

Devotion to Whom?: German-American Loyalty on the Issue of Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games*

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The modern Olympic Games have been surrounded with controversy throughout the course of this century. More often than not the cause of the controversy has been rooted in politics, and the Olympic Games of 1936 held in Berlin, Germany was no exception. The anti-Semitic Nuremberg laws of September, 1935, designed to maintain the purity of German blood, stripped German Jews of their citizenship and rights.¹ Daily existence became a near impossible task as interaction between German citizens and German Jews was forbidden and punishable to both. Given this state of domestic affairs, there is little doubt as to why other nations began to voice their concern, to the extent that organizations in some foreign countries felt a boycott by their athletes was a necessary and effective way of showing disapproval for Hitler and his Nazi regime.

The United States had its fair share of individuals and groups supporting participation in the 1936 Games, as well as a significant number who railed against sending a team. The question regarding the influence of German-Americans supporting the participation of an American team needs to be raised. That is to say, to what extent were German-American individuals and organiza-

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1. Neumann suggests the "expulsion of Jews from the German commonwealth began with the nationality act of 15 September 1935 . . . 'F. Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practise of National Socialism 1933-1944*, (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1967), p. 115. Passed at the 1935 party rally held in Nuremberg, these policies were designed to instill among the German masses blind discipline and obedience alongside cruelty and fanaticism. L. Poliakov, "The Weapon of Anti-Semitism," in International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, *The Third Reich*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1955), p. 832. The laws reduced the status of German Jews to state subjects, forbade marriages and extra-marital affairs between Jews and German citizens, and penalized German citizens who interacted with Jews in any way. For details on the Nuremberg Laws and the persecution of the Jews see also R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985). Vol. I; W. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960).

tions influential in sending American athletes? With this surfaces the more vital question regarding motive—was it the desire to show faith and patriotism for their beloved ‘Vaterland,’ was it Nazi motivated, or was it American nationalism and allegiance to their adopted home that moved these people and organizations to express their support for American participation? Through an examination of several German-American citizens and organizations active and prominent in and around New York City from 1928-1938, an attempt will be made to answer these questions.

The logic of choosing the New York City area as the geographical focal point for this study is based on a number of factors. Being the economic giant that it was, numerous immigrants, including thousands of people of German descent, were drawn to New York City. Steamers arriving there in the mid-1930s often carried, in addition to human cargo, propaganda material, much of it political in nature, from the Hitler regime in Germany. Such propaganda was to cause great concern among American politicians and the public at large².

Germans arriving in New York were especially drawn to the area of the city called Yorkville,³ a German district on the East Side of Manhattan that abounded with the cafes, bars, and restaurants so common to a German social atmosphere.⁴ Other elements pertaining to German culture there included numerous clubs and organizations specific to sport and politics. Allied to many such organizations were numerous newspapers and journals catering to the German population.⁵

New York City was the home of three of five executive members of the American Olympic Committee (A.O.C.), as well as being the site of the 1935 Amateur Athletic Union (A.A.U.) convention⁶ and the center of the boycott movement. The 1935 A.A.U. convention was of great importance, because it was at this meeting that the voting took place on whether or not American athletes should participate in the Games. New York boasted a significant Jewish

2. Sander A. Diamond, “Zur Typologie der Amerikadeutschen NS-Bewegung,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 23(3) 1975, p. 276.

3. “I Joined the Bund,” p. 18, NA File 811.43 Amerika Deutscher Volksbund; see also *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 11, 18, 1933, and Oct. 17, 1934.

4. An interesting insight into the Yorkville atmosphere in New York city prior to 1939 is provided in National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C., File 811.43 Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund, “I Joined the Bund,” *The Liberty*, Sept. 23 and 30, 1939.

5. For a detailed list of all German-American newspapers in both New York City and across the country. see K. Arndt and M. Olson, *German American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*, (Heidelberg: Quelle Meyer Verlag, 1965), 2nd edition.

6. The American Olympic Committee (A.O.C.) was the parent Olympic organization in the U.S. A.O.C. members were appointed for each specific Olympic Games. The A.A.U. was the body certifying athletes’ amateur status needed for participation in the Games. While A.A.U. authorization was generally needed for certification of amateur status, A.O.C. President Avery Brundage managed to secure the waiver of such authorization through an agreement with International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) President Henri Baillet-Latour. However, A.A.U. support for participation was still necessary to secure sufficient funding for the American team. Brundage was determined to obtain this support at the 1935 A.A.U. annual convention held in New York City. Voting members either sided with Brundage or Jeremiah T. Mahoney, an A.O.A. member who viewed American participation in the Berlin Games as damaging to the Olympic spirit and a violation of American Olympic principles. For a detailed examination of the controversial meeting, in which A.A.U. support for American participation was secured. see S. Wenn, “The Commodore Hotel Revisited: An Analysis of the 1935 A.A.U. Convention,” *Proceedings—Sixth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education*. The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, 1988, pp. 188-201; *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1935.

population, and several Jewish A.A.U. delegates were present to voice their opposition to participation, much to the chagrin of Avery Brundage, then president of the A.O.C.⁷

Our periodization begins in 1928 when a New York group called Teutonia, one of the four organizations that eventually developed into the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, began publishing the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a newspaper supported in part by an American, "Colonel" Edwin Emerson.⁸ Among the men present at the Teutonia meeting that dealt with the question of establishing the newspaper was Dietrich Wortmann, who would play a prominent role in insuring American participation in the 1936 Games.⁹

Dietrich Wortmann was born in 1884 in the city of Leipzig, now part of East Germany. He was educated at the University of Leipzig and at Columbia University. He eventually became an architect, living in New York City. In 1904 he represented the United States at the Olympic games in St. Louis as a welterweight wrestler, placing third. His athletic achievements in the sport continued, as he won the U.S. national title in his division in 1906, as well as winning four New York metropolitan championships. Besides wrestling, Wortmann showed a great interest in weight-lifting, and was concerned about the poor state of the national team. Described as a crusader, he is credited with starting a movement to correct and improve the situation. Considered "an active and eloquent figure in A.A.U. councils, he gradually secured support" for his cause.¹⁰ By 1936 he had been made chairman of the American Weight-Lifting Committee, and held that post for the Games in Berlin. Under the title of Team Manager, Wortmann accompanied the bobsled team to the 1936 Winter Olympic Games at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Wortmann's appointment to the weight-lifting committee was not merely a result of his participation as an athlete—he had managed to climb the U.S. Olympic administrative ladder over the course of a number of years.

