American Resistance: The Bund and Their Opposition

Honors Academy Senior Thesis

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This Honors Thesis investigates American opposition to the German American Bund during the turbulent 1930s. It reveals the differing attitudes within American society during the German American Bund's peak. While some embraced fascist ideologies, others protested against them, highlighting the intricacy of American politics leading up to World War II. This study explores the efforts undertaken by Americans to counter the fascist doctrine of the German American Bund on democratic soil.

The research gathered insight from documents and artifacts at institutions such as the St. Louis Kaplan Feldman Holocaust Museum, Curtis Laws Wilson Library, and other archival sources, investigating the rise, reinforcement, and repercussions of fascist movements and the American public’s opposition.

During the interwar period, fascism was on the rise in Europe, stemming from the distress of World War I. As fascism rose in Europe, several fascist sympathizing groups emerged in the United States of America. The German American Bund was a popular and reemerged group that gained traction in the 1930s. At its peak, this organization exploited freedom of speech, a right Americans bear through the Constitution. Freedom of Speech was exploited to further the Bund's antisemitic and fascist ideologies, similar to the ideologies of the Nazi party.\(^1\) As the Bund promoted its message of hate and intolerance towards Jews, communists, and other perceived enemies, it encountered opposition from the American public, who rejected its Nazi rhetoric and tactics.\(^2\) This study examines opposition to the German American Bund through an analysis of

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civilian protests, government responses, and the Bund's impact on American society. It contributes to a deeper understanding of the potency of fascist groups in interwar America.

The tension between the exercise of free speech and the importance of combating hateful ideologies that threaten democratic society is the center of this study. The Bund was openly antisemitic and fascist while simultaneously denying its ties to Nazi Germany and claimed that the group's purpose was to preserve culture and strengthen foreign relations with their fatherland, Germany. Bund ideologies stemmed from fascist Nazi Germany, which was unwelcome by multiple American civilians who valued democratic principles. By examining opposition to the Bund, this research emphasizes the strategies, motivations, and outcomes of those who defied the German American Bund and its agenda.

It is essential to recognize that the German American Bund's platform revolved around antisemitism and scapegoating the Jews, typically blaming them for the global issues of the interwar period. Targeting a minority offends the principles of tolerance and equality supported by American democratic ideals but also threatens the safety and well-being of Jewish communities across the nation. Bund membership was prevalent across the U.S., clustering in large urban areas with a high German American population. Often, clusters of Bund members, or where they hosted their activities, were near known Jewish communities. As the Bund rallied its supporters and spread its propaganda through rallies, meetings, publications, and other forms of media, the group encountered a diverse and determined opposition within the American public from not only the Jews it slandered but also Gentiles who rejected fascism.

This study aims to enlighten the multiple forms of opposition taken on by the American public and the factors that shaped its activism. From physical demonstrations and community

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organizing efforts to legal challenges and public denunciations, Americans from various areas of society mobilized against the Bund, refusing to approve of its message of hate and division. By examining the opposition to the German American Bund, this thesis offers insight into civic engagement, political disagreement, and the struggle to uphold democratic principles in the face of political extremism and intolerance. The lessons learned from the battle against the Bund continue to be relevant, along with the importance of commitment to the democratic ideals that define the United States of America as a nation.

Within this thesis, scholarly accounts and historical analyses document the German American Bund's rise, reflecting the trend of fascism gaining prevalence throughout the interwar period. Archival research and primary source analysis by historians outline the Bund's organizational growth, which traces its rise in popularity in American cities. Throughout various sources, a consensus emerges on the Bund's use of propaganda, rallies, and youth programs to promote its fascist ideology.

