAN

A less mythical figure is that of the German cosmographer, Martin Waltzemueller, born at Freiburg, Germany, who curiously enough, baptized this continent. Waltzemueller studied cosmography and cartography at the University in his home town. After his graduation, the Duke Rene II of Lorraine, a great lover of science, called him to Saint-Die, where Waltzemueller began to ponder the difficult task of designing the first map of the New World. On his desk lay the letters which the Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, had written to Soderini in Florence and to Lorenzo

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Pietro Francesco de Medici about his travels in the New World. There was no doubt in the mind of Waltzemueller that Amerigo Vespucci was the real discoverer of the continent that lay beyond the islands discovered by Christopher Columbus. Bent over his paper on which the contours of the still nameless continent were emerging, Waltzemueller decided the "new world" should be named after the man who had really discovered, ^{it in his opinion.} Thus he writes in his book Cosmographiae Introductio: "I do not see why any one may justly forbid it to be named after Americus, the discoverer, a man of sagacious mind, Amerige, that is the land of Americus, or America, since both Europe and Asia derived their names from women." Without further ado, Martin Waltzemueller put into the dim outlines of the drawing before him the name, "America". His map was published in 1507; and ever since, the New World has borne the name, America.

MEITEMENT
THE BOOK ON THE TO HATE

English propagandists realize that the only way to make us fight another war for Great Britain is to rouse us once again to

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a paroxysm of national hatred. The pet catch-words of the last war, such as "Boches" and "Huns", have become outmoded. This time the name "Fifth Columnist" is used, which surprises by its newness, makes people sit up and take notice. Germans are not even called spies any more; the word does not seem to "catch". The propaganda engineers have learned that the American movies are a phenomenally accurate gauge of the handling of mass psychology. When the film, Confessions of a Nazi Spy, was released, it was expected to stir up the same senseless national hatred that darkened the country in 1917 and '18. But the film went too far, unleashing too abruptly the powers of propaganda. The result was that it had practically no effect at all. With the exception of a few intellectuals who "viewed it with alarm", the public took it the wrong way--or shall I say, the right way. The audiences in the smaller towns and cities had followed the spy case only casually in the newspapers. They were interested in the film. It was a box-office success, but the people were not particularly

excited about it. A good picture, they said, but "of course all that spy stuff is not true."

Propaganda is as old as history. The Pharaohs of ancient Egypt were experts at it, we are told by our scientists at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. But the old tricks are too easily recognized unless the propagandists employ new and intriguing variations. "Spy" was a good label in the last war, but it is by now so old and worn that it has little chance of becoming popular. So the propagandists discovered the label "Fifth Columnist", which is good because it appeals to the imagination. Everybody wants to know what a "Fifth Columnist" is. In general, it means a suspicious foreigner, alien to everything that America stands for; in particular, it infers every American of German descent. So America is stirred up once again to come out and fight for Great Britain in a cause which is not in any way that of America first.

The term is by no means confined to Americans of German blood. The same people who had the hardihood to speak of

Lindbergh, the Lone Eagle, as a Fifth Columnist, would surely
cast the same slur upon
~~great~~ George Washington and Jefferson the same if they lived
today--for both of the latter, like all our great Presidents,
demand complete isolation of the United States from European
quarrels.

BENEDICT ARNOLD WAS NO GERMAN-AMERICAN

It is not necessary to affirm the loyalty to German-Americans from Steuben's day to the World War, from the World War to the present day. I may add that Benedict Arnold was not a German-American. ~~xxxxxx~~ The Benedict Arnolds of today, who want to substitute for the Declaration of Independence, a Declaration of "Interdependence", and who envisage the frontier of the United States somewhere in Europe, are not German-Americans.

The Germans in America take a clear view of things. They are rooted here. They have traditions and an historic background. Their children and grandchildren have gone forth into all avenues of American life. What if they feel a sentimental affection for the people of that great country that gave the world a Beethoven.

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a Mozart, a Goethe, a Schiller, a Humboldt, a Frederick the Great, and a Bismark? An immigrant has the right to sympathize with his former homeland, to cherish his heritage--so long as he does not put those feelings before his American citizenship and the sacred rights and duties upon which it is founded.

As Americans we can take pride in the fighting record of our people. However, there are some of us who have never lost their belief in ^{wicked magicians and witches} ~~childhood~~ ~~tales of~~ bogies, ~~hobgoblins, goblins, and gnomes,~~ and who become panic-stricken when a mythical army from Mars is reported dropping down in parachutes on Jersey meadows to destroy American democracy. No doubt we will continue to hear of the Fifth Column for ^{quite} ~~quite~~ a while--until some Orson Welles or Leland Stowe offers the public a bigger and better scare.

A CALL TO LIBERTY

One hundred and sixty-four years ago, a young clergyman stood in his Shenandoah Valley pulpit to preach his last sermon. Word of the event had been passed around in the community. The news had brought crowds of hearers from far and near, filling not

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only the church, but also the churchyard. The atmosphere was tense with expectation. Solemnly and with deliberation, the preacher spoke of the duties we owe our country. The scene is immortalized by Read:

" . . . from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words of freedom came.
And grasping in his nervous hand
The imaginary battle-brand,
In face of death, he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king."

The thought of having England's King decide America's future was overwhelming the settlers with indignation. Something had to be done, and the young clergyman did not hesitate to say so clearly. His voice carried the fervor of conviction to the very last sentence: "There is a time for praying, and there is a time for fighting; and the time for fighting is now."

The New Continent stirred to the thought of independence. America was then not yet a nation, but already more than a dream. The ideal of the Land of the Free throbbed in every pulse. That ideal was, and still is, that of a better world. The people who had come to these shores wanted to help create a better world,

and that could not be done in vassalage to a foreign power. Thus the beginnings of our better world emerged as a result of a war against Great Britain. If the policy of the young preacher and his friends had been one of non-resistance to British government, America would not have risen to power and glory in the great family of nations.

The clergyman ended his sermon, then dramatically threw off his robe, revealing the uniform of a colonel in the Continental Army. He was a soldier now. As he descended from his pulpit, drums beat outside the church. War had begun--a war for liberty! For a long time, America had hesitated to take the fateful step. But now the die was cast. Three hundred of the church members volunteered on the spot, following their fighting pastor, who was none other than Peter Muehlenberg, a German-American.

Only the other day I asked a veteran guide here in Washington if he knew where the Muehlenberg statue was. He pronounced the name with great difficulty and shook his head. "No," he said, "I have been a guide in Washington for twenty years.

but I never heard of Peter Muehlenberg's statue."

It was Peter Muehlenberg who presided over the meeting, held on June 16, 1774 in Woodstock, Virginia, which adopted the bold resolution which became the keynote for the "spirit of '76". This is its text:

"Resolved, that we will pay due submission to such acts of government as His Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, and to such only.

"That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only, and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of America is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.

"That the enforcement of said acts of Parliament by a military power will necessarily have a tendency to cause a civil war, thereby dissolving that union, which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her colonies; and that that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our

suffering brethren in Boston and every other part of North America, who are the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties."