As early as 1933 the American Olympic Committee registered displeasure over Germany's treatment of Jews, particularly Jewish athletes. Charles H. Sherrill, an American International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) member, attended the June 1933 annual I.O.C. meeting in Vienna, and voiced American concern. The German delegation grudgingly conceded to the possibility of inclusion of German Jews on the German team for the 1936 Games.¹¹ In

7. Arnd Krüger, "Fair Play for American Athletes: A Study in Anti-Semitism," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 9(1), 1978, pp. 53, 55; Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 74: for the role of Brundage in 1936 Games. see Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*: Krüger, "Fair Play for American Athletes," and Richard Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

8. Emerson was struck by the fact that there were Germans who had recently immigrated, sharing his opinion about the Weimar Republic, and he wished to support their cause (Diamond, "Zur Typologie," p. 278). In 1934 Emerson was accused of being in league with the Nazis (*New York Times*, April 22, 1934); from biographical details see also Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States 1924-1941*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1974).

9. NA, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (N.S.D.A.P.) File, Microfilm (MF) T-81/188/0338821-2.

10. *New York Times*, Sept 22, 1952 (Wortmann's obituary notice).

11. Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, p. 266. As stated by Krüger, the German delegation agreed that a) I.O.C. member and Carl Diem would continue to head the Organizing Committee; b) all Olympic regulations

November of that year, Sherrill and Wortmann were two of five men placed on an American Olympic Association (A.O.A.) committee created to clarify an A.A.U. resolution on the festering Jewish participation problem. Sherrill sensed that the A.A.U. resolution was too strong and could lead to further problems with the Nazis. Presented to the A.O.A. by Gustavus Kirby, a former A.A.U. president, the controversial resolution basically asked that A.A.U. members present at the A.O.A. meeting strongly urge the A.O.A. to defer from certifying Olympic athletes until the situation in Germany regarding its Jewish athletes had changed. Despite German assurances, the A.A.U. charged that Jewish athletes in Germany were not being given equal opportunity to represent their country.¹²

Wortmann was on the side of Sherrill in this matter. The committee members returned with a resolution less harsh in nature. Subsequently, it was voted upon and passed by the Association. Part of the statement read as follows:

[T]he American Olympic Association, while affirming the general principles of the democracy of sport, of regret over conditions which have led to discrimination against Jewish athletes and the right of Jewish athletes to train for or compete in Germany upon sports teams, also pledges its support to the International Committee and to Dr. Lewald and his associates, and expresses its ardent hope that before the time comes for the preparation and the selection of the teams of the United States of America to compete in the Olympic Games of 1936, to be held in Berlin, all disabilities affecting the rights and privileges of Jews training, competing for, and being upon German sports teams will have been removed, so that the athletes of the United States of America can and will be certified for competition under the Olympic standard.¹³

Such a statement, while indicating American disapproval, failed to state unequivocally that American athletes would definitely not receive certification. Therefore, the statement was acceptable to Sherrill and Wortmann, who as a Vice-President of New York's Metropolitan Association of the A.A.U., was entitled to cast a vote at the decisive A.A.U. convention of December, 1935, where he voted in favour of participation.¹⁴

Brundage hoped for the same moral and financial support from the A.A.U. that had been given to past Olympic Festivals. Such support was considered critical to both team morale and the campaign to raise additional funds. On September 16, 1934, Brundage and the A.O.C. had officially accepted the

would be followed; c) on principle, German Jews were not excluded from the German team. The final point was not easily agreed upon, and Sherrill had been adamant in insisting upon a declaration which would not exclude Jews from the German team. See A. Krüger, "The 1936 Olympic Games-Berlin," in *The Modern Olympics*. ed. P. Graham and H. Ueberhorst (Cornwall, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1976). pp. 169, 174.

12. *Minutes of the A.A.U. National Convention—1933*, 70 ed. A.A.U. of the U.S., 1934; see also Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*; and Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, regarding the plight of German-Jews and the 1936 Olympics.

13. *Minutes of the A.A.U. National Convention—1933*, 70 ed. A.A.U. of the U.S., 1934.

14. During a 1935 meeting with Hitler, Sherrill was shocked to realize that, despite the 1933 Vienna agreement. Hitler had no intention of including any Jew on the German Olympic team. Sherrill had promoted the staging of the Games in Germany in good faith. Sherrill realized the betrayal of his support by German colleagues who had known of Hitler's intention all along. For discussion on Sherrill's meeting with Hitler and Sherrill's meeting with Hitler and Sherrill's subsequent actions, see Krüger, "The 1936 Olympic Games-Berlin," pp. 174-176.

German invitation to participate. During the course of the next year, Brundage met with opposition as a result of such acceptance. By the time of the December 1935 A.A.U. convention, Brundage was determined to squelch further investigation and secure A.A.U. support for participation; he was able to do so through the voting and lobbying support of members like Dietrich Wortmann.¹⁵

Wortmann was censured for his support of Brundage by a fellow member of the A.O.A.'s special committee, Charles Ornstein. Ornstein, a Jew, had voted in opposition to Wortmann and Sherrill. In 1936, pressured by Brundage to resign, Ornstein attacked the A.O.C., Wortmann in particular, accusing both of being under Nazi influence:

The American Olympic Committee on Sunday gave substance to suspicion which millions of Americans have had for some months concerning it, namely that it is representative not of the sporting spirit of American tradition, but that it has adopted the color and tactics of Nazi Germany. Legally the American Olympic Committee had no right to revoke me . . . I have no quarrel with the maker of the resolution ousting me. Dietrich Wortmann was simply following the pattern of the man to whom he gives his allegiance—Adolph Hitler.¹⁶

This raises an interesting point. Was Dietrich Wortmann, an American born in Germany, indeed following allegiance to Hitler? That Wortmann had been involved with a number of German-American organizations is undoubtedly true.¹⁷ To what extent these organizations were, or could have been associated with Hitler and the Nazis, is not as clear.