Throughout the history of the organization, the Bund has undergone changes that reflect its reluctance to be direct with the public and acknowledge its ties to Nazi Germany. According to the article “Friends of the New Germany: The Bund and German-American Relations” by Joachim Remak, “Members of that party's American branch first started an organization under the name of "Friends of the Hitler Movement," which, before long, they changed to the more innocuous "Friends of the New Germany." Dedicated to spreading the Nazi propaganda line in America, the membership included both German and American citizens.” Other scholarly articles about the German American Bund mention the group's reformation amidst governmental investigation. According to “The Failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund,

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1936-1941,” the Bund went through reformation due to the bad reputation it received from the American public.\(^5\)

Existing scholarship has often emphasized the role of community activism in opposing the German American Bund, exploring the efforts of local communities to organize protests. Leland V. Bell’s “The Failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936-1941” highlights how the public formed an opinion on the Bund’s movement and extremist characteristics. According to Bell, the Bund acquired a “host of critics,” which played an essential role in the organization's downfall.\(^6\) An article by Arthur L. Smith Jr., “The Kameradschaft USA,” details the public attention the Bund received, which claimed that the Bund organization was bent upon the destruction of America.\(^7\) This aligns closely with the findings of this study, which also aims to show the significance of community mobilization as a strategy for combating the Bund's influence.

Due to the amount of opposition received from the American public and concerns for national security, the Bund facing legal challenges from civil liberties organizations and concerned citizens is a central theme in several sources. An article by Dieter Berninger titled “Milwaukee's German-American Community and the Nazi Challenge of the 1930's” showcases how Bund organizations in multiple locations faced opposition from the public. Berninger details in the article the duty of the Bunds stormtrooper, which was to maintain order and defend the Bund from attacks by anti-nazi leftists.\(^8\)


\(^6\) Bell, “The Failure of Nazism in America,” 586.


Mayor LaGuardia, New York City Mayor during this time, is often mentioned in multiple sources due to his approach to handling the Bund. According to “LaGuardia and the Nazis, 1933–1938,” at an American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee rally, “Fiorello followed retired General Hugh S. Johnson to the podium and said, "My address a few days ago was no novelty. I've been saying the same thing for a long time." He added that he would continue to say it and urged his audience to pay no attention to anything Hitler said because he "is not personally or diplomatically satisfaktionsfaehig" (worthy of giving satisfaction, i.e. dueling). Mayor LaGuardia was openly against Nazism, but was often known for being passive concerning the activities of the German American Bund. According to “LaGuardia and the Nazis, 1933-1938,” In spite of numerous protests, Fiorello declined to stop the march, citing constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly. He said, "No one remembers better than the Nazis how I feel about Nazis." Bell’s article, “The Failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936-1941,” details LaGuardia’s efforts alongside District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, to charge the Bund on embezzling funds, including the proceeds received from the Madison Square Garden rally.

Concerning the nature of freedom of speech and the Bund, sources detail the government's response on a federal level. In Michael Benson's book, Gangsters VS. Nazis, he mentions the Roosevelt administration's response to the German American Bund. According to Benson, “The Roosevelt administration was wary of the Bund, and raiders came down from the president's home in Hyde Park, New York, to make the American Nazis uncomfortable.

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10 Esposito, “LaGuardia and the Nazis,” 49.
whenever possible.” The president hoped to catch the Bund filing the wrong paperwork for their activities so that the Bund could be shut down without outwardly diminishing freedom of speech.

Escalating tensions eventually culminated in legal challenges, including the case of US vs. Kuhn, which marked a pivotal moment in the struggle against fascist influence in America. The United States vs. Kuhn case found Kuhn guilty on multiple counts, including fraud, conspiracy, and violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Kuhn was sentenced to prison and fined. Legislative efforts to curtail the organization's activities are consistent themes across sources, which recognize the importance of intervention when facing extremist organizations.