Without the love of freedom and the enthusiasm of men like Muehlenberg, the Declaration of Independence might never have been adopted. Allow me to quote the Pennsylvania historian, H. M. M. Richards, on the subject. In his book The German Leaven in the Pennsylvania Loaf, he writes: "Had it not been for the Pennsylvania Germans, there would have been no Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, and today the great United States, an empire in itself, might still be a comparatively feeble colony of Great Britain."

You probably wonder how this could be. If you are in doubt, go to your library and ask for C. H. Lincoln's The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, where you will find "that a careful study of the time will show that it was in no half-hearted manner that the Germans took up the cause of colonial and continental

liberty." *The Adoption of the Declaration of Independence*

Lincoln also gives us the details of how the Germans came to play such an important part in the adoption of that historic Declaration. He tells us that the Quakers and the adherents of the proprietors who lived in London and who were represented by the Governor, were opposed to separation from England. The Pennsylvania delegation at the Colonial Congress mastered enough strength to oppose the adoption of the Charter of American Liberty. Without the consent of the Pennsylvania delegation, the Declaration could not be adopted. *by to follow up his two victories over*

Each The Germans outnumbered all other immigrants in Pennsylvania preceding the Revolution, but unlike the English, Scotch, and Irish, they were denied the rights of citizenship. When it became evident that the Revolution itself was in danger, the Germans, together with other opponents of the existing colonial government, held a convention on June 18, 1776, which disregarded the regular Assembly and voted the franchise to every man over twenty-one. The convention sent delegates to the Congress, broke the deadlock and made *by James Harris offered Congress Catherine of Russia an alliance*

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possible the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

GENERAL VON STEUBEN OFFERS HIS SWORD.

I need not devote many words to General von Steuben, because he is the only German, except ~~for~~ General Herkimer, who has not been so shamelessly ignored as some of those I have mentioned. But I do wish to point out the coincidence by which Steuben happily arrived when he did to drill and reorganize the American Army at Valley Forge. His activities began at a time when General Howe, in command of the British Army, was encamped at Philadelphia, ready to follow up his two victories over Washington in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. The coincidence reveals Frederick the Great's material influence on the outcome of the Revolution. It is well known that Frederick had been betrayed by his English ally during the Seven Years' War. Surely, he harbored no friendly feelings for the British. He even declared (on April 7, 1777) that: "If the English Crown would give me all the millions possible I would not furnish it two small files of my troops to serve against the Colonies." So when, in 1778, Sir James Harris offered Empress Catherine of Russia an alliance

in order to gain help in the war against the American Colonies, Frederick the Great intervened and prevented the sending of Russian troops to America. Frederick was well informed of the English offer to Catherine and determined to block it. Without going into details, I'll quote an English writer, Arthur Hassall, author of The Balance of Power 1715-1789. "Frederick the Great", writes Hassall, "partly by immense bribes to Panin, (head of the Russian Cabinet at the time) had kept Catherine true to the existing political system, and contributed to prevent Russian assistance from being given to England during the American struggle."

~~change~~ ~~How~~ To return to Valley Forge. Howe was waiting for reinforcements, German auxiliaries which England had secured from some of the petty princes, to mop up the twice defeated American troops at Valley Forge.

The great Prussian King refused to let these auxiliary troops pass through his territory on their way to embark for America. The ships to carry them lay ready, but because of Frederick's ruling they had to make a wide detour, and therefore

did not reach Howe in time to follow up the British army's advantage. The delay gave Steuben time to organize the Army and drill officers in accordance with the Prussian system, so that future battles found the English facing the best trained troops they had ever met.

The service General von Steuben rendered to his adopted country cannot be overstated. Opinions may differ as to the relative standing of Washington's associates, but in the estimate of Joseph B. Doyle, in his Life of Steuben: "There can be little doubt as to the two most closely allied to Washington in that memorable conflict whose skirmishes, as Napoleon justly observed, changed the entire history of the world. These two were Alexander Hamilton and the subject of this biography (Frederick William von Steuben)."

Few documents in our history are as beautiful as the letter which Steuben wrote to Washington, petitioning the latter to accept him into his army. The following passage is especially remarkable: "If the distinguished ranks in which I have served in

Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under Your Excellency as a volunteer, than be an object of discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among us."

Von Steuben was not only the drill master of the Continental Army, but also the Inspector General, and when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, it was Steuben who received his overtures and remained in the trenches until the British flag was lowered.

The last letter Washington wrote while President was addressed to Steuben in glowing terms of appreciation for the great services the Prussian had rendered his adopted country.

It closed with these words: "In the meantime you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you."

GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER: HERO OF ORISKANY.

The other German hero of the period, General Nicholas Herkimer, won one of the most important battles of the Revolution for which he was dubbed the "Hero of Oriskany". General Washington called the feat, "the first ray of sunshine". Though

only 800 men were engaged in the battle, the bloodiest single conflict in the struggle for freedom, it led to the defeat and surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. By defeating St. Leger's army of British troops and Indians and sending them scurrying back to Canada, the Americans prevented their junction with Burgoyne. The two British armies were to meet at Albany and then go down the Hudson to split the American forces in two. We all know that the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga ended the entire movement with catastrophic consequences to the British invaders.

Herkimer was not an educated man. He had learned frontier fighting in the field, and he knew his German farmers of the Mohawk as he knew the Indians. Congress recognized his great service by twice passing resolutions requesting New York State to erect a monument to his memory at government expense. The monument stands at Herkimer, New York, ⁱⁿ the General's home where the glorious old patriot died from his wounds ten days after the battle, and this has been made a national shrine.

OTHER GERMAN HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION

There were many other Germans or descendants of Germans

occupying important positions in the Colonial Army. The troops under De Kalb were predominantly German. Many Germans filled high government positions in the civil service after the war.

The first Treasurer, Michael Hillegas, and the first Public Printer, Miller, were Pennsylvania Germans. So was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives, a brother of General Peter Muhlenberg.

On June 14, 1775, Congress ordered Pennsylvania to furnish six companies of sharpshooters. Pennsylvania provided nine, four of which were entirely German and commanded by German officers. Several of their divisions under Colonel Nagel and Colonel Daudel immediately marched to Boston to join Washington's army. The first to arrive were Berks County sharpshooters, every one of whom would have been welcomed by Frederick the Great into his famous body-guard of giants. These sun-burnt backwoodsmen, dressed in deer skin or homespun hunting suits, and wearing fur caps, armed with rifles, tomahawks and hunting knives, created a great sensation everywhere. Their motto "Liberty or Death" marked in large letters for the world to see, appeared across their chests: 'Liberty or Death!'

Similar squads of German sharpshooters made the long march from Virginia to Massachusetts with Daniel Morgan. When Washington caught sight of them from the distance, he rode out to greet them. Tears of joy streamed over his face as he beheld the splendid men who had tramped six hundred miles to come to his assistance.

The German sharpshooters rendered invaluable service during the siege of Boston. Carrying bored rifles, which at that time were made only by German gunsmiths in Pennsylvania, they surpassed all other Americans in marksmanship. They caused such havoc among the British regiments, that a member of Parliament cried: "Those Americans know more of our army than we dream of. They shut it up, besiege it, destroy and crush it. Wherever our officers show their noses, they are swept away by American rifles."