On June 18, 1928, Wortmann was present at a meeting held at the German-American Athletic Club in New York to discuss the question of establishment of the *Deutsche Zeitung*. As the president of that club, he and four others were present to represent the German sporting community. Other individuals of the German community attended the meeting, including representatives from the German consulate, business community, and art and literature interests.¹⁸

One should keep in mind that the *Deutsche Zeitung*, through having a short lifespan, successfully projected its message relating to the downfall of the Kaiserreich, one aspect of which related to "jewish Bolsheviks." According to Diamond, the *Deutsche Zeitung* served as a useful tool in bringing people together and in organizing those who were sympathetic to both Hitler's fight against the Treaty of Versailles, and the notion that for all Germans, regardless of citizenship, duty must lie first and foremost with the German Reich.¹⁹

Organizations considered even half sympathetic to the Teutonic cause received initial copies of the paper. Recipients included many sporting groups.²⁰

15. *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1935; Sept. 27, 1934; Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, p. 74. For the voting pattern of the convention see Wenn, "The Commodore Hotel Revisited," pp. 194-197.

16. *New York Times*, April 7, 1936.

17. *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1952.

18. NA, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (N.S.D.A.P.) Pile, Microfilm (MR T-81/188/0338821-2).

19. Diamond, "Zur Typologie," pp. 277-78.

20. See NA, N.S.D.A.P. File MF T-81/188/338315-18; MFT-811338321; see also MF T-811338822-23 (an updated, unsigned memo to Furhorzer (the editor), withholding more names for the circulation list, until it can be

Among the athletic groups were names of various Turnvereins found in and around New York City. This is important to note because in 1937 Wortmann would be accused of being connected to the New York Turnverein, seen at that time as one of many pro-Nazi groups found in the U.S., a fact to be discussed in upcoming pages.

For the moment, it is sufficient to state that Wortmann was honored at the New York Turnhalle (the clubhouse of the Turnverein) on January 1, 1936, just weeks after the momentous decision made at the December 1935 A.A.U. meeting. He was given a dinner by the German-American Sports Alliance at the Turnhalle,²¹ another indication of his close association with the German community in New York City.

Wortmann's establishment of the German American Olympic Fund Committee in New York in 1935 answered Brundage's call for German-American financial support for the American team. As chairman of the committee, Wortmann's efforts to raise money proved successful despite the strong presence of the boycott movement in the city.²²

In April 1936, Wortmann, chairman of the German American Olympic Fund Committee, wrote a circular letter on A.O.C. letterhead. A portion of the letter read as follows:

The Olympic Games will be held in Germany this year and I earnestly appeal to you to help the American Olympic Committee raise the necessary funds to send a full American team to make up for the withdrawal of the financial support of certain parties.

I need the united, moral and financial support of all German-Americans so that American Athletes, after competing at the Olympic Games in Berlin, return as apostles of truth and justice for the promotion of friendship between our great countries. . . .²³

Originally sent out to German-Americans, the letter fell into the hands of others, and caused quite a commotion. The fact that President Roosevelt's name, as honorary A.O.C. president, appeared at the top of the letter was interpreted by some as indicating governmental support. Causing even greater concern, however, was interpretation of the line referring to American athletes returning from the games as 'apostles of truth and justice.' Some, such as private citizen Herman Hoffman, equated "truth and justice" to mean Naziism.²⁴ A statement was issued to the press by Secretary of State Cordell

established exactly what type of paper the *Deutsche Zeitung* is, and whether or not it will be useful to the sporting community).

21. *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1936.

22. Arnd Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 und die Weltmeinung. Ihre au Benpolitische Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der USA.* (Berlin: Verlag Bartels und Vornitz KG, 1972), p. 142. For memo regarding a donation made to the German American Olympic Committee see Clarence Bush (A.O.C. Publicity Director), undated memo (circa Jan. 1936), Avery Brundage Collection (ABC) Box 232 (Microfilm), University of Western Ontario, D. B. Weldon Library. Original collection located at the University of Illinois.

23. Letter by Wortmann, April 15, 1936, President's Personal File 1933-1945 (PPF), Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

24. Herman Hoffman to Roosevelt, April 16, 1936, PPF 879; see also telegraph, June Croll to Roosevelt, April 23, 1936, PPF 879, "... This is outright cooperation with Nazi efforts to utilize 1936 Olympics for the spread in the United States of race hate, destruction of religious, trade union, and all civil liberties ..."

Hull (whose name also appeared on the letterhead as Honorary Vice-President) on April 23, 1936. The statement basically indicated that such positions in international sport were common for heads of state, were in the sole interest of the international sporting scene, and were not to be connected to any political matter.²⁵

What did Wortmann mean when he used the words “apostle of truth and justice”? Did he indeed consider the political situation in Germany to be morally correct, and hoped that the American athletes would return to the United States influenced in a positive way? Or was he in fact hoping to promote goodwill and sportsmanship between the two countries in the Olympic spirit? Statements made by Brundage seemed to lean toward the latter.