Kuhn was not the only Bund leader who received charges for their subversive activities. Bell’s article “The Failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936-1941” states, “The Federal government began an immediate round-up of leading Bund officials. Kunze was picked up in Mexico and returned to the United States. He received a fifteen-year prison sentence for engaging in subversive activities. George Froboese and a few lesser known Bundists committed suicide. Twenty four officers of the Bund were convicted of conspiracy to violate the 1940 Selective Service Act. Kunze along with other Bundists were defendants in the famous sedition case United States vs McWilliams.”

Several scholarly articles and books give insight into the potency of the Bund and its youth camps and shed light on the organization's structure and propaganda tactics implemented into children. Scholars investigate the operation of Bund-affiliated youth camps and their impact

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12 Michael Benson, Gangsters Vs. Nazis: How Jewish Mobsters Battled Nazis in Wartime America (Kensington Publishing Corporation, 2022), 25
on the German-American youth. A website article created by Kirstin Butler on PBS includes detailed imagery of the youth camps organized by the Bund and the tactics they used to indoctrinate antisemitic ideology into the youth.\textsuperscript{15} In Benson’s novel \textit{Gangsters VS. Nazis}, when describing the youth camps, he claims, “the camps appearance and the uniforms worn by the children greatly resembled those of the Hitler youth camps back in the fatherland.”\textsuperscript{16} These sources include an in-depth analysis of recruitment strategies and ideological indoctrination, which offers insights into the mobilization of the qualifying American youth. These studies contribute to understanding the long-term impact of the Bund's youth camps on participants and their communities.

Evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of individual studies on the German American Bund provides valuable insights into the overall understanding of the fascist groups within the United States. Several secondary sources used in this research analyze primary source material, giving detailed accounts of the Bund's activities and its impact on American society. These studies contribute significantly to our comprehension of the organization's rise and influence.

Some studies may include bias due to viewing the German American Bund as a cohesive group, which fails to investigate the Bunds members individually. Access to archival materials or personal testimonies from individuals involved in anti-bund activism may need to be improved. While existing research sheds light on opposition and government responses to the Bund, there are gaps in our understanding of the organization's long-term social and political consequences. Future research should address these limitations by incorporating diverse perspectives, which would deepen our knowledge of the German American Bund and its impact on American

\textsuperscript{16} Michael Benson, Gangsters Vs. Nazis: \textit{How Jewish Mobsters Battled Nazis in Wartime America} (Kensington Publishing Corporation, 2022), 35
history. While the studies provide valuable insights into the Bund's organizational dynamics and societal effects, including more personal perspectives would deepen our understanding of the inner motivations of anti-nazi activists.

Overall, differences in emphasis and interpretation between sources highlight the importance of context and perspective in understanding the dynamics of opposition to the German American Bund. This literature review has comprehensively examined the opposition to the German American Bund, interpreting responses of both the public and government entities. Through analysis of civil activism, government intervention and hesitancy, and the potency of the Bund and their efforts, key themes and debates have emerged, navigating the tensions between protecting democratic freedoms and safeguarding national security.

The German American Bund was prevalent in multiple major cities across the United States, featuring hubs on the East and West Coasts. It was common in New York City, Newark, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and multiple other cities. As Hitler's rise to power in Germany progressed, the German American Bund became bolder. Tension rose between the Bund's members' fascist ideals and the protesting Americans who went to great lengths to diminish the Bund. There were often reporters at the scene of Bund meetings, waiting outside to capture the events of the Bund and nearby protestors. Reports made by these reporters are the center of this study, as nearby protestors frequently got violent with the Bund members during meetings and rallies. The actions of the protesters reflect the anti-fascist attitudes among the American people as tensions were rising with Europe in the 1930s.

Archival research was conducted at the Kaplan-Feldman Holocaust Museum and through Curtis Laws Wilson’s library and internet resources to explore primary sources relevant to the study. Analyzing secondary sources such as scholarly articles and books gives insight into the actions, motives, and ideologies of the Bund and what drove anti-fascist protests. Multiple secondary sources used specific accounts, such as newspaper articles, to share the lengths protestors were willing to go to. Further research will be conducted on groups who may have opposed the Bund. Primary sources included in this research consist of newspaper articles, government documents, letters, journals, images, research reports, first-hand accounts of the activities surrounding the Bund movements, protesting, and government intervention.

