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Black MAIL

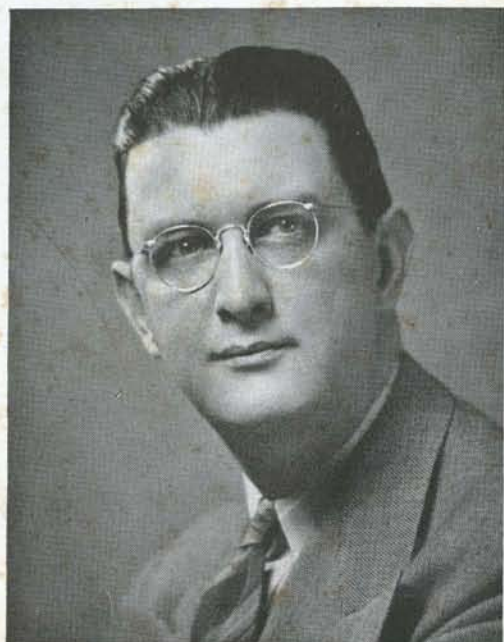
By
HENRY HOKE

FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY
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SOCIALIST - LABOR
COLLECTION

**The Inside Story of the Campaign to
Disrupt America—How It Was Planned—
How It Operates—What It Is Doing**

About the Author of *Black Mail*



HENRY HOKE was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1894 . . . even if he doesn't look his age. He "grew up" in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and graduated from its high school.

He attended Washington & Jefferson College . . . aiming at the ministry, but wound up with a Bachelor of Science in Economics degree from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. He secured an industrial background by working in a number of manufacturing plants, but started his life's real work (advertising) during the early twenties in Pittsburgh, Penna.

He soon became widely known for simple but successful selling campaigns by mail. In 1929 he moved to New York to become Business Manager of a then prominent advertising trade publication. Later he was made Executive Manager of the Direct Mail Advertising Association.

In 1938 he founded his own magazine and counselling service. He has written, lectured and taught for many years on his favorite subject—good, clean advertising. He is known to thousands for his crusades against frauds in advertising. When late in 1939 he stumbled accidentally into some disturbing facts about the use of our mails by the Nazis . . . Henry Hoke was off on a chase which led him into the amazing experiences and conclusions described in his book.

Henry Hoke has demonstrated what an aroused individual, in a democracy, can do to protect his home, his business and his country. If for no other reason . . . *Black MAIL* should be considered as one of the most significant books of our time.

SHARE THIS BOOK

Due to wartime limitations on paper and printing . . . this book is published in the most economical form and in limited quantities.

The startling facts disclosed in *Black MAIL* should be made known to as many people as possible. So when you have finished reading it . . . share the book with your neighbors and friends.

Later on, plan to spend an evening (or more) discussing the contents of *Black MAIL* with others who have read it. In that way you may help to make *Democracy Vocal*.

THE PUBLISHERS.

Black MAIL

by

HENRY HOKE



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First Printing
July, 1944

THIS BOOK IS COMPLETE AND UNABRIDGED

A ruling by the War Production Board has curtailed the use of paper by book publishers.

In order to cooperate with the War Production Board's program for conservation of materials and manpower, the publishers have produced this book on lighter weight paper, with smaller margins, and with more words to the page. It has thus been possible to reduce the number of pages and the bulk of this book. We feel certain that the reader will understand the publishers' desire to cooperate as fully as possible with the objectives of the War Production Board and our government.

A Statement by the Publishers

"Black Mail" is not a literary work in the usual sense. It is the astounding story of a crusade, a one-man crusade unique in American history.

Until recently the author, Henry Hoke, had been known to us only as a businessman, esteemed as a leader in his field. The common occurrence which started him on his five-year quest might have happened uneventfully to any American, its tremendous implications lost in the very casual nature of the incident. Fortunately, the author wondered and worried—and got to work. He discovered that the strand he had by mere chance picked up led to another and still another, forming a network of destructive propaganda, gigantic beyond any imagining.

The rest is Henry Hoke's remarkable story, told in the following pages in his simple, plainspoken way.