The splendid work done by the marksmen induced Congress (on May 25, 1776) to call for the formation of an entire German battallion, whose eight companies should be made up half of Pennsylvanians, and half of Marylanders. The Germans of Pennsylvania, however, not content with doing their share, provided five

People, published in 1909, Sir Maurice has this to say: "The Germans became such a considerable element in the population that the 'Pennsylvania Dutch', as they were commonly called, were in language, manners, and customs apart from the English and were but little influenced and but slowly assimilated by them. Then, as now, these German settlers were distinguished by their industry, sobriety and love of order and thrift; AND NEXT TO THE PURITANS THE GERMANS HAVE CONTRIBUTED MORE TO THE MAKING OF AMERICAN CHARACTER THAN ANY OTHER RACE. A trait characteristic of the German, which from the beginning has always endured, is that they have ever been loyal to their adopted country. There was a strong Tory element in Pennsylvania which exerted a powerful influence against the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and without Pennsylvania union was impossible; but it was the Germans who beat down Tory opposition and brought the support of Pennsylvania to the other colonies. They were equally loyal to the newborn Republic, and to the way they responded to Lincoln's call to arms and freely offered their lives to preserve and maintain the Union, the muster-rolls of the

Northern Armies eloquently testify; and the prominent part played by American generals of German birth is a part of the history of that great conflict."

"I FIGHT MIT SIGEL!"

And since we are speaking of the Civil War, let me state just one fact which illustrates better than any other the share which our Americans of German descent had in the struggle that was as necessary as it was regrettable: The Civil War generals listed in Cronau's book German Achievements in America number thirty-eight, among whom were such men as Schurz and Sigel. What the rank and file of our citizens of German ancestry did to help the cause of a Union of Free Men could hardly have been told better than by Augustus Choate Hamlin, Lieutenant-Colonel and historian of the 11th army corps. "The country rejoiced with great joy", he writes in his remarkable work, The Battle of Chancellorsville, "when it became known that the entire German population of the North rallied without hesitation to the support of the endangered Republic. The support was magnificent, and tributed greatly to the final success, and its influence and its

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deserving the highest gratitude of the country. It is also remarkable that all of the revolutionists then in this country, and who had followed Kossuth, Garibaldi, Sigel and Hecker, should offer their services to the United States. It was, indeed, a great sight, when the entire mass of German-speaking and German-born people rose as a man and stood firmly by the flag of the Republic. What would have been the fate of Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, at the commencement of the war, had it not been for the patriotic efforts of Sigel, Osterhaus, Schurz and Hecker, and their resolute German followers? Has the country yet recognized the importance and the full weight of these facts? Missouri certainly would have drifted away with the Southern tide, had it not been for the influence and resistance of these gallant men. The Germans were the first to take up arms and attempt to save the nation. The first three loyal regiments raised in St. Louis were Germans almost to a man, and when the Home Guards of Missouri were first formed, none but Germans joined them. This movement on the part of the Germans was of vast aid to the Northern cause, and contributed greatly to its final success, and its influence and its

value cannot be estimated with the gold of the nation."

DANIEL BOONE, A GERMAN

German-Americans have been prominent in all the other military campaigns of the United States. Many of them were among our most famous Indian fighters. None was better known on the frontier than the fierce Lou Wetzel. The first pioneer hunters in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky were George Jaeger, Michael Steiner, John Harman, John Hagen, Joseph and Jacob Sandusky, Peter Nieswanger, Michael Schuck, Leonard Helm, Abraham Hite, Abraham Schopplein, called Chaplin; Kaspar Mansker or Mansco, and the German family of Poe. Several of them are mentioned as outstanding frontiersmen of their day in Theodore Roosevelt's The Winning of the West.

From the German settlements in Virginia and North Carolina, where they soon formed a large population, came many of the adventurous spirits who--as one writer puts it--"converged" upon Kentucky between 1770 and 1800. Albert Stutzenberger declares that Daniel Boone, whose name will be forever linked with Kentucky, spoke German as readily as English. Boone was born in Pennsylvania

1. The first section of the report is the title page, which contains the title of the report, the name of the author, and the date of the report.

and brought by his parents into the Yadkin Valley of North Carolina in his early youth.

Boone's name is probably a corruption of Bohne. Some specimens of his writing that have been preserved show characteristics of spelling which indicate that he first learned to speak and spell in German. At least, it is an historic fact that Daniel Boone was of Pennsylvania-German stock.

Many of the riflemen whom George Washington led in battle against the Indians were Virginians of German stock.

GENERAL CUSTER WAS KUESTER.

In later years, the best known Indian fighter has been General George A. Custer, whose ancestor, a Hessian soldier, was paroled in 1778 after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. The original family name, Kuester, was hard to pronounce for English tongues, and like so many others, was changed for the sake of easier pronunciation. Custer was a graduate of West Point. As a commander of Cavalry divisions, he fought in many battles of the Civil War, and was appointed brigadier-general for gallantry. He served in several campaigns against the Indians with great dis-

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set out to take Baltimore. The defense of the latter city depended largely upon two Americans of German origin, General Johann Stricker, commander of the militia, and Major George Armistead. When the enemy landed at North Point, General Stricker routed them in a running skirmish in which General Ross, the British commander, was killed.

Fort McHenry, protecting the harbor of Baltimore, was gallantly defended by Major Armistead and his garrison of a thousand men. On the morning of September 12, 1814, the British fleet of sixteen frigates opened a terrific 36-hour bombardment of the fort. It was on the waning of that memorable night of September 12 that Francis Scott Key, detained on board a British ship, watched and waited and wondered:

"Oh say can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming."

That the star spangled banner still waved, was due to the bravery of the noble defender of Fort McHenry and his gallant men, who answered the terrific fire of the enemy so effectually that on the morning of the 14th the fleet withdrew.

opened the bombardment of the City of Mexico. Another day later he entered the city.

In appreciation of his gallant service, General Scott appointed Quitman governor of the city. Quitman held this position until order was established. Several years later, he was elected governor of Mississippi. He served in Congress from 1855 until his death in 1858. Quitman--general, governor, congressman--was one of the countless men of German stock who served the United States both in war and in peace.

ADMIRAL SCHLEY, A GERMAN-AMERICAN.

Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, the hero of the great naval battle at Santiago de Cuba in 1898, was of German descent. The first American ancestor of the Schleys was Johann Thomas Schley, a German schoolmaster, who in 1745 erected the first house in Frederick, Maryland. Many of his descendants became prominent in public life.

The admiral, who was born near Frederick October 9, 1839, was a graduate of the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and took part in many engagements during the Civil War. In 1871, he took part in

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the attack on the forts at the Salu River in Corea. In 1884, he commanded a relief-expedition sent to the Arctic to find A. W. Greely. Schley found the explorer and six other survivors, literally on the verge of starvation, at Cape Sabine.

In the Spanish-American War, Schley commanded the famous "Flying Squadron", which was dispatched to meet a Spanish fleet of four cruisers and three destroyers off our coast and to prevent them from reaching Havana. The great battle of Santiago, one of the decisive battles of the war, followed. One by one, the Spanish ships were sunk or beached. Admiral Cervera himself was among the 2000 men taken prisoner.