When Wortmann’s letter appeared, Stephen Early, Assistant Secretary to the President, questioned the A.O.C. about its approval of the letter.²⁶ Early received a rather lengthy reply from Brundage, indicating that the A.O.C. had many local committees cooperating with it—they were comprised of volunteers, dedicated to amateur sport. The German-American Olympic Fund Committee was one such committee, and Wortmann, as “a loyal and patriotic American citizen, was only trying to promote the Olympic cause: “One of the objects of the Olympic movement is the development of friendship and mutual understanding among the people and nations of the world and the paragraph in question, ‘I need the united . . . between our great countries,’ Mr. Wortmann states, was written with this in mind.”²⁷ Brundage went on to tell of the patriotic nature of the A.O.C., and that among its membership were listed many “leading amateur sport governing bodies.” Throughout the text of the letter one is struck by Brundage’s constant referral to the A.O.C. as a patriotic organization.²⁸

It might appear, therefore, that Wortmann’s support for Olympic participation was based on love for his adopted home, as opposed to loyalty for his native homeland. It could, on the other hand, be argued that his use of the letter to solicit funds was for the success of the Games on German soil: for without the presence of the powerful American team, one can further argue that the validity of competition would likely decrease, and the Games would be less likely to succeed, thus reflecting upon the host country. However, given the fact that Wortmann had been an American citizen for quite some time; had represented the U.S. as an Olympic athlete, was instrumental in the development of the nation’s weight-lifting program; had risen in the administrative ranks of amateur sporting bodies; held a well-respected occupation; and was deemed a patriotic and loyal American by Brundage, it seems more likely that Wortmann’s efforts towards Olympic participation were for the sake of American athletes, the Games, and the Olympic spirit. As a team manager and former

25. Press release, April 23, 1936, PPF 879.

26. Early to Frederick Rubien (A.O.C. Secretary), April 24, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games.

27. Brundage to Early, May 6, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games/90.

28. *Ibid.*, Brundage is accused of viewing any pro-boycott movement as being unpatriotic and un-American (see Krüger, “Fair Play for American Athletes”), thus making this support of Wortmann logical. He did, however, ask Wortmann to change the wording of future pieces of correspondence.

athlete at the international level, it would be natural for him to have strong emotions about the success of the Games. Granted, there were those, such as Ornstein, who insisted on insinuating that Wortmann's actions were Nazi-based. But one could easily speculate that human nature prevailed in Ornstein's case; that, forced into resigning from his A.O.C. post, he lashed out at those castigating him. Despite Wortmann's associations with various German-American organizations, it seems more likely he was promoting participation for participation's sake.

This is further substantiated by Wortmann's comments one year following the Games, when he was accused of being in league with the New York Turnverein:

I am not the president or a member of the New York Turnverein, have had no communication, direct or indirect, with the Propaganda Minister of Germany, and as a free American Citizen take orders from no one. As an amateur athlete, I scored points for the United States in the 1904 Olympic Games.²⁹

Wortmann's denial of relationships between himself, the New York Turnverein and Goebbels, the German Propaganda Minister, must be examined. A 1938 invitation sent by Wortmann to Brundage requesting Brundage's attendance at the German Sport, Turn and Field Day would suggest Wortmann, as chairman of the event, enjoyed a strong connection to the Turnverein.³⁰

Banker Reynold Oeschler was another German-American individual to figure prominently in Brundage's crusade to raise funds for the Olympic Team. Brundage's letter of August 30, 1935 stated what he expected from Oeschler and his colleagues:

First, to enlist the support of a considerable proportion of the population of German descent. They, above all, must rally to the cause and help with liberal contributions. Second, you and your associates must try to convince the German authorities that they must take steps immediately to arrest this anti-Nazi movement.³¹

As president of the German-American Olympic Group, Oeschler suggested a tour of the United States by the German national soccer team, popular boxer Max Schmeling, and lawn tennis star Gottfried von Cramm.³² On August 31,

29. *New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1937.

30. Wortmann to Brundage, May 6, 1938, ABC Box 41. It is possible that Wortmann's father was Johan Heinrich Wortmann, a leading Turner figure in Leipzig in 1884, the place and date of Wortmann's birth. Such circumstantial evidence would suggest a direct relationship between Wortmann and the Turner authorities. See Carl Euler, *Encyklopädisches Handbuch des gesamten Turnwesens*. Vol. III, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 531-532, regarding Johan Heinrich Wortmann. See note 32 regarding Wortmann's relationship to Germany's Propaganda Minister.

31. Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, p. 142; Brundage to Oeschler, Aug. 30, 1935, cited in *ibid*.

32. Oeschler to von Tschammer und Osten, Germany's national sports leader and head of the German Olympic Committee, Sept. 4, 1935, ABC, Box 127. Following the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, von Tschammer und Osten became the new head of the national sports organization. By 1934 the government had infiltrated the Organizing Committee, contrary to the Olympic code which required the Organizing Committee to be independent of any direct political influence. The signing of a document by Lewald for the Organizing Committee resulted in the loss of the Organizing Committee's independence after December 1934. The document acknowledged that to the outside world, the Organizing Committee would maintain a position of independence, to ensure communication with the I.O.C. Internally, the Organizing Committee would act as agents for the Olympic Committee. Von Tschammer und Osten headed the Olympic Committee, and as National Sports Leader, was an Under Secretary of State for Sports in the German Home Office, thereby ensuring that the actions taken by the

1935, Oeschler wrote to Hans Luther, German Ambassador to the United States, concerning such a tour, the desired outcomes of which were to promote Germans as good sportsmen and raise money for the American Olympic Team.³³

Determining Oeschler's motivation is a difficult task, given the evidence at hand. The immediacy with which Oeschler wrote to both Luther and von Tschammer und Osten suggest Oeschler viewed his task with great importance. Such action further implies that Oeschler felt comfortable in approaching both men, each one an official in the Nazi government. Does this action label Oeschler a Nazi? To arrange for the goodwill tour, Oeschler had to appeal to high ranking German officials—no other option existed. However, the intent of the tour in Oeschler's mind was to promote Germans as sportsmen, and gain financial support for the American team. This would suggest he supported the Americans, and wished to have Germans in general, not necessarily Nazis, viewed favorably. Oeschler's potential influence on American participation is substantiated by the support Brundage gave to Oeschler's goodwill tour proposal. Brundage himself wrote to von Tschammer und Osten in October 1935, emphasizing the importance of German support for the tour.³⁴