The publishers have no connection with any propaganda group or political party. "Black Mail" is not a political book; it is of urgent personal interest to every conscientious American—Republican or Democrat. It is now issued after many months of most careful checking to guarantee that every statement in it is documented and verified.

One word more must be said: As these lines are written, many thousands of our men are giving their lives to crush the Nazi tyranny. It is incredible that this same tyranny in other insidious forms should be spreading its poison here, behind the backs of our armies, in our smallest villages as well as in our big cities. Yet this is the cold, ghastly truth. Our enemies thus brazenly and cynically announce to the world that even if defeated on the battlefield, their ideas will continue to enslave the minds of free peoples everywhere.

The Nazis are realistically relying on their active sympathizers within our borders. Now, more than ever, they continue to plant propaganda on a vast scale, conceived like a time-bomb to explode at the right time and in the most effective places, long after we have attained the illusion of victory by arms.

We must destroy this dread terror *now*. It is insufficient to defeat the Nazi legions on land, in the skies and on the sea. It is the *Nazi spirit* which must be destroyed once and for all.

And because Henry Hoke's "Black Mail" is a prime weapon in our arsenal of democracy, the publishers consider it a privilege to present it to the public at this critical moment in our struggle for democracy.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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To My Family

*A soldier, two sailors
and their mother*

Let's Begin Here

Black MAIL is my report of nearly five years of activity untangling a complicated conspiracy against the unity and security of the United States. The plan, conceived in Berlin, appropriated and set afoot in thousands of towns and cities of our land by professed Americans, has fashioned from American business techniques a powerful weapon which, with typical German organization and effrontery, has been turned against the peace of our homes and the safety of our fighting men. This secret Nazi weapon has been exposed; but it has not been destroyed. It may have been planted in your home or your neighbor's while you have been reading these lines. It is a weapon that may remain as a booby-trap to destroy us even after we have won the war.

Those who have worked with me during these last five years have urged persistently that the story be told so that a record might be available in one source and, so far as these words may reach, the quiet complacency with which this danger is all too often regarded may be stirred to protective action.

I shall try to tell the story as simply as I might in friendly conversation, in a personal and chronological way, with none of the frills of book-talk. So much of the information on the subject has been distorted and confused unwittingly because none too many persons are fully conversant with the techniques that have been used. Together, Reader, you and I should be able to see how this weapon was fashioned, how it works, what it has done not only in the lonely farm home and the humble cottage in the side street, but even in the Park Avenues and the halls of the United States Congress. Then we shall see what it is still doing. The significance of this complicated conspiracy when fitted together will, I hope, arouse my readers to the dangers to our American life, *now*, and in the days to come when the Jap and Nazi have been beaten into final surrender.

Before we get started, you should know something about my regular business, because that explains how and why I became involved in the many activities I am telling you about.

Since 1919 I have been in the Direct Mail Advertising business. That is the business of people who sell products or services, or get some sort of action, by mail . . . with letters, circulars, booklets, folders, house magazines, catalogues, or some thirty or more other kinds of printed promotion formats. During the past twenty-five years I have been connected in some way with nearly every branch of the industry — five of those years as Executive Manager of the Direct Mail Advertising Association, which brought acquaintanceships with thousands of producers and users of mailed promotion in all parts of the world— nine years as publisher of a Direct Mail trade magazine, with thousands of additional contacts . . . a valuable file now of experiences and facts on the methods and results of selling products, services or ideas by mail.

Direct Mail people have always been worried about frauds in the mail. We have done a pretty good job of keeping the mails clean. Fraudulent users of the mail, when uncovered, have been promptly reported to the Post Office authorities . . . and the postal inspectors are a tough crowd when they go into action.

We have always believed that fraud in the mail, aside from its moral or legal aspects, was a threat to *all* the legitimate business users of the mail. For instance, if you buy mining stock or some product as a result of a mail appeal, and the deal later on turns out to be fraudulent you, having had your "fingers burned", may hesitate or refuse to buy on a mailed appeal from a most legitimate advertiser. So we have had a selfish reason for keeping frauds from using postage stamps.

We want YOU, the buyer, to believe in the truthfulness of claims made by mail.

That's why the copy used by most mail order men is clear-cut, definite, accurate. Bragging, exaggerating and lying—no less than deliberate fraud—are out of order because they decrease orders.