The news of the victory reached the United States on the morning of the Fourth of July. Never before, perhaps, was our national birthday celebrated with such overwhelming enthusiasm.

WHEN THE UNION CRIED FOR HELP

In the Civil War our German element had a greater proportion of its men enlisted under the stars and stripes than any other racial stock. Two hundred sixteen thousand men born in

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Germany and five hundred thirty-four thousand Americans of German extraction fought and bled and died to perpetuate the union.

But other things are required beside the sacrifice of blood to win wars. When many Northerners were shouting, "The war is lost!," when England true to her motto of "Divide and Rule" strove to divide the United States into two confederacies which could be made to toe the line for Her Majesty, the Germans came to our rescue. Britain sought the defeat of the North, and sent over one ship after the other laden with armaments, which were to bring death and destruction to Lincoln's soldiers. In that darkest hour of our national history, the British ship, Alabama, captured sixty American merchantmen. Napoleon III was plotting against Lincoln down in Mexico, where French troops had landed in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. The English were fast building up an army in Canada. It looked for a while as if the United States of America were doomed. We could not continue the war successfully; we had no money. The London Exchange closed its doors to our bankers; in France, the money changers on the Seine drove us out of their Bourse. Uncle Sam was unable to place his bonds until Germany

as I have pointed out before,

London, Eng

proved to be our only friends and her people reached deep into their pockets to purchase several hundred millions of dollars worth of our bonds.

Five years later, the Senate of the United States debated the issue of supplying arms to France against Germany. Leaping to the fore of the fight for traditional American neutrality at the time were Senators Sumner of Massachusetts, Stewart of Nevada and Pomeroy of Kansas, recalling Germany's acts of friendship during the Civil War.

"The Germans sent us men; they recruited our armies with men; they helped save the life of this nation", declared Senator Pomeroy. "We owe infinitely to Germany," added Senator Sumner.

GERMAN AMERICAN HEROINES

Before passing on to an account of more peaceful pursuits, allow me to pay tribute to what women have done in our past history to help their country's cause. There are many unsung heroines among our Revolutionary War greats. The names of two of them, however, have been preserved for posterity.

London,

Every American knows the story of Molly Pitcher, who was so named because she used a large pitcher to bring water to the weary soldiers. Molly Pitcher, of Palatine ancestry, was born in New Jersey on October 13, 1754. Her maiden name was Marie Ludwig. Her husband, John Hays, was a gunner. When he was wounded at the battle of Monmouth there was nobody to take his place--no one but his courageous wife who stepped up and helped load and fire the gun with such excellent effect that, after the battle, Washington appointed her to the rank and pay of sergeant.

The second famous heroine was Elisabeth Zane, beautiful and vivacious daughter of Colonel Zane (Zahn), a Pennsylvania German who founded Wheeling, West Virginia. Not far from Zane's log house there was a fort which in 1782 was attacked by a band of 40 British soldiers and 186 Indians. The defenders of the fort held out bravely but with serious losses. Their number had dwindled from 42 to 12 when their powder ran out. There was a full keg of powder hidden in Zane's log house which was about sixty yards away. When volunteers were called for the dangerous mission, Elisabeth Zane stepped forward, insisting that she be sent, since no man could be

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spared. Refusing to listen to the vehement objections of the men, she stepped through the gate, as if she didn't have a care in the world. Not knowing the reason of her stroll, the Indians let her pass unmolested. Not till the young woman reappeared, carrying the keg under a table cloth, did they realize the nature of her mission. They opened fire on her, but the girl sped with the fleetness of a fawn and reached the fort in safety amid a shower of bullets, several of which passed through her clothes. Through Elizabeth Zane's daring act, the little garrison was enabled to hold out until relief arrived.

There are few of us who know that it was a German American who inspired the lines:

"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag!" she said."

Yes, Barbara Fritchie, whose name is familiar to every school child in the country, was of purely German stock.

at the time of the American Revolution, Barbara Fritchie, Elizabeth Zane, and Barbara
POLITICAL LEADERS AMONG OUR GERMANS

I have dwelt at some length on the wartime contributions

of our German element not because I am personally of a warlike

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disposition, nor is it because our Germans have done more for us on the battlefield than in more peaceful pursuits. It is, rather, because we look bravery as one of the essential virtues of man, and because it seems to me necessary to show that our citizens of German origin have never hesitated to seal with their blood their bond of allegiance to the United States.

But it is not only the winning of battles that counts. In peace as in war, the affairs of the nation require energetic, skillful conduct.

The number of political leaders supplied by the German element in our country is comparatively small, I must admit. However, among them were men of outstanding merit. It is a pity and a shame that, by accident or by design, most of them are not even mentioned in our textbooks.

Take, for instance, the case of Conrad Weiser. I daresay that Weiser's influence on our history is not surpassed by any single man of whom there is any record. Yet his service is all but forgotten.

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Weiser was an expert in Indian lore and spoke the tongue of the Six Nations. By his influence with the Indians, on the one hand, and the Colonial governments of Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, on the other, he succeeded in deferring the alliance between the French and the Indians until the American colonists had grown strong enough to defend themselves successfully.

Joseph S. Walton, who wrote the biography of this remarkable man, tells us that it was he who guided the Indian policy of the provinces and for 25 years held the Iroquois aloof from the French. "And all these years were needed," Walton writes, "to enable the English to win the victory which swept French domination from North America in 1763." Lossing says of him that he was "the first who combined the activity of a pioneer with the outlook of a statesman." Washington at his grave said: "Posterity will not forget his just deserts."

Weiser was the ablest and shrewdest interpreter in the employ of the English colonies, a man inspired by the spirit of adventure combined with deep religious feeling. His journey to

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the Ohio in 1748 was the first of an official character to the West across the Appalachian range. He came over from Germany at the age of thirteen with the Palatines that Queen Anne sent to America. His father, who had been a magistrate in the old country, settled first on the Mohawk, where young Weiser was adopted by a Mohawk chief. The boy lived among the Indians, learned to speak their language, and when the Weisers trekked to Pennsylvania, his familiarity with Indian life, character and language made him a valuable man in the counsels of the Colonial governments. No Indian tribe would sign a treaty without the advice of Weiser.

At that time, the powerful Indian tribes held the balance of power between the English and the French, who were aiming to drive each other into the sea. The French occupied all of Canada, and their settlements stretched down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The English, Dutch, Swedes and Germans settled along the Atlantic sea coast.

Weiser founded an American family whose importance to the country extends to the present day. His daughter married Heinrich

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Melchior Muehlenberg, the Lutheran patriarch. General Peter Muehlenberg of Revolutionary War fame and Frederick August Muehlenberg were his grandsons. Peter served as vice president of Pennsylvania after the war, when Benjamin Franklin was president of that commonwealth. He was also a representative in Congress for three terms. Peter's brother was elected Speaker of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, a member of the first four Congresses and Speaker of the House in the First and Third Congresses of the United States. A third grandson became a noted botanist, and a great-grandson, Reverent William Augustus Muehlenberg, founded St. Luke's Hospital in New York City.