Concern had long been expressed by Samuel Dickstein, congressman from New York, over the abundance of possible Nazi sympathizers and supporters in the United States. In 1933, as chairman of the House Immigration Committee, Dickstein became concerned with the increasing number of German diplomats entering the country. Convinced that they were really Nazis in disguise,³⁵ he urged Congress to start an investigation, as he felt the threat was real enough to warrant one. In his eyes, the aim of the Nazis was:

. . . the overthrow of our cherished form of democracy and the establishment on our soil of a Nazi dictatorship. . . . They already have an official newspaper, they are importing and flooding sections of the country with booklets, pamphlets and leaflets, they are holding meetings in public halls, they are actually drilling their Storm Troopers on American soil.³⁶

Dickstein was able to open a Nazi inquiry in Congress shortly after his public statements.³⁷ Over the course of the next few years he drew attention to the issue

Organizing Committee were those of the Nazi government (Krüger, "The 1936 Olympic Games-Berlin," p. 168-173). Oeschler's letter to von Tschammer und Osten echoes the plea Wortmann supposedly made to Josef Goebbels, Germany's Propaganda Minister on Sept. 5, 1935 (see C. Marvin, "Awry Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games," *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1(1982), p. 95, for letter by Wortmann to Goebbels, Sept. 5, 1935, ABC). However, a survey of the ABC failed to reveal the letter Marvin claims Wortmann wrote. Marvin's identification of Wortmann as a German and enthusiast of the New Germany must also be questioned as the accusations were not documented.

33. Oeschler to Hans Luther, Aug. 31, 1935, ABC Box 155. A copy of this letter was sent to Theodor Lewald, German I.O.C. member and member of the German Organizing Committee.

34. See Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, p. 142, for letter, Brundage to von Tschammer und Osten, Oct. 30, 1935. Around this time, late 1935, the German-American Commerce Bulletin requested that members of the German-American business community make "as liberal a contribution as possible" to the Chicago based National German-American Olympic Committee, or to any of the other committees found in cities boasting a high German-American population. See *ibid.*, German-American Commerce Bulletin, Dec. 1935, p. 28.

35. *New York Times*, May 8, Oct. 10, 1933.

36. *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1933.

37. *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1933.

by publishing a list of “smugglers, aliens, agitators, Hitlerites and propagandists.” Wortmann’s name appeared on Dickstein’s list.³⁸ Another name to appear on Dickstein’s blacklist was Ernst Schmitz. Schmitz was a German citizen living in the United States. He was a member of the German American Athletic Union and had voting privileges at the historic A.A.U. convention of December 1935. In the critical voting he, too, supported Brundage, just as Wortmann had done. Schmitz was the chief executive of German Railroads Information located in New York City. As well, he was the representative in the United States of the Berlin Organizing Committee for the XIth Olympic Games.³⁹ These two positions indicate an obvious link with the government of Nazi Germany.

Shortly after the Wortmann uproar, which again affected American Olympic athletes, Carl Diem, the General Secretary of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XIth Olympiad, wrote to Rubien, Secretary of the A.O.C., concerning an identification card the Germans wanted to have recognized by the United States government as a valid travel document for American athletes.⁴⁰ Upon consulting with State Department officials, Rubien made it clear to Diem that while American citizens did not need passports to leave and re-enter their own country, the identification cards suggested by the Germans would suffice only if the proposed texts specifically conferring United States authorization, be omitted. Inclusion of such a statement, the State Department argued, would make the document a passport, which the State Department was forbidden by law to authorize.⁴¹

By May of 1936, Rubien had been contacted by Schmitz on behalf of the German Organizing Committee concerning this matter. Schmitz made it clear that a solution (i.e., approval by the Americans) was necessary, for “without an official notation or stamp on the identification card, the recognition of these cards as being official (by a government) and as a substitute for passports would not be possible.” Schmitz went on to state that:

The request of the Organizing Committee is made to comply with the requirements of the German Government. That government has extended all possible cooperation and is willing to waive official passport requirements for the benefit of American athletes; but, for the protection of these men, it must have some sort of an official expression on the part of the United States Government regarding recognition of the identity cards.⁴²

The fact that the Organizing Committee acted under direct orders from the

38. *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1933; see also *ibid.*, July 28, Aug. 5, 1937, regarding Dickstein’s investigations during the 1930s, see Diamond. “Zur Typologie . . .” Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965).

39. *Minutes of the A.A.U. Convention—1935*, ed. Amateur Athletic Union, 1936; *New York Times*, July 28, 1937; Schmitz to Rubien, May 8, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games.

40. Diem to Rubien, Dec. 19, 1935. NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games; see also various pieces of correspondence as secretary. NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games; see also Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On and Mandell, The Nazi Olympics*.

41. Rubien to Diem, Jan. 24, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games; Wilbur J. Carr to Royal S. Copeland. June 8, 1936. NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games/97.

42. Schmitz to Rubien, May 8, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games.

German government, clearly signalled that the government had a good deal of control in matters relating to the Games. Schmitz, as a representative of the Organizing Committee, may be interpreted to have been directly responsible to the German government.

Rubien, who was "shocked to receive the . . . letter from Ernst Schmitz," was in an anxious state, as the conditions outlined in Schmitz's letter were, in Rubien's words: "a distinct set-back to our Committee, for, in addition to equipping our men with passports at a cost in excess of \$5,000, we are going to have a difficult time in obtaining them as the tryouts, in most instances, will not be held until July 11th and 12th. The team is scheduled to sail July 15th on the Manhattan."⁴³

Schmitz, aware that Rubien had asked Judge Murray Hulbert (A.O.A. mediator in the five-man committee of 1933) to intervene, promptly wrote to Judge Hulbert registering his own concerns. Throughout the text of his letter Schmitz consistently blamed the Americans, as indicated by such statements as:

I cannot imagine that any government agency would refuse to cooperate in such a perfectly simple and unimportant matter . . .