It was, therefore, only natural that when I stumbled into the biggest and *blackest* mail fraud of all times, I became alarmed. When I became convinced that this *black* mail fraud affected the safety and security of my family and my country . . . the fight was on!

You should also understand these important points: Direct Mail Advertising is relatively new. It was just getting started in the early 1900's. The Direct Mail Advertising Association was organized in the middle of World War I by a handful of firms who had begun to produce and use this new selling tool. Direct Mail was not, at that time, a generally accepted form of advertising. Its real growth came after 1920, when techniques were improved. Business has gradually accepted the new tool to such an extent that the Post Office Department now handles an estimated TEN BILLION pieces of Direct

Mail per year, not counting nearly an equal number of printed promotion pieces delivered by means other than the mail, such as messengers, salesmen, dealers, etc.

That is the background you should know before you can understand how our enemies turned the tables on us and converted a distinctly American and modern selling tool into an instrument for destruction. This disclosure of using American techniques to promote Nazi purposes is a story that has never been completely assembled before. It is a disclosure that is the sinister background of many other stories.

The facts given here are correct beyond all shadow of doubt and I am naming names only to make the truth known and understood by every American. A complete understanding may be the only antidote against the Blackest Campaign of all time.

HENRY HOKE

New York - Washington
1944



• 1 •

Something to Be Worried About

"Dad, I'm worried about something. I think you'll be worried, too."

That is how it all started.

Pete, eldest of our three sons, was a very new freshman at the University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School. I had waited at least three whole weeks before visiting him . . . supposedly to find out how things were going, but mostly to share with him part of his new experience.

"Worried?" I asked. "What's the trouble, Son?"

"Well, Dad . . . maybe I shouldn't bring this up, but I'm not sure that I like your old school. There's something wrong here. It's hard to explain. Come on up to my room."

Upstairs, he sat me down at his desk, opened a dresser drawer and placed before me a stack of mimeographed and printed bulletins.

"Read them, Dad, and tell me what you think. Nearly every day I find one of these under my door, stuffed in my mail box, or have a sheet passed to me on the campus. They all say about the same thing. You've spent most of your life talking and writing about using printing for selling or doing something good. I think you ought to be worried about this kind of stuff."

So we read the "stuff" together. There were calls for meetings to protest against this or that American way . . . derisive comments about the United States Government; scurrilous comment about the University . . . urgent pleas to resist efforts to protect the country by building defenses or developing training programs. Wording and printing usually crude. But in all, a similar pattern.

"Yes, there's reason to be worried, Pete. Let's work together to find out what this is all about."

We spent the rest of the evening . . . planning.

* * * * *

Was this something new in the way of a poison-pen revolution? Was this flow of obviously planned disruptive propaganda just a temporary cancer localized at Pennsylvania . . . or was it only a part of a broader scheme?

Next morning (this was in early October, 1939) I talked with some of the faculty members and found that a few knew about the practice, but "didn't think it serious." Several students with whom I talked casually . . . laughed it off. I suggested to Pete that he try to get work on the school paper and find out whether the editors were receiving this type of material through the mail.

* * * * *

"Not serious?" Not serious, with the mad housepainter of Berchtesgaden already loosed upon the world? Chamberlain had put away his umbrella and Hitler had torn up the Munich Pact as a silly scrap of paper. Czechoslovakia was being trampled under German panzers. North along the Baltic, Hitler had seized Memel and the Baltic state of Lithuania. Italian troops were ransacking Albania. England had ordered conscription; Englishmen were marching. Warsaw was a shambles of crumbled masonry. Hitler's blitzkrieg was playing the overture to his dance of death. Wasn't it time for America to realize that the democracies of the world faced common perils? Wasn't it high time to listen and to heed?

* * * * *

Back in New York I began to talk to fathers who had children in colleges . . . told them of my experience and asked them to investigate. One friend, in our first conversation, reported that expressions similar to

those I had found on the sheets at Pennsylvania had *exploded verbally* at a father and son dinner during football season at his New England college. Replies began to drift in . . . it was happening at Yale . . . at Lafayette . . . at Columbia . . . at Ohio State . . . at, etc. So it wasn't a localized outbreak at Pennsylvania.