There were other statesmen of German ancestry in the early days of our country. What the Germans have thus far failed to provide us with are publicity experts to rescue their names from undeserved obscurity.

THE GREAT CARL SCHURZ

Undoubtedly the greatest immigrant American of his generation was Carl Schurz. Except for Charles Nagel, who served as Secretary

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So far as my knowledge goes,
of the Interior under President Taft, he ~~was~~ ~~the~~ the only
German American honored with a cabinet post.

One of the most dauntless spirits of the German revolution
of 1848, Schurz came to the United States with numerous dis-
tinguished refugees after the attempt to create a united Germany
collapsed. Schurz was a scholar as well as a politician, a soldier
and a statesman. It was not long before he was an active partici-
pant in the great controversies of the day: the question of State's
rights and the extension of slavery to the Kansas and Nebraska
territories. The large German element constituting at least 26
per cent of the population was aroused considerably by the issues.
Professor F. I. Herriott tells us in his book The Germans of Chicago
and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854.

"Among the elements and forces that came together in January,
1854, producing the tornado in opposition to the passage of the
Nebraska bill that so astonished and enraged Senator Stephen A.
Douglas," declares Professor Herriott, "the Germans constituted a
factor of great potency--much more influential than their mere

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number in the population would suggest and more important than has been realized by American historians. . .

"It set in motion among them the forces in opposition to slavery that made the Germans a determining factor in the overthrow of the Democratic party in 1860 and the election of Abraham Lincoln."

Schurz had by this time obtained standing not only with the Germans but with the entire anti-slavery and Free State element. The defeat of Fremont, the first candidate the Republican Party had put in the field, had greatly disappointed him. In 1857 Schurz was nominated for Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin and defeated by 107 votes. He was chairman of the Wisconsin delegation and one of the committee of notification at the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860. There were 42 German-born delegates at that convention. In a speech from the floor Schurz declared that 300,000 Germans had voted for Fremont and that he felt justified to pledge at least that number to Lincoln. There can be no doubt that the German vote in the five middle Western and Northwestern States which gave Lincoln 66 electoral votes

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Schurz--and his fellow German-Americans as well--never faltered, never failed. Largely by his influence 500,000 Germans of the first and second generation fought to preserve the Union. The American people recognized his great service when they elected him to the United States Senate from Missouri and when, in 1877, President Hayes appointed him Secretary of the Interior.

When Ambassador of the United States at Berlin, Andrew D. White, whom I mentioned a moment ago, was asked by Bismarck to explain the rapid climb of Carl Schurz to greatness in America in spite of the handicap of foreign birth. The answer was: "Before the Lincoln presidential campaign, in which Schurz took so large a part, slavery was always discussed either from a constitutional or philanthropic point of view, orators seeking to show either that it was at variance with the fundamental principles of our government or an offence against humanity; but Schurz discussed it in a new way and mainly from the philosophic point of view . . ."

When White was finished, Bismarck nodded and replied: "As a German I am proud of Carl Schurz."

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SCHURZ SHUNS SPOILS SYSTEM.

Schurz believed that the only way to make a man your friend is to treat him like a friend. So when he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes, he shunned the political spoils system completely. Among his campaign workers were many who could stand a lucrative political job, but Carl Schurz placed the welfare of America above his friends' desires to live opulently. Instead, he picked men who once sought to disrupt the Union, men from the South. The South had to be won back; the nation had to be reunited. We might well follow Schurz's example today. We might best free ourselves our manufactured ~~itself from its passionate~~ attachment for Great Britain and cease insulting other powers. We might best resolutely set out to make all nations our friends. In the spirit of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Carl Schurz, we might best cultivate friendly relations with all nations. Not the least of those nations is Germany.

When Carl Schurz became Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes, he likewise immediately set about planning Civil Service Reform. He assured the clerks that none would face

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dismissal except when justified; that if the force at any time were to be reduced, the least competent would be removed; that no promotions would be made except for merit; and that, so long as there were no vacancies, no recommendations to office could be entertained. Carl Schurz was one of the first men to champion the cause of governmental employees.

THE FOUNDER OF OUR OWN ENCYCLOPEDIA

A contemporary of Schurz was Lieber, a German-born citizen who founded the Encyclopedia Americana. Lieber became legal adviser to the Lincoln government on questions of military and international law in the Civil War. He prepared a code of instructions for the government of the American armies in the field and is credited with originating the idea of codifying and humanizing the rules of war. His momentous work was issued by order of President Lincoln in 1863, and, since then, has been universally drawn upon in international agreements forbidding the use of poison, the killing of the wounded, the denial of quarter, the employment of weapons causing "superfluous injury," pillage

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and so forth.

Lieber also did much to create the German sympathy and understanding for the Union cause that resulted in the loan of the millions of dollars essential to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Many of our distinguished contemporaries are or were of German origin, and proud of it. Senator Borah, whom death took from our midst only a short while ago, was a collateral descendant of Martin Luther. *wife Katchen Borah* Former President Hoover and the present Republican presidential candidate, Wendell Willkie, are both of German extraction. Mr. Hoover's name is the Americanized version of that of his forebears, Huber. All four of Mr. Willkie's grandparents were born in Germany.

One of the most remarkable figures in Congress at the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present was Richard Bartholdt who served for 22 years as representative of the Tenth Missouri District. During this long period he was one of the most ardent defenders of personal liberty.

He furthermore devoted ^{himself} to the improvement of the immigration laws and to the interests of international peace. He organized many of his fellow congressmen into an American branch of the Interparliamentary Union, founded in Christiania (now Oslo), Norway. He was the president of the unit from its inception until 1915, when he retired to private life. It was due to Bartholdt's influence that the 1904 annual meeting of the Union, attended by 156 delegates from European countries and several hundred delegates of American republics, was held in St. Louis. The convention elected Bartholdt president of the international organization for the following year.

Bartholdt's last ^a great speech, delivered in Congress on February 19, 1915, was devoted to the defense of the American citizens of German descent, who had been made the objects of gross insults by many American newspapers since the outbreak of the European war for their sympathies with the Fatherland. As Bartholdt's speech treats my subject, one of vital interest

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to the United States, I wish to insert its most important parts here.