The press often depicted the Bund as a group of extremists and sympathizers of Adolf Hitler's regime in Germany. They were frequently characterized as un-American and antisemitic due to their promotion of Nazi ideology. When the Bund was confronted about their ideology and purpose, they were quick to deny any affiliation with Nazi Germany but claimed to be sympathizers of Adolf Hitler.\textsuperscript{19} Newspapers and magazines covered the Bund's rallies, demonstrations, and propaganda with skepticism and criticism, questioning the Bund's claim of being an American organization.\textsuperscript{20} Multiple sources in this study share the same themes of American opposition to fascist ideology and the groups that furthered it, such as the German American Bund.

Opposition to the German American Bund took various forms, as many newspapers highlighted multiple protests, government intervention, and advocacy efforts. Protest activities,

\textsuperscript{19}“Bund Immorality.” \textit{Soda Springs Sun}, August 31, 1934.
including demonstrations, boycotts, and physical altercations, were critical in diminishing the
Bund's influence, rallying diverse segments of society against the Bund's fascist ideology.
Demonstrations against the Bund most often occurred in areas with a large cluster of
membership and activity.

The German American Bund, formerly known as the "Friends of New Germany,"
emerged in the United States during the interwar period. When the Nazi Party took power in
Germany, the Friends of New Germany became prominent in major cities in the United States.
Friends of New Germany became the German American Bund in 1936, led by Fritz Julius Kuhn,
a German-born American citizen and former Friends of New Germany official. 21 The
organization claimed to promote German culture, heritage, and nationalism among German
Americans. 22 When questioned in public about the Bund’s motives, Kuhn declares that the Bund
sympathizes with Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. 23 Kuhn, who had been active in German
nationalist circles in his homeland, sought to expand a similar organization in the United States
to mobilize support for the Nazi regime and its ideology. 24

In the early 1930s, the Friends of New Germany organization quickly gained momentum,
attracting members primarily from German immigrant communities in the Midwest, East Coast,
and West Coast. However, the organization faced criticism and earned a bad reputation due to
the Friends openly admitting its ties with Nazi Germany. 25 In 1935, the Department of State

GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND,” Fau.digital.flvc.org, May 2010,
22 "German Leader Declares Wide Support of Hitler Government from Americans," Daily Capital News (Jefferson
City, MO), March 13, 1937.
protested, and Berlin ordered German nationals to leave the organization, resulting in the organization's mere collapse.\textsuperscript{26} A year later, in 1936, the organization rebranded and was renamed the "German American Bund." This name change was accompanied by a shift in tactics, with the Bund adopting a more extreme pro-Nazi and antisemitic stance under the leadership of Fritz Kuhn.

The organization organized camps, rallies, marches, and propaganda campaigns aimed at promoting Nazi ideals and scapegoating Jews, Communists, and other perceived enemies of the fascist cause.\textsuperscript{27} During its peak in the 1930s, the German American Bund established Nazi-inspired youth camps across the United States aimed at indoctrinating the German-American youth with fascist ideology and pledging allegiance to Germany. These camps aimed to instill a sense of Aryan racial superiority and militaristic level discipline in the youth, mirroring the activities of similar Nazi youth organizations in Nazi Germany.\textsuperscript{28}

The Bund's newspaper, "The Free American," served as a propaganda tool for promoting its message of antisemitism, white supremacy, and fascist nazi ideology. The newspaper promoted the Bund's activities through articles, editorials, and cartoons, targeting its perceived enemies and seeking to sway public opinion in favor of its agenda.\textsuperscript{29} There were several festivities the Bund would plan to make their organization more cohesive and potent among the members. The Bund had goals of persuading public opinion not only to increase the amount of membership but also to increase sympathy for Nazi Germany.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{The Free American}, May 4, 1939, Chicago, vol. 6, no. 18.
American Bund was open to individuals of German descent, free of Jewish or colored blood, who expressed loyalty to Nazi Germany and its leader, Adolf Hitler.  