As a result of talking with these fathers, I soon became acquainted with more teachers—in high school as well as college. Teachers were receiving increasing amounts of printed material opposed to "preparation for defense." A teacher or two told me of preachers they knew who were getting material from the German Library of Information.

I wrote many personal letters during the closing days of 1939 to ministers and teachers, asking them to give me confidential reports about suspicious material received in their daily mail. Reports and samples arrived in alarming amounts. I realized that we were on the track of a mail campaign much bigger than any that had ever won a place in the annual Fifty Direct Mail Leaders Contest of the Direct Mail Advertising Association.

It was inevitable that these inquiries brought me in contact with other investigators who were worried about various phases of the threats against America. We swapped experiences . . . and specimens. Together, we studied the books, pamphlets, bulletins and circulars being issued, some anonymously, but mostly by Agencies (or agents) of the German Government.

I began to pay more attention to and study Walter Winchell's broadcasts. He was the first of the "Paul Reveres" to warn against the men involved in the plot against America. What connection could there be between Winchell's suspects and the *black* mail campaign?

By March of 1940 the pattern seemed to be clear . . . and I wrote my first article. I'm ashamed to admit . . . I destroyed that article because numerous friends urged me not to "wreck my magazine" by getting mixed up in an ugly mess. Instead, I printed this weak-kneed item in the monthly *Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising*:

"I would like to talk about propaganda. Have just destroyed an article about it on the advice of friends. Wanted to tell you about the alarming amount of propaganda that is going through the mail . . . such as the 100,000 eight-page circulars being mailed every month by a foreign government to clergymen, teachers, editors, publishers, etc. . . . the purpose: to break down our faith in news, in friends and (in some cases) in our own government. Wanted to tell you about some of the "Americans" who are helping to spread this avalanche. Hate to see the mails being used for tearing down processes. Propaganda in the mails is rampant. Too bad that so many 100% Americans feed the flames by giving obvious propaganda extra publicity. Alarming is the fact that some of this mailed propaganda has been introduced into our *Congressional Record* . . . with praise. We've torn up a hot article . . . but one of these days we may have enough unchallengeable facts to tell the whole story. Let's hope that the United States Mail never gets so powerful or saturated with false propaganda that it will lick the United States."

But the letters of investigation, the hundreds of talks with fathers, teachers, ministers and business men, had started an avalanche of evidence too alarming to disregard. Information arrived which seemed to prove beyond all doubt that in some way or other the *Congressional Record* and reprints from it were tied in with the campaign.

Disregarding well-meaning friends, I wrote and published at the end of May, 1940, my first article entitled "War In The Mails." (Do you, Reader, recall the terrible days of May on the beaches of Dunkerque?) Before issuing the article, I mailed advance proofs with the following letter:

Honorable James A. Farley*
Postmaster General
United States Post Office
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Farley:

I am attaching proof of an article which appears in our current number of THE REPORTER.

*Note: Shortly afterward, when Frank Walker replaced Mr. Farley, I sent duplicate copies and additional evidence to the new Postmaster General.

I realize that there are many complications involved in an appeal for a FRAUD ORDER, as I have already talked to several people in your organization.

However, I ask that this letter be considered as a formal appeal for a FRAUD ORDER investigation against:

- (1) The German Library of Information, 17 Battery Place, New York.
- (2) The German Railroads Information Bureau, 11 West 57th Street, New York.
- (3) Members of Congress who are misusing the Congressional Record, The Government Printing Plant and the *franking* privilege to spread Nazi propaganda in these United States.
- (4) Separate organizations (mentioned in our article and others known to the FBI) who are using the mails to defraud the American public.

The facts uncovered so far in our research warrant a thorough investigation by the Postal Inspectors.

We will be glad to cooperate with you, as usual, in any possible way . . . and will reveal all sources of information.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Henry Hoke
Publisher.

This first article published in the *Reporter of Direct Mail* asserted that the German Government, through mail issued by specified agencies to selected lists, was attempting to divide the thinking of the people of this country so that the United States would be helplessly unprepared for future military attack. The Nazi Government intended to make Hitler's prophesies come true.