"The United States has a composite population. Not England alone, but all Europe is its mother, and contributions to the blood which now circulates through the Nation's veins have been made by practically all countries, the largest share next to Great Britain have been contributed by Germany or the States now constituting the German Empire. American statesmen recognized early in our history that ours was not a ready made nation, but a "nation to be" whose character was to be shaped by the impress made upon it by the various elements constituting its growing population. It was also recognized that Saul could not once turn into Paul, that the newcomer could not change his traits overnight. It is probably true that the Anglo-Saxon is less free from racial or national prejudices than the cosmopolitan German - a strange phenomenon, for they come from the same cradle - yet such was the tolerance of our older statesmen that they never regarded the love of the immigrants for the old country as in any wise irreconcilable with his allegiance to the new. And why? Because reverence for the mother never detracts from love for the bride, and, fur-

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citizens of German blood

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therefore, because that reference is a natural impulse which can no more be regulated or controlled than can the throbs of the human heart. We can educate an immigrant in our way of thinking, induce him to adopt our customs and make a good American citizen of him, but we cannot change his heart to the extent of eradicating his regard for his native land. Along with freedom of thought and conscience we must grant him the liberty of placing his sympathies and affections where he pleases. It is a natural right which no law can limit and no government can deny him as long as our own country is not involved. American statesmanship had the choice of either closing the gates of the country or of taking its chances with the constant human influx. It chose the latter course, and history does not record a single instance to prove that policy to have been a mistake. While the people of the United States have been gathered from all nooks and corners of the globe, while many of them still differ in habits, customs and language, and while on occasions the sympathies of the first, second and even third generations still go out to the land of their ancestors, no serious problem has thereby been created. Our adopted citizens and their

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citizens of German blood to

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native descendants have stood the test of loyalty in every crises in the country's history, and thus irrefutable proof has been adduced that memories of the Fatherland conjured up by impulses of the heart do not and will not detract from the allegiance due to the adopted country ...
Turning to the war propaganda of the day, Bartholdt continues:
"The Germans of this country could understand why England to secure recruits should want to incite her own people by ~~these~~ falsehoods, but they could not understand nor will they forgive the American newspapers for reprinting them in our country. To do so was a most serious and unpardonable reflection in the German element of this country. As an integral part of the American people, whose characteristics and virtues are reflected as much in the composite character of this Nation as are those of the citizens of English descent, they believed themselves to be entitled to some consideration at the hands of the press of their own country. ...

The bill of complaints is too long to recite here in full, but let me merely ask: Have we protested against American citizens having been dragged from neutral steamers and thrown into English prisons simply because those men, Americans to the manner born, happened to bear German names? No. Have we the

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citizens of German blood to American ideals and the flag. Impa-

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protested against England's inhuman policy to starve to death the noncombatant population of Germany, by stopping in open violation of international law, all food supplies, even if carried from a neutral country and in neutral bottoms? No. Have we protested against England declaring the whole North Sea as a war zone? No; but when Germany did the same thing in practically the same language we immediately dispatched a stiff note to Berlin, while the milder one was directed to England, though it would seem that the latter country was the chief offender in allowing the use of false flags. However, whatever the administration does in foreign affairs, as Americans it will be our duty to uphold it...

"There should never be a division in the United States upon racial or national lines. Under the American sun, in their capacity as citizens, the Teuton and the Slav, the Irishman and the Englishman, the German and the Frenchman extend to each other the hand of brotherhood as equals, and the great flag covers them all. Ancient prejudices have melted away under the sun of freedom until, no longer English, Irish, German, Scandinavian, we are, one and all, heart and soul, Americans!

"In conclusion let me reiterate the steadfast devotion of all

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citizens of German blood to American ideals and the flag. Impatient of injustice though they be, their hearts are true to the core. They feel themselves as one with every other citizen of the Republic, and they will share the fate of their adopted country and of their children's fatherland. Whatever their secondary sympathies may be, they are with all other true Americans for America first, last, and all the time. They are for a united Nation and shall ever uphold the ideal of national unity and dignity with that loyalty which has characterized their whole history on American soil."

of us. Each name as Astor and Rockefeller symbolize it; but they mean do they tell the whole story. I would like to repeat that every one of us, every day of his life, goes on being in contact with products developed by citizens of German descent.

This is true of many of our national brands - Kaiser, Royal, leading powder, Faber pencils, Steinway pianos, to mention only a very few. It is true of our great distributing organizations. It is true in many other fields, such as those brought to mind by such names as Westinghouse, Brill, the maker of electric cars

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IN INDUSTRY AND IN AGRICULTURE

Our German element has done more than its share in the fighting of our wars, though perhaps less than its share in providing us with statesmen. In the fields of commercial pursuits, its contribution has been, and continues to be, of an importance impossible to exaggerate. The German contribution to American commerce and industry has long affected every one of us. Such names as Astor and Rockefeller symbolize it; but by no means do they tell the whole story. I would like to repeat that every one of us, every day of his life, uses or comes in contact with products developed by citizens of German extraction.

This is true of many of our national brands - Heinz, Royal Baking Powder, Faber pencils, Steinway pianos, to mention only a very few. It is true of our great distributing organizations. It is true in many other fields, such as those brought to mind by such names as Westinghouse; Brill, the maker of electric cars

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and equipment; John Fritz, the father of Bethlehem Steel; Villard, the father of Oswald Garrison, who founded one of our great western railway systems.

Important as the achievements of our men of German descent are in the fields of industry and commerce, I need not dwell on them at length, because their importance has made their names household words to Americans everywhere, in the cities as well as in the open country. However, there is another field about which I should like to say a few words for the sake of our city folk. That field is agriculture, which through the centuries of our existence has been, and continues to be, the backbone of our economy.

Early in my talk I mentioned a few German Americans who have contributed notably to what has become the science of agriculture. One of these, Eugene Woldemar Hilgard, is justly considered our leading agricultural scientist of the second half of the past century. His book, Soils, is a standard work on farming

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possibilities in nearly half of the United States. He received distinctions from the universities of several countries, of our Middle West was founded upon the skill and experience of Professor Faust says that "the influence of his work as an investigator, writer, and teacher has been profound; it has not been limited to the borders of our own country, but belongs to the universal realm of science and letters."

THE IMPORTANCE OF HILGARD'S WORK

The scientific work of such men as Hilgard has raised American agriculture to levels of greater efficiency, and improved the quality of its products. Among the men who pioneered in practical farming, and later based their improvements on the results of scientific work done in the universities, the German element has been outstanding both in numbers and in achievement.

If the German-American farmer is successful, the reason lies in his racial character and intelligence. Mr. President, I hail from the Middle West. That section of our country, rightly

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considered typically American, is the least English in background and thinking. The reason is that the great dairy industry of our Middle West was founded upon the skill and experience of Scandinavian and German immigrants - because other elements refused to be "tied to a cow." The German-American farmer plans for the future; his farm yields a modest living for many generations. He does not want everything all at once and for himself alone. Hence he has always planted a variety of crops, rotating them, to guard against soil erosion.

German farmers seldom end in the poor-house. They worked hard breaking the prairie, but as a rule, they did not gamble on the chance development of a railroad or canal, which might suddenly drive up the value of their land. The German farmer was never a speculator. In the words of Professor Ross: "Taking fewer chances in the lottery of life than his limber-minded Yankee neighbor, he had drawn fewer prizes, but also fewer blanks."

These habits of thrift and planning, of intelligent and far-sighted farming, are practiced by men of German descent

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wherever they settled. I have already mentioned what Germans did for the Mohawk Valley and Pennsylvania in early colonial times. Their opening of the Middle West during and after the great immigration waves of the nineteenth century likewise deserves unstinted praise. To give a fair example of their work, allow me to quote Faust again.

"In Wisconsin," he says, "the German immigrants of the nineteenth century showed good judgment in their selection of the heavily wooded districts, those being sure indications to them of good soil. Preferring to get the best yield from a smaller acreage, they left to others the prairie land and the big-farm region, whenever a choice was possible. They proved the wisdom of working with a view to the future. They were enabled in time to encroach upon the possessions of less skillful farmers, and pay good prices for desirable land."