Rallies, meetings, parades, and other events organized by the German American Bund were designed to empower the organization and promote its fascist agenda on American soil. Participants wore Nazi-style stormtrooper uniforms, carried swastika flags and banners, and displayed loyalty to Hitler and the fascist cause through speech and physical gestures. These events often featured speeches in German, patriotic songs, and salutes to the Nazi flag, imitating gatherings in Nazi Germany. The Bund faced criticism from the public and was often challenged by the different forms of opposition civilians imposed during their activities.

The German American Bund went downhill as it faced division among members and pressure from the American public. In 1939, Kuhn was ousted from leadership amid allegations of embezzlement and financial mismanagement. Several other Bund members were also tried in court for various offenses directly or indirectly linked to the organization. The outbreak of World War II further depressed the organization, as anti-German sentiment intensified in the United States, and the government cracked down on pro-Nazi groups.

This study focuses on the diverse forms of opposition to the German American Bund in the United States during the 1930s when the organization was at its peak and actively promoting antisemitic and fascist ideologies. Opposition took various forms, such as physical protests, movements and organizations countering fascism, violent fighting, and government strategy to

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dismantle the Bund. By exploring the strategies, motivations, and outcomes of the American public’s opposition movements, this research aimed to give insight into the dynamics of disagreement in the face of extremist ideologies and the abuse of freedom of speech.

The findings of this study reveal the various forms of American opposition to the German American Bund, characterized by diverse strategies and motivations among those who resisted its influence. Several key themes emerged by analyzing archival materials, media sources, and scholarly literature. Local communities across the United States mobilized to protest Bund rallies and organize groups to counter its propaganda. Civil liberties organizations, concerned citizens, and government officials pursued legal action to challenge the Bund's activities, resulting in legislation to restrict its influence. While federal authorities initially hesitated to intervene in the Bund's activities due to concerns about the constitutional right of freedom of speech, local law enforcement agencies often took action to maintain public order and prevent violence at Bund events. These findings provide valuable insights into the interplay between freedom of speech, civic engagement, and the struggle against extremist ideologies.

Jewish activism and resistance were vital in opposing the German American Bund's presence and activities. Using media sources such as newspapers, local opposition formed by Jewish groups has been examined, particularly in Detroit, Michigan, where the Bund established a significant presence and held meetings and other events. The Jewish population felt vulnerable and sensed persecution from the rise of fascist groups on American soil. The March 14th, 1937 issue of the Beatrice Daily Sun Newspaper reported on a protest held the day before, on March

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13th, where members of the Jewish Anti-Nazi Federation of Detroit picketed the German Consulate. They carried banners boldly proclaiming "out with Nazi spies" and "out with Kuhn," demonstrating a determination to confront the Bund's ideology and activities. This protest is evidence of the proactive stance taken by Jewish organizations in challenging the presence and influence of the German American Bund to combat antisemitism and fascist ideologies in American society.

Protestors often infiltrated meetings held by the German American Bund in large quantities. In Buffalo, New York, on February 13th, 1938, Wilhelm Kunze, another Bund leader, spoke at a meeting when interrupted by Frederick Hammer of Buffalo, who began to give a speech about how his ancestors left Germany due to military aggression. According to the New York Times, the crowd called Hammer a “coward,” and fistfights broke out. American Legion members and other war veterans made up nearly half of the audience of seven hundred and were involved in nearly half of a dozen fights with Bund members inside of the hall. Order was restored when several police officers broke up the riot and kicked out those fighting. When Kunze was able to resume his speech, he claimed that the objective of the German American Bund organization was to “make sure no small racial minority gained control of the United States Government.” Due to the violence that frequently occurred at meetings and rallies, the Bund was granted police presence, which meant police could monitor the Bund and their activities.