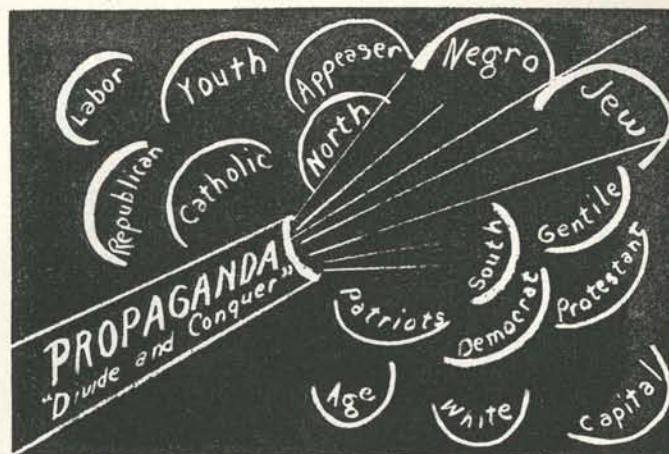
Do you remember what Hitler had said? Listen:

"America is permanently on the brink of revolution. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the U. S., so that these gentry will have their hands full with their own affairs."

"National Socialism alone is destined to liberate the American people from their ruling clique. I shall undertake this task simultaneously with the restoration of Germany to her leading position in America."

By carefully planned "mental poison" aimed at specified classes or segments in our American Life . . . Germany intended to undermine our unity and our power to resist attack.

The strategy to get the various segments of our nation disagreeing and fighting among each other could be explained simply . . . and we did so in a very crude chart.



This attack was planned to separate these main interlocking segments:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Office Holders- | Northerners- |
| Taxpayers | Southerners |
| Foreign Born- | Easterners- |
| Native Born | Westerners |
| Rich-Poor | Democrats- |
| Labor- | Republicans |
| Management | Conservatives- |
| Young-Elders | Liberals |
| Colored-White | Protestant- |
| Gentiles-Jews | Catholic |

In the May, 1940 article we charged that the Nazi Consulates were headquarters for directing the following campaigns:

(1) The German Library of Information, guided by Matthias F. Schmitz (assisted by George Sylvester Viereck), issued about 90,000 copies of a semi-weekly, well printed and written *Facts In Review* to ministers, school teachers, editors of college papers, legislators, publishers. Purpose: to sell the National Socialist ideology and to prevent preparedness against attack.

(2) The German Railroads Information Office, guided by Ernest Schmitz, issued about 40,000 weekly multigraphed bulletins to hotel managers, travel agencies, stock brokers, bankers and "small business men." Purpose: to convince Americans that the Nazi system of doing business was *best*.

(3) The American Fellowship Forum, guided by Friedrich E. Auhagen, assisted by George Sylvester Viereck, Lawrence Dennis, and others, issued pamphlets or bulletins to

a "cultural class"—educators, civic leaders, authors and a selected list of persons who might be sold the idea that the German mind was filled with nothing *but* the milk of kindness toward all humanity.

(4) The German American Board of Trade, guided by Dr. Albert Degener, issued an undetermined quantity of an expensively printed monthly bulletin to financial leaders, corporation presidents and legislators in an effort to prove that we "better play ball with Hitler *or else*." This was the "big business" drive for . . . appeasers.

Our article also mentioned scattered mailing pieces coming in from abroad . . .

also (but cautiously) that "dummy names" planted on the German Library list were receiving reprints from the *Congressional Record*, mailed under a Congressman's frank, containing Nazi-phrased and Nazi-inspired material which followed the line of editorials appearing in *Facts In Review*.

This was the first time (May, 1940) that the detailed story of Nazi misuse of the mail had been told publicly. I'll admit we were all a little nervous when *The Reporter* was finally deposited in the Post Office. Then we settled back to wait for whatever might happen.

We didn't have long to wait.

• 2 •

A Personal War Is On!

Post Office Inspectors soon dropped around to look over the evidence . . . at the request of the Postmaster General.

They read and studied and said: "Interesting, but it's not actually against any existing law."