In one of a series of articles published in the Chicago Record-Herald in 1901, Turner says that "their (the Pennsylvania-German farmers') limestone farms became the wheat granaries of the country. Their great, well-built barns, fine stock,

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and big Conestoga wagons were an object lesson to the other sections."

To return to Faust, "The same may be said of the German farmers of Wisconsin and the Northwest at the present day. They have contributed a large share toward making this country a wheat granary of the world. An acute observer of economic conditions in the West presents the following syllogism: A failure of the wheat crop means financial failure for the year in the United States. A great part of the success of the wheat crop depends upon the skill and industry of the German farmers of the Northwest. Therefore, a successful financial year depends very largely upon the skill and industry of the German farmer of the Northwest."

GERMAN INFLUENCE ON OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER

It seems to me, Mr. President, that even more significant than the economic importance of the German farmer is the influence

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of his attitude on the formation of our national character.

In our young nation, which, in the eyes of millions at home and abroad, is the world's only country of unlimited opportunity, countless men are given to quick decision rather than to considered action; they are impulsive rather than deliberate. While this spirit has helped to build America, it will not so readily help preserve the country. The slow-but-sure ways of our German farmers are even more important to us today than they were a generation or two ago. The grand impatience of millions of our citizens of all stocks may lead us to new progress. But we need stability of character to protect and maintain all that is already ours. Our German farmers and their offspring are, in a way, the conservatives of America - not in any outmoded political sense, of course, but through that steadfastness, thrift, and long view that lend double value to a man's counsels.

THE PIONEER WITHIN US

It is generally admitted that Americans are more self-reliant,

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more independent, and on the whole more efficient and to-the-point than people in Europe. American character and the American way of life have been shaped from elements largely brought to this country from abroad, yet also by forces and conditions which are typically American. Our self-reliance was largely developed in the pioneering age.

The character of our children is shaped by two great influences, the home and the school. Since our schools, like our country, are young and have not been long exposed to the fossilization which threatens every aging institution, American parents have been successful in maintaining a direct influence on the schools. This contact between the school-teacher and the community he serves is becoming less intimate every year in our cities. Nevertheless, the concern of parents for the spirit of the schools is far greater in America than it is in any other country.

As for the German influence on education in the United States, it has been profound. Americans, reports Faust, "went

all over Europe in search of the best models for their educational institutions, and found them in Germany. The basis and the superstructure of our American educational system, the elementary school, inclusive of the kindergarten, and the university, were created under German influence. The college has been fashioned after the English pattern, with adaptations; the secondary schools have been under various influences, partly German."

The formative period in the building of our school system begins about 1820. In the earliest days of educational work in America, New England's Cotton Mather was ever in close touch with educational innovations in Germany. The influence of his friend, Francke, the school reformer from Halle, one of Germany's best-known university centers, has been deeply felt in our educational life.

The new spirit in the German school system of the time tended towards the abolition of fear as a means of education. That tendency grew rapidly. Free development of the personality of the young ^{flourished} ~~was~~ in Germany, ~~as German education~~ long before it

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began to influence other countries, such as England and France, whose political institutions were far more liberal than their educational system.

AN AMERICAN EXODUS

Early in the last century, a veritable exodus of American students to German seats of learning set in. Between 1815 and 1850, hundreds of young Americans traveled to Germany to matriculate in Goettingen, Berlin, Halle, Heidelberg, or Leipzig.

Among these men, we find Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Faust tells us that "Of two hundred and twenty-five American students at German universities, one hundred and thirty-seven became professors in American colleges, each of them aglow with the new inspiration of scholarship."

German universities had been built on the principle that, once they had completed their primary and secondary education, young men should search the truth in their own right. Youth was given every latitude. Even today, under a political system

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~~so totally different from what Germany has known for a long
time, many of the traditional academic liberties are retained.~~

Many universities of America have been modeled after German examples. Johns Hopkins, the University of Chicago, and Leland Stanford have made their own the ^{old} German principle of Lehrund Lern-freiheit. All our other universities are likewise to some degree imbued with that ideal. Horace Mann, our great reformer of education, found the models for his work in Germany.

That among the number of distinguished scholars in our universities the German element should be well represented is no more than natural. Some of our most famous scientists are of German ancestry.

Even more important than all these contributions to higher learning has been the German influence on the education of young children. Fröbel's ideas have been received in our country with enthusiasm. From an early start - In 1855, the wife of Carl who studied under Froebel Schurz/founded our first kindergarten. - German methods have found their way into every American public school. In many respects,

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they were so perfectly fitted for our needs that no changes were necessary.

American schools, particularly those for the very young,
show an almost total absence of fear and emulation as means of
education. That is precisely the principle of character formation
which was developed in Germany. The most noteworthy distinction
between our schools and those of England is the non-existence of
corporal punishment here. Education by coercion and competition
are frowned upon in America's public schools. The system may
be called the exact opposite of that practiced in England. Our
goal is the formation of personality and character. Even such
world famous institutions as Eton aim at the inculeation, by force
if necessary, of uniform view and attitudes. Has not America's
extraordinary progress been due in a large measure to our fund-
amental educational principles?

GERMAN AMERICANS AND THE ARTS

Finally, I wish to stress here the contribution made by

however sketchily
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men of German descent to our music, art, and literature.

Our musical life^{is} especially indebted to Germans. From early church music in the eighteenth century, through more ambitious concerts beginning about 1786, to the famous present-day orchestras of Philadelphia, Boston, New York and other cities, the German contribution has been dominant. As for the opera, the German influence has at best been equaled by the Italian.

It is no more than natural that the race which gave the world so much of its greatest music and which contributed such great numbers to our nation, should have animated our musical life. In every field of human activity, real progress demands a broad foundation. In music, that foundation was provided by the innumerable musical organizations our German element formed.

In painting and sculpture, the contributions of Munich and Düsseldorf are as great as those of Paris or Florence. Many American artists have studied in Germany, and many Germans have studied in America. Among the more recent of German American artists is Mr. Valentiner, the head of the Detroit museum.

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One cultural field in which the United States has been distinctly productive in its own right is that of literature. A few names from among our writers of German descent will serve to illustrate how great is the work of that element.

H. L. Mencken, the critic and philologist who combines refinement with punch, is familiar to every one of us. Theodore Dreiser is called by some the most faithful portrayal of the American scene. Hergesheimer is a man whose novels sell better than works of such high literary quality usually do. Car von Wiegand, the well-known journalist, noted for the graphic quality of his reports, is of German descent. Ludwig Lewisohn, one of our most meticulous stylists, was born in Berlin.

Among our poets, men who have won a name for themselves are Herman Hagedorn, the stormy petrel of American letters and George Sylvester Viereck, who is famous not only as a shrewd analyst and contemporary historian, but also as America's "poet of passion" and a novelist of distinction. Joyce Kilmer, the poet who gave his life for the Allies, sealing with his blood as did countless

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other Americans of German extraction, the solemn pledge that he would fight for his country against all comers, was the son of a German father.