Should, however, the United States authorities decline their cooperation . . . then, of course, the danger of making passports and an outlay of \$5,000 necessary, would be imminent. But such a development would be entirely outside the control or responsibility of the Organizing Committee of the German Government.⁴⁴

Unlike Wortmann, Schmitz made no attempt to disassociate himself from Germany or its regime.

Schmitz's influence on American participation was not as great as Wortmann's. Of that, there is little doubt. He nevertheless played a role through his vote at the A.A.U. meeting. We argue, however, that the underlying motive for Schmitz's decision was one based on commitment to Germany, as opposed to allegiance to the United States. As a member of the German Organizing Committee, his actions and words clearly reflect that nation's viewpoint, as pointed out in his letter to Rubien of May 8, 1936. The fact that he was employed by the German government as head of German Railroads Information in the United States, which was identified as one of several outlets of Nazi propaganda, further attests to his fundamental devotion.⁴⁵ Schmitz continually attacked the American government as being the culprit in the dispute regarding the identity card issue. An official declaration by the State Department in the form of a letter, finally resolved the conflict.⁴⁶

43. Rubien to Judge Murray Hulbert, May 18, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games.

44. *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1933; Schmitz to Hulbert, May 21, 1936, NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games.

45. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States*, p. 194 n.76. Krüger states that Schmitz was later arrested as a German spy. Krüger, "The 1936 Olympic Games-Berlin," p. 172.

46. Part of the statement read as follows: "It now appears that an appropriate statement having relation to the participation of American citizens in the Olympic Games to be held in Germany this summer is desired. I therefore take pleasure in stating that passports are not required under the law of the United States of American citizens who depart from or enter this country and consequently those American citizens who desire to proceed to Germany in connection with the Olympic Games taking place this summer bearing identification cards issued by

The influence of the *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund* (also known as the Bund) is also worthy of mention in this analysis. Like Schmitz, the Bund was primarily interested in support for the “Vaterland.” The origins of the Bund can be traced to the 1920s, when an influx of German immigrants landed in the United States after World War I. For the most part they were of the working class; disheartened laborers who felt their future in Germany under the Weimar Republic was bleak. In general they blamed the downfall of their beloved Kaiserreich on communists and Jews.⁴⁷

Diamond traces the evolution of the Bund in four major chronological phases, with each phase demonstrating superior organization and activity than the one previous. Hoping to return to Germany when Hitler finally took power, those faithful to “the cause” felt obligated to send money to the party in Germany.⁴⁸ Even as Hitler assumed the mantle of German leadership in early 1933, internal squabbles and lobbying by a number of groups to become the official representatives of the Nazi movement in the United States were taking place. In July of 1933 the Friends of the New Germany began to receive financial support from Germany, as well as organizational help from the German Consulate.⁴⁹ Hans Luther, German Ambassador to the United States at the time, felt that the people of the Bund organization could be helpful in changing America’s views about “Jewish politics” in the “New Germany,” or at least have some influence.⁵⁰ The Bund itself saw its role as informing the American people about the “true” situation in Germany, preventing the spread of communism, and other related topics, as is evident in their publication “Purpose and Aims” (see Appendix I).⁵¹

In 1934 Luther wrote to Cordell Hull indicating that all members of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (N.S.D.A.P.) had been: “definitely forbidden . . . to belong to the ‘Association of the Friends of the

the Organizing Committee of the XIth Olympic Games need not obtain American passports for departure from or entry into the United States. Wilbur J. Carr Assistant Secretary of State, to Royal S. Copeland, June 26, 1936. NA File 862.4063 Olympic Games/106 Rubien received a copy of this letter.

47. The history of the Bund is too extensive to be covered within the context of this paper. For a detailed history see Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States*; Diamond, “Zur Typologie . . .”; Joachim Remak, “Friends of the New Germany: The Bund and German-American Relations,” *Journal of Modern History*, 29 (1957), pp. 38-41; Smith, *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany*; for public outcry and governmental inquiries see NA File 811-Nazi; NA File 811.43 Amerika Deutscher Volksbund; NA File N.S.D.A.P. MF T-81 series; numerous articles in the *New York Times*, 1933-1941.

48. Diamond’s four developmental phases are: a) Teutonia. 1924-32; b) Gauleitung USA, a combination of groups from New York and other major cities with a large German population, 1932-32; c) Friends of the Hitler Movement (Buddler Freunde der Hitler-Bewegung), whose name was changed to Friends of the New Germany (Bund der Freunde des Neuen Detuschlands), 1933-36; and d) German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund), 1936-41. Diamond, “Zur Typologie,” pp. 278, 273.

49. Eventually all of the Bund-type organizations within the United States were lumped together and referred to as ‘The Bund’ (Diamond, “Zur Typologie,” p. 278); even after 1933, there were still internal problems, with the more radical revolt group eventually breaking off (*New York Times*, Dec. 19, 20, 25, 27, 1934).

50. Diamond, “Zur Typologie . . .,” p. 278. Diamond also points out that it is ironic that the outcome was really the opposite.

51. “Purpose and Aims,” published and circulated by Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, NA File 81.43 Amerika Deutscher Volksbund (see Appendix I). Although undated, it would not have been printed before 1936, as it bears the name of the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund. While the incident referred to here is closer to 1934, the organization was basically the same, as Remak points out in a quote made by the German foreign ministry: “In reality, they are the same people, with the same principles, and the same appearance.” Remak, “Friends of the New Germany,” p. 38.