The Bund had a significant presence on the East Coast in major cities such as New York City, Philadelphia, Newark, etc. Due to the geography of this area, the Bund was willing and

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able to travel around multiple cities in a shorter time, meaning the Bund was very active in this part of the United States and was often in multiple spots across the East Coast. Wilhelm Kunze, an organizer of the German American Bund and a frequent speaker at meetings, received boos and catcalls on March 25th, 1938, in a meeting in Trenton, New Jersey, according to the *New York Times*. Kunze waited at the platform for nearly ten minutes, waiting for the commotion to subside. However, it was realized that most of the audience was anti-nazi. The crowd of anti-nazis had prearranged this demonstration, which ended once Kunze and his party left the building.\(^{38}\)

The German American Bund booked the Yorkville Casino to celebrate Hitler’s Birthday on April 20th, 1938. Multiple Newspaper sources such as the *New York Times* and the *Hattiesburg American* claim that during the celebration, at least seven men wearing American Legionnaire gear were injured by Bund members due to starting a fight.\(^{39,40}\) A book written by Michael Benson, *Gangsters vs. Nazis*, claims that the riot was incited by men who were organized through crime bosses, who left quickly and did not get beaten.\(^{41}\) Due to the nature of organized crime, it is unclear who wore the American Legion gear and who got severely beaten or if anyone was severely beaten at all. Though it is not clear who the opposition was, as the


American Legion claims it was none of their members, this will need further investigation, but it still proves there was opposition to the presence and activities of the German American Bund.42

Multiple groups who opposed the Bund were not known to have an organized league of opposition, as many groups formed at the moment based on news they heard. According to the *Hattiesburg American*, On March 25, 1939, in Philadelphia, the Bund planned a celebration of the Anschluss (Annexation of Austria), which later became a riot when anti-Nazi sympathizers, who were outraged by the event, stormed the meeting. The protest consisted of physical altercations with Bund members, which escalated into a fistfight before being busted by the intervention of riot squads.43 Despite the dispersal of people inside, tensions reignited outside the venue, resulting in another altercation between the two groups. The multiple altercations during this celebration prove that protesters were determined to end the Bund.

The German American Bund had a large following on the West Coast, though they were more spread out than the cluster of members on the East Coast. The public felt compelled to protest in Los Angeles when the Bund decided to hold a meeting of roughly 300 members at the Deuasches Haus. According to the *Hattiesburg American*, “Seven cars of police answered a riot call at the Deuasches Haus as booing pickets outside smashed windows with rocks and drove uniformed bund members to cover from their guard stations.”44 The protestors also used eggs and overripe vegetables to throw during their demonstration. Protestors attempted to gain entry into the meeting but were stopped by police officers guarding the entry point.45

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One of the largest German American Bund rallies occurred on February 20th, 1939, to celebrate George Washington's birthday. The celebration was decorated with U.S. flags, Swastikas, and a large picture of George Washington at the center of the stage. There were about 22,000 Bund members at this rally, which called for a police presence of roughly 1700 officers to maintain order. The rally was relatively maintained until 26-year-old Isadore Greenbaum sprung onto the platform and disrupted the rally. Several Bund members threw Greenbaum to the ground, which resulted in him getting escorted out by police. Greenbaum was charged with disturbance, and when asked why he interrupted, he claimed that he did not initially intend to interrupt. Greenbaum stated, “but being that they talked so much against my religion and there was so much persecution I lost my head and I felt it was my duty to talk.” The amount of Bund members present at this rally and the fact that it takes place in Madison Square Garden make this rally extremely significant. The heavy police presence also makes this rally significant as law enforcement was necessary to maintain order at an event that was aimed to promote fascist and antisemitic ideologies, which caused protest from a Jewish American.