Friends insisted that the evidence be shown to other investigating agencies of the Government. Countless hours were spent explaining and re-explaining to a string of agents. Some seemed quietly amused that I should consider a few circulars and bulletins *dangerous*. "And there isn't any law, you know." I tried to give each Government Agent a rapid-fire course in Direct Mail Advertising . . . what it is, how it works, what it can do.

There were many letters and calls. Some were complimentary. Some skeptical. Others abusive.

One prominent advertising old-timer urged me to stick to "legitimate" Direct Mail reporting and leave sensational stories to the larger magazines. "Your efforts," he wrote,

"will be as ineffective as a pebble dropped into Lake Michigan."

Another postal expert sent our "War In The Mails" article to the Solicitor of the Post Office Department facetiously apologizing for "Henry Hoke's bad taste"—and implying that the Direct Mail crowd would not support or endorse any "crack-pot crusade" to deny the use of the mails to a foreign power with which we were at peace.

Solicitous representatives of several large units in the advertising profession suggested, in personal calls, that I might ruin my business and "wouldn't it be better to forget about the whole thing."

One morning, all of our first delivery mail was stolen before opening hour. The girls in the office had been getting jittery . . . what with peculiar 'phone calls and strange visitors. The lost mail made the situation worse.

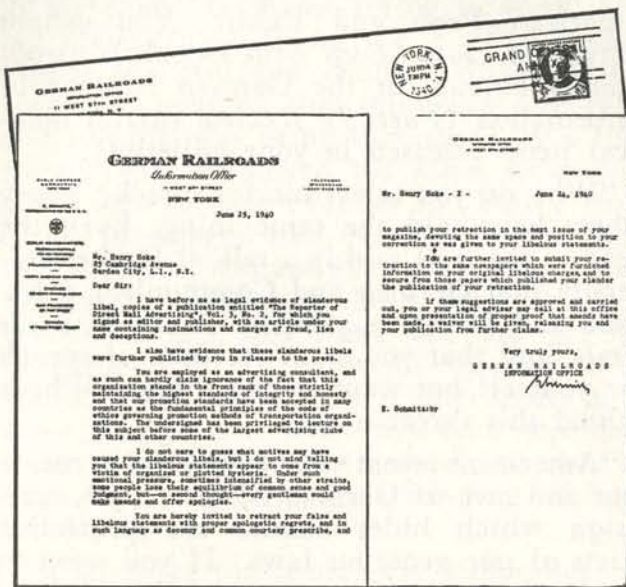
The first good break came on June 26, 1940. I was explaining the evidence and our theories to an officer from Naval Intelligence

when the buzzer interrupted; my wife was 'phoning from home.

"Well, *it* has started," she told me, "you have a letter here from Ernest Schmitz of the German Railroads. He demands a retraction."

Hearn, our second boy, happened to be at home . . . so I asked that he hop a train and rush the letter down quickly. He arrived all out of breath before the man from Naval Intelligence had left.

Here is the letter Hearn delivered:



June 25, 1940

Mr. Henry Hoke
85 Cambridge Avenue
Garden City, L. I., N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have before me as legal evidence of slanderous libel, copies of a publication entitled "The Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising," Vol. 3, No. 2, for which you signed as editor and publisher, with an article under your name containing insinuations and charges of fraud, lies and deceptions.

I also have evidence that these slanderous libels were further publicized by you in releases to the press.

You are employed as an advertising consultant, and as such can hardly claim ignorance of the fact that this organization stands in the front rank of those strictly maintaining the highest standards of integrity and hon-

esty and that our promotion standards have been accepted in many countries as the fundamental principles of the code of ethics governing promotion methods of transportation organizations. The undersigned has been privileged to lecture on this subject before some of the largest advertising clubs of this and other countries.

I do not care to guess what motives may have caused your slanderous libels, but I do not mind telling you that the libelous statements appear to come from a victim of organized or plotted hysteria. Under such emotional pressure, sometimes intensified by other strains, some people lose their equilibrium of common sense and good judgment, but — on second thought — every gentleman would make amends and offer apologies.

You are hereby invited to retract your false and libelous statements with proper apologetic regrets, and in such language as decency and common courtesy prescribe, and to publish your retraction in the next issue of your magazine, devoting the same space and position to your correction as was given to your libelous statements.