A NATION OUT OF MANY NATIONS

Mr. President, to tell the full story of what Americans of German blood have done for America is impossible. If I were to attempt no more than a tedious listing of their contributions to American public life, industry, science, art, education - in a word, to the American way of life - I could go on almost without end.

What I have tried to do is to show that America, as she stands today, would not exist had it not been for the work of all European nationalities. Among these nationalities, the second greatest in numbers and, ^{and not the least} ~~perhaps the greatest of them all~~ in achievement, are our citizens of German origin.

I do not say that Americans whose forebears were German have a special claim to our gratitude. America has had so much

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to offer that every one of our racial or religious group has been repaid many times over for what it has done to help build the nation. But what I do say is that the Germans have as much right to ask the United States to help Germany as the English to ask us to help England.

But our Germans do not call for help. In all my long years in Congress, no American of German descent, no German sympathizer, no spokesman for Germany, has ever asked me to advocate the sacrifice of one drop of blood or one ounce of treasure to aid Germany or any other country in Europe.

If allegiance to one country and to one country alone is a criterion of patriotism, our Germans are better Americans than many of us here. They call, as they did in the last war, and as many others did then and now, for America to remember that she is America and not a British dominion. They call for America to defend herself if she is threatened, instead of screaming for our

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country to attack, in the interests of some European kingdom, a nation which has to this day never invaded our shores or threatened our interests.

WHERE DO OUR FRONTIERS LIE?

Of course, if we insist that America's frontiers are on the Rhine, we must do something to defend those frontiers. We held them once, in 1919. What we brought home was disillusion- as to European power politics, admiration for the Germans' and a number of soldiers' wives. If we, or an elected spokes- man of ours, are presumptuous enough to declare that our first line of defense is on the Rhine, we should not be surprised if our oppo- site number were to proclaim his first line of defense as the Mississ- ippi. Has he done so? Not to my knowledge.

The trouble with our foreign policy seems to be that we insist on ruling all the world except those areas which the English have condescended to take special care of. We insist that Germany be democratic. But we do not protest about the denial of democracy for India or the starvation of the Irish.

We insist that ~~the~~ Germany be as peaceful as her sated enemies became after they had imposed upon her an extraordinary peace

treaty - a treaty imposed with the help of our great "anti-imperial-

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ist," Woodrow Wilson. We insist that Germany, rather than to fight for her food as our ancestors often enough did against the Indians, starve in the genteel manner practiced by the noblemen of old who were too weak or too stupid to assert their own rights. We insist that other powers which have not drunk at the fount of democracy reform their ways. We consider their good behavior more important than food for their citizens.

Mr. President, such policy is atrocious nonsense! Worse, it is dishonest. A man who has made a mistake, and who has been made to see that mistake, and yet repeats it at the earliest opportunity, is a fool or a dangerous rascal.

The men who direct our affairs seriously resent the imputation that they are fools. There is only one other possible interpretation: they are not telling us of their real motives. For an American administration to say that we ought to fight Hitler because he is threatening the whole world, including the United States, is as false as it is cowardly.

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The leaders of the movement to get us into war, employ falsehood as their most deadly weapon. The notorious White Committee hinges its vicious campaign upon an alleged statement by Hitler.- Hermann Rauschning's recent books contain many festers of the author's wild imagination.

What is worse, the publishers, in their advertising, and the newspapers, in their reviews, cite Rauschning's reproductions of his alleged conversations with Hitler, as if they were truly authentic. Opinions never acknowledged and probably never expressed by Hitler are attributed to him, as if they were quotations from Mein Kampf, when they are really only excerpts from the farrago of sense and nonsense ascribed to the German Chancellor by his erstwhile admirer. Thus, an entirely false picture is created in the mind of the American public, as if Hitler actually threatened to descend upon the United States.

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~~For one thing, we do not~~ know that Hitler is threatening us. Most of our military experts seem to think otherwise. But even if he is, to fight him if and when he comes will be cheaper, in terms of blood and of bad debts, than to send huge stores of supplies and expeditions of men across three thousand miles of ~~and thus deplete on resources against that day when Hitler might come.~~ ocean. To fear that young, vigorous, virile America will be unable to defeat a European invader who has to come a long ways, bringing all his men and their needs, is one of the foulest exhibitions of cowardice that has ever confronted me.

"The easiest way to find ourselves involved in the war is for us to fear it," writes S. H. Hauck in his recently-published book, The Scarlet Fingers. "Do not fear the war - rather, hate it. Do not fear the foreign and domestic propaganda - rather, despise it... One's neutrality rests within the intensity and the sincerity of his fight against enslavement to false and contradictory interpretation of his duty as an American... Today's internal misunderstanding, fanned from without, bears the germ of future peril."

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BEHIND THE HYSTERIA -- FALSEHOOD

There is so little foundation for the hysterical cry that Hitler is attacking the world that it would not be worth mentioning were it not for the ^{insidious} shameless intrigue behind it. We have become accustomed to seeing the world as it was shaped, or misshaped, after the last war. We forget that before Versailles there were other border lines throughout Europe. We deliberately overlook that to the Germans the borders of 1914 seem the borders that must be restored. To this day, Germany has to my knowledge taken no step which was not directed at, or incidental to, the restoration of pre-1914 Germany and Austria.

But all that is beside the main theme of my talk. What is in line with my subject is that while our British element--- and some others -- are clamoring that we should sally forth to the defense of England and its king, our German element insists as that our mission is to keep the light of civilization burning in the Western World. it has done before, that we should let well enough alone. Our past experience tells us which of the two groups is right -- All we need are the eyes to see and ears to hear.

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No doubt our Germans may be influenced by their sentimental attachment of the country of their origin. However, that that attachment is not their only concern can be demonstrated no better than by what they did in the last war to end all wars. They warned us until the last moment that we were heading for a great disaster and disillusionment. However, when America entered the war to help Monsieur Clemenceau and the fiery Lloyd George write their splendid peace, our citizens of German ancestry did their duty. 165,000 Lutherans joined our forces. Only one man was a slacker. If there had been more, our pro-British publicists would have been only too delighted to let us know or, better, to blast our ears with the fact.

Not long before we took the fatal step on behalf of England and her King, one of our most distinguished Americans of German descent was asked/what he and his friends would do in case of war. He answered: "Of course we will go and fight, we have sworn an oath on the Constitution. But after it is all over, we shall come home and punish the rascals who got us into the mess!" Well, Mr.

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President, we all remember the elections that followed that
"mess".

It may be that the men who are sailing our ship of state over admittedly troubled waters have not learned the lesson the American voters taught their predecessors. It may be that they do not care --unlikely as it may seem; perhaps they are not interested in a fourth term.

Mr. President, the review I have given you of what Americans of German ancestry have done to help build and to protect this nation of ours has confirmed me more than ever in the belief which, I am sure, is shared by all those who have not become ^{victims of} ~~*****~~ fear propaganda: America should do, must do, and will do everything to defend America. But America and her citizens are too valuable to be sacrificed time and again on the altar of Europe's petty jealousies and ^{careless} internal strife.

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