New Germany' (Bund der Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands), which [was] not an organization recognized by the party."⁵²

According to Diamond, however, Luther's dictate was not strictly enforced, and the Bund continued to be supported by the German diplomatic posts as late as 1935 and 1936. The German Foreign Ministry ordered that all German citizens in the United States leave the Bund by the end of 1935. Despite the order, the N.S.D.A.P. continued to silently support the Bund, in the hope that, despite the uproar it was causing, the Bund would develop into a strong political force in the United States.⁵³ Remak indicates that in late 1937 the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, the central party agency concerned with the activities of "racial Germany abroad," had remained in contact with the Bund, despite being told by the foreign ministry not to do so.⁵⁴

Given the evidence, it is difficult to believe that the Bund was not receiving money from the German government prior to the XIth Olympic Games. Although the extent of the contribution by the government is unclear, it must have been fairly substantial. Funds were needed for the publishing of the Bund's official newspaper *The Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*,⁵⁵ not to mention the operation of the Bund's camps⁵⁶ and the cost of providing members with uniforms. Considering that most Bund members were working-class people in a time plagued by severe economic problems, it is unlikely that all necessary financial needs were covered through membership fees—the money had to be recovered elsewhere, probably from German sources.

One can further argue that if the aim of the Bund was indeed to tell the American people what it (the Bund) perceived to be the truth about the real situation in Germany, then surely Germany's political leaders would exert effort to influence American support for participation in the Games. The Bund was supported by the Consulate. The Consulate, as a representative of a government which had clearly become involved in the staging of the Games, would most certainly strive to insure a successful Olympic Festival, for what host would not desire the success of the Games in its own country? It is altogether logical that the presence of a large, athletically powerful country like the United States would be an important goal pursued by Germans. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the Bund, indirectly, was able to have some influence in the decision regarding American participation.⁵⁷ Kruger states that the Bund supported participation by the American athletes and, as well, organized

52. Luther to Hull. Feb. 20, 1934, NA File 811.00-Nazi/68.

53. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States*, p. 193. Diamond goes on to say that many people active in the N.S.D.A.P. left to join the Bund (Diamond, "Zur Typologie . . .," pp. 280-281).

54. Remak, "Friends of the New Germany," p. 39.

55. The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* became the official voice of the Bund in July, 1935. "The full story behind this journal will probably never be known because everything relating to its background is emotionally highly explosive." Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 355-356; see also Remak, "Friends of the New Germany."

56. There were a number of campus run by the Bund, including some for children. They caused a great uproar among Americans living in their vicinity—there were complaints of noise, marching and the singing of Nazi songs. See *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1933, Aug. 9, 1934; Aug. 24, 1934; Aug. 27, 1934; July 17, 1937; Aug. 30, 1937; Sept. 27, 1937.

57. Over the course of its existence, there is evidence that the Bund was not afraid to use 'strong arm' tactics

Olympic holidays for American tourists. The Bund also organized an overseas tour to Germany for German-American Nazis.⁵⁸

Further possibility of Bund influence in the American decision to participate was reflected in an Avery Brundage oration. In a speech delivered soon after his return from the games in Berlin, made before 20,000 German-Americans at the German Day celebrations held at Madison Square Garden on October 4, 1936, a celebration organized by the Bund, Brundage's words were greeted with enthusiastic response by the crowd:

We can learn much from Germany . . . We too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out communism. We too, must take steps to arrest the decline of patriotism . . . Germany has progressed as a nation out of her discouragement five years ago into a new spirit of confidence in herself. Everywhere I found Germans friendly, courteous and obliging . . . No country since ancient Greece has displayed a more truly national public interest in the Olympic spirit in general than you find in Germany today . . . Thanks to the support of you people of German descent in America we were able to get our Olympic team abroad.⁵⁹

Obviously the Games had been a success in Brundage's eyes. And obviously German-Americans had made a substantial contribution toward insuring the participation of American athletes.

One must also interpret the motivation of German-Americans. This is substantiated, in part, by the connection of the Bund with the government in Germany, and by references in Brundage's speech to patriotism and national public interest on the part of Germans and German-Americans.

It should be emphasized that countless numbers of German-Americans who helped in sending the American team to Germany had little sympathy for the Nazis. Krüger discusses the financial support given the American team by the *New York Staatszeitung und Herold*. The largest German-language newspaper in the United States at the time, it represented much less radical German nationalistic views than those of the Nazi supporters.⁶⁰ The newspaper was well aware that a cancellation of the Berlin Games would result in a catastrophic loss of prestige for Germany. Thus, it actively endorsed and rallied for American participation.⁶¹ The *Staatszeitung und Herold* also organized an Olympic trip for its readers. The motivation of many German-Americans to support the Games and American participation lay in German patriotism, a patriotism which did not, however, invariably include support of the Nazi government.

A final group that warrants examination is the New York Turnverein. Although the availability of literature on the Turnverein in this century is sparse, the origins of the Verein in the middle of the 19th century resemble those of the

in ways similar to those of the Nazis in Germany in order to threaten individuals and groups. See *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1934; "I Joined the Bund," in *The Liberty*, Sept. 23 and 30, 1939, NA File 811.43 Amerika Deutscher Volksbund.

58. Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, p. 149.

59. *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1936.

60. Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*, p. 149. The paper's original nationalistic slant had never supported the Nazis, and was sensitive to the negative financial and social pressures felt by German-Americans, especially in highly Jewish-populated city of New York.

61. *Ibid.*, Krüger quotes the Aug. 7, 1935 issue of the paper regarding the potential loss of prestige to Germany should the Games be cancelled.

Bund some 80 years later. The Turners that arrived in the United States in the late 1840s and early 1850s left their homeland for political reasons. While one of the founding elements common to all Turnvereine in the country was "körperlichen Turnübungen" (physical exercises/gymnastics), the political element was also quite evident, especially in a group such as the New York Turnverein, which developed decided socialistic tendencies. At the first official National Turnfest at Philadelphia in 1851, people paraded, flags were flown, and a speech was made advocating that Turners join together for freedom in Germany and for social progress according to the motto "Freiheit, Wohlstand und Bildung" (Freedom, Prosperity and Foundation).⁶² The Sozialistische Turnerbund evolved from the Sozialistische Turnverein of New York. The radical group desired: ". . . to clean out the ruling prejudices against socialists on American soil, and to place itself on the top of all so-called progressive clubs in order to prepare for social reform . . . to further socialism and the endeavors of the social-democratic party."⁶³