The rally at Madison Square Garden was allowed due to New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia’s stance on freedom of speech in America. LaGuardia claims in a speech, “Our government provides free speech,” he declared, “and this city will respect that right.” He states that freedom of speech did not permit the Bund to advocate for violence or overthrow the

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government. Before the Madison Square Garden rally, the Bund stated that 3000 stormtroopers would be present to maintain order. Mayor LaGuardia responds that police would be sent to the rally to maintain order and that “no one will supplant them.” Mayor LaGuardia did not believe in infringing on the German American Bund's right to freedom of speech. Instead, he held the belief that the American people would not be influenced by Nazi rhetoric. Therefore, he allowed the Bund to operate within the bounds of the law. He trusted in the resilience of American democracy to counter extremist ideologies. This approach reflected the understanding of the balance between protecting freedom of speech and confronting threats to democracy.

Local communities often took a more direct approach to ban the Bund from hosting meetings, rallies, parades, and other activities. In May of 1938, Suffern, New York, and Lindenhurst, Long Island, prohibited Bund activities with official action. The Lindenhurst community was under pressure from the opposition by church, fraternal, religious, and veterans organizations, which resulted in the Bund's application for a parade being rejected. Banning the bund reveals the local attitudes, political dynamics, and efforts to uphold democratic values. It seems there was an ongoing challenge between communities of balancing freedom of speech with the instinct to confront antisemitism and fascist ideologies.

The findings of this study present the intensity and extent of opposition that emerged against the German American Bund in the United States during the 1930s. The various forms of protest represent the lengths Americans were willing to go to confront fascist ideologies and

protect democratic values. The diverse strategies employed by anti-nazi and Jewish activists and civic organizations reflect a collective determination to preserve the principle of inclusivity in democracy. This study also reveals how government officials aimed to protect freedom of speech and national security in the face of the Bund's Nazism. While federal authorities hesitated to intervene in the Bund's activities due to concerns about infringing upon First Amendment rights, they found unique ways to receive intel on the organization by enforcing police presence during the Bund's activities. The government acknowledged the delicate balance between upholding the right to freedom of speech and taking action to diminish the spread of hate speech and fascist ideologies. By utilizing other legal mechanisms to prosecute Bund leaders for financial irregularities and other criminal offenses, the government planned to disrupt the organization while upholding constitutional principles.

This study explores the tension between the American public and the fascists among them. This study aims to reveal how individuals and institutions mobilize against threats to democracy and the core values of equality and justice. Analyzing opposition to groups like the German American Bund gives insight into the strategies for protesting extremism and promoting civic engagement to battle fascism.

While this study has aimed to analyze American opposition to the German American Bund comprehensively, certain limitations may have affected the findings. One constraint is the availability of newspapers and primary source material, which contain published accounts from the specific period, which may have resulted in gaps in the representation of opposition


movements and their strategies. The absence of various personal testimonies from protestors also limits the depth of understanding regarding individual motivations and experiences.

Collaboration with additional archives possessing relevant documents or personal accounts could provide a more comprehensive understanding of Bund opposition efforts. There is a need for specific sources, such as prior interviews with participants or descendants of protestors, which could offer valuable insights into opposition to the Bund. It is essential to include more personal accounts to develop an understanding and capture the complexity of anti-Bund activism. Using firsthand perspectives provides deeper insights into the motivations, experiences, and strategies of those resisting the Bund's influence.

This study has provided valuable insights into American opposition to the German American Bund during the 1930s, emphasizing the diverse strategies employed by protestors, including civic organizations, to confront the trend of fascist ideologies and defend democratic values. Key takeaways from this research include the determination of citizens to challenge nazism and the necessity of active involvement in diminishing hate speech while defending democratic principles.

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German American Bund parade in New York City on East 86th St./ World-Telegram photo. New York, 1937. Photograph. [https://www.loc.gov/item/96520973/.](https://www.loc.gov/item/96520973)