You are further invited to submit your retraction to the same newspapers which were furnished information on your original libelous charges, and to secure from those papers which published your slander the publication of your retraction.

If these suggestions are approved and carried out, you or your legal adviser may call at this office and upon presentation of proper proof that amends have been made, a waiver will be given, releasing you and your publication from further claim.

Very truly yours,

GERMAN RAILROADS
INFORMATION OFFICE
(Signed) E. Schmitz

Notice that the letter had been sent to my home . . . not to my office.

I dictated an answer to Schmitz, but decided to print his letter and my answer in a special bulletin to be mailed to all the people who had so far shown interest in the investigation . . . and to radio commentators and newspapers. This is the letter sent to Ernest Schmitz, at the German Railroads Informa-

tion Office, 11 West 57th Street, New York City:

"Pursuant to the Act of June 8, 1938 (as amended) you are registered with the Secretary of State of the United States as an Agent of the German Government.

"I would like to know if the threat implied in your letter of June 25th was sent in behalf of yourself (as a German Agent) or in behalf of the German Railways (operated by your Government) . . . or in behalf of the German Library . . . or in behalf of the German Government?

"And since my publishing office is only fifteen short blocks from your headquarters, I am wondering why you elected to send your communication to my home in Garden City. Could it be that you are already adopting the Nazi tactics so "popular" in the rape of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France . . . the intimidation of the women and children at home?

"I have only been in the advertising business for twenty years, so I have not had time to acquaint myself with 'the high standards of promotion ethics' you claim to enjoy. TRUTH . . . in Advertising . . . in news releases . . . and in propaganda was never forcibly emphasized in my limited German contacts.

"You need not guess about my motives. They are perfectly clear. I am not suffering from hysteria or impelled by any selfish group. I want to do all that I can to eliminate from the mails all Hitler-Goebbels dictated propaganda.

"I dislike all that the present German Government stands for. As long as we have freedom of the press . . . I have every right, as an editor, to say exactly what I think about the promotion efforts in the United States of all organizations controlled, directed or influenced by the Government which has trampled on millions of free people everywhere.

"I refuse to be intimidated by you or by any other German controlled organization. I refuse to have my family intimidated.

"I refuse to apologize or retract my statements as published in our Vol. 3, No. 2, and my only regret is that the statements were

not stronger. I reprint those statements on these pages—and state openly that reproductions of the complete original article are available at my office (not my home) in any quantity at any time without charge.

"I would welcome the opportunity to present our evidence in a Court of Law to a jury of twelve Americans. It is high time we find out if an American citizen can be threatened by a foreign agent.

"You, and all the other Nazis who are abusing the privilege and hospitality of this free nation, are trying to dupe and dope the American Press and Public. You cannot deny your close tie-up with Goebbels' propaganda bureau, or the German Library of Information (*Facts In Review* carries identical items released in your bulletins).

"Why do you select me for attack? Many others have said the same thing. Even the head of the FBI said in a talk at Drake University that German and Communistic falsehood and fakery is gnawing at the Nation's vitals, and that you want freedom of speech for yourself but want to gag others. What's behind this threat to me?

"Americans resent your campaign to create fear and awe of German Might . . . a campaign which hides behind the protective skirts of our generous laws. If you want to invoke those same laws to act against me, the decision is entirely up to you.

"Perhaps that decision will furnish the key to close your doors.

"I hope so . . .

"Sincerely,"

* * * * *

The *New York Post* and *PM*, on July 4, 1940, printed items about this letter-controversy . . . Johannes Steel mentioned it in his radio program. Thus the story of *Black Mail*—the Nazi misuse of the mail—first got to the general public outside the limited circle of a trade magazine.

Strangers of all kinds and varieties called—some to praise and to help, others to condemn and to threaten. German accents over the 'phone asked for "appointments" *outside*.

Within a short time my office was flooded with new evidence. The first article had contained too little of the real truth. From re-

tired Naval Officers, from the wife of a former Commander of the American Legion, from news reporters and private investigators, from night club operators, from German-Americans who hated Hitler, I now learned the inside details of the German Library; the personal activities of Ernest Schmitz, by mail and otherwise; the weird string-pulling of Auhagen. But *most important*, the Germans revealed the strategy of the campaign *from abroad*.