It is easy to see the similarities between the New York Turnverein and the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund. To what extent the ideals and/or politics of the Sozialistische Turnerbund would have carried over into the 1930s is difficult to say. The possibility existed, for it is known that the Bund during a period of turmoil in 1934 held a meeting at the New York Turnhalle. It is unlikely that this was the first or last time that meetings were conducted there, especially considering the appearance of the organization on Dickstein's blacklist of 1937. There was also a representative of the Amerika Turnerbund present at the December 1935 A.A.U. meeting, and his vote followed that of other Brundage supporters.⁶⁴

There seems little doubt that German-American individuals and organizations were active and influential in the decision to send an American Olympic team to the 1936 Olympics. Some, such as Dietrich Wortmann, Reynold Oeschler, Ernst Schmitz, the German American Olympic Fund Committee, the German American Athletic Union, and the *New York Staatszeitung und Herold* seemed to have been motivated by both German and American patriotism. Perhaps spurred by direct Nationalistic German feelings, including possible dispositions towards Germany's Nazi government, were such organizations as Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, the New York Turnverein, the German American Athletic Club, and the German American Sports Alliance, especially when one considers that each appeared on Dickstein's list with, of course, the names of those organizations having even more direct Nazi affiliation.

To overcome the opposition expressed by the pro-boycott movement, many German-Americans were solicited to help in ensuring participation. In some

62. Robert Knight Barney, "Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnvereine in the United States During the Antebellum Period," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1982): 62-79; Horst Ukberhorst, *Turner Unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848-1918* (München: Heinz-Moos Verlag, 1978). pp. 44, 56, 60 (quote).

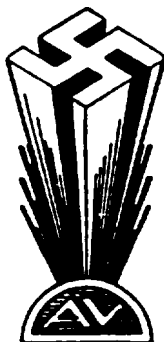
63. Ueberhorst, *Turner Unterm Sternenbanner*, p. 68.

64. *Ibid.*; *Minutes of the A.A.U. National Convention—1935*, ed. A.A.U., 1936.

cases their motivation was the spirit of the Olympics; in other cases, it was the anticipated pride that would accrue to Germany with the success of the Games. In a few cases, political devotion to Germany's Nazi government acted as an incentive. Beneath these motivating factors, however, lay the desire to serve and represent their country, whether that be Germany, the country of their birth, or the United States of America, their adopted home.

APPENDIX I

PURPOSE and AIMS



German American Bund

(AMERIKADEUTSCHER VOLKSBUND)

**An Organization of Patriotic Americans of
German stock.**

Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

To unite all honorable, serious-minded, courageous and unselfish men and women of the Germanic Race, now loyal citizens or residents of the United

States, proud of their Germanic blood, and treasuring German traditions, language, and ideals of national and individual liberty, justice, truth, duty and absolute honesty, into one great, free, proud and respect-demanding German American Bund for the mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany.

So bound together by our blood, ideals, and sympathies, by our free will, firm conviction, and determination to further the interests of both the United States of America, the country of our free choice or adoption, and Germany, the land of our birth and ancestors, we are obliged and we resolved:

- 1) Above all to uphold and defend the constitution and the laws of the United States of America;
- 2) To respect and honor the Flag and Institutions of the United States of America, and to cultivate their lofty ideals;
- 3) To promote Good-will, lasting friendship and continued beneficial relations between the United States of America and Germany;
- 4) We pledge our best efforts to expose and depose Communism, Marxism, Internationalism and Un-American Boycott Rackets within the United States of America;
- 5) To defend with all lawful means at our disposal the good name and honor of our mother-country Germany against all base defamation, will-ful and poisonous lies, and purposeful malice, emanating from any ill-wishing, jealous, avaricious and ignorant source whatsoever, be it race, people, tribe, clan, nation, association or individual, against a propaganda still being spread by print, script and mouth, openly and covertly, through books, magazines, newspapers, leaflets, and just cowardly rumors;
- 6) To try to bring home to our American co-citizens the real and indisputable German achievements in the sciences and arts, the German inventions and contributions toward the advancement of agriculture, industry and commerce, the great, world-wide recognized, German institutions of learning, the German high standard of the various professions, handicrafts and labor, the outstanding German laws and institutions for the protection and welfare of especially the working classes, the high German ideals of liberty, of justice, of honor, and of education, the honorable and energetic effort the new German Government is making to promote equality of classes of mental and physical workers, as long as they really work earnestly and intelligently not alone in their own individual interest but also in the interest of the commonwealth, the commendable, virtuous and forceful efforts of the new German Government to oppose, suppress, punish and eradicate all selfish interests trying to chisel, defraud, or graft;
- 7) To abstain from useless, harmful, and ignoble propaganda and incriminations of any kind;
To act at all times, everywhere, and under all conditions as straightforward, courageous, just and honorable descendants of the Germanic Race setting an example of blameless conduct, thereby unavoidably creat-

- ing an atmosphere of genuine Good-will towards the German People and their Government;
- 8) To work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental right of every civilized nation to tend to their own business of self-government without any undue interference, threats, boycotts, or other illegal violence from outsiders;
 - 9) To co-operate freely and willingly with all of good-will to promote mutual understanding and friendship among nations and for an honorable peace among mankind;
 - 10) To keep our league clean of heart and mind, banning all selfish inclinations, and to stand unwaveringly for our motto: "ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL";
 - 11) To be and remain worthy of our Germanic blood, our German Fatherland, our German brothers and sisters, who are now fighting for their very existence and honor; to cultivate our German language, customs and ideals; and to be upstandingly proud of this all;
 - 12) To always remember that only in UNITY is STRENGTH, and that, if firmly united, we then will be of real value and a desirable and respected class of law-abiding citizens of the United States of America.

For further information write to:

National Headquarters
German American Band
P.O. Box 1, Station "K"
New York, New York

New York Office
178 East 85th Street
Suites 5, 6, 7
Telephone
Butterfield 8-8797

SOURCE: NA File 81.43 Amerika Deutscher Volksbund.