On the last Sunday in June, 1940, my little world seemed to be in a hell of a mess. I sat in my study out home trying to work . . . but feeling little liking for it. The garden looked peaceful and secure. Maybe I was "cracked" to think that this peace and relative security was being threatened by a conspiracy that employed the same techniques I had used to raise a family and keep a more or less mortgaged roof over our heads. Pete, the oldest son, was away for the summer. Sunday dinner was getting along in the kitchen. I needed to talk this thing out and get my thinking clear . . . to decide whether to go ahead. I decided to write a letter to my boys. Even though that letter has been reprinted many times, I think that it should be inserted here for a complete understanding of later developments.

It does set the scene—the atmosphere of June, 1940, better than I can describe it now:

"Dear Boys:

"It won't be for very long I can call you that. You have grown fast. It seems so short a time since we built the trains in the cellar . . . and packed them away to hold for little future-fellows. The world moves so fast these days . . . we've all had to grow up quickly . . . and you must look at your new world with eyes more mature than mine when I professed youth.

"It's time for us four to have a 'bull-session' and find out where we stand. I'll put my end of it in a letter because:

1. Habit has made that the best way to express my thoughts.
2. A session like this might have interruptions — what with radio, telephone, dances, business and other incidentals of living.

3. I've found that other fathers are worried about the same thing that bothers me . . . so maybe we can develop an idea that might be helpful to other sons.

"WHAT'S IT ALL ABOUT?"

"Those mimeographed sheets you've been getting in school (stuck under your door, etc.) . . . and those doubtful doctrines discussed (sometimes approved) by teachers and newspapers and your elders . . . have mixed up your thinking until it's no wonder you wonder what all the shouting's about.

"You have been told, for instance and among other things, that:

1. Capitalists and imperialists are trying to push us into war. (Warmongers)
2. Our Government is rotten from the bottom up—and especially at the top. (Political incompetence)
3. Youth is given more chance of expression in the Nazi, Communist or Fascist scheme of things. (Revolution)
4. That you should be satisfied with everything as it is—and should do nothing to alter or stop the changes being made around you. (Isolationism, unpreparedness and 'it can't happen here')

"It's all very alluring and smooth. The letters are signed by high sounding titles . . . such as the American Student Union or the Students Christian Union or the Students Alliance. The fellows who talk to you sound sincere . . . and they have a line of dope long and loud enough to stop your breath.

"What are you going to BELIEVE? That is the real problem of youth. What is the one thing that most worries the fathers of fine sons? I'd say . . . the indifference of Youth to the whole problem of this new world you face so calmly. You know that we have not tried to dictate your thinking or your actions . . . and far be it from me to start now. You have heard so much. You three are a lot less indifferent than other sons whose reactions I've learned. You are grown-up enough to take the role of 'guinea pigs' in this session.

"Maybe (and it is most plausible) Life has been too easy for all of us. Maybe youth has

had too many busses to take them to school; too much hot water without chopping wood; too much 'fingertip' music and news without shoveling a path through the snow to the town hall or to the debaters around the stove at the corner store. Too much freedom and leisure and vacation . . . without having to fight to keep the Indians away from the playground clearing. Too much solicitude for shorter hours of work . . . without realizing that work is fun and that leisure is satisfying only when truly earned. Maybe that is the cause of the Indifference. Is it? You answer. Maybe the blame falls on us fathers.

"Could it be possible that we fathers have let American Youth down? So that in such a short while since this country began you are forgetting how and why it was founded? All around us forces that are not soft have changed the thinking and the maps of the world. They now want to include us. There is no appeasing such a lustful appetite.

"It is your world ahead. You can help make it what you will. I can only offer you some suggestions.

"FOUR SUGGESTIONS

"First: I don't believe there is a single father in this America who wants to see his sons forced into a war. I don't believe any American (official or plain citizen) wants fine, clean boys like you to be slaughtered. Weigh those rumors of warmongering carefully. They smell . . . fishy.

"Second: I nominate you three boys as charter members of a new club to be composed of American Fathers and Sons. Let's call the new club 'The Hi-Timers.' (It's high time we're doing something about this America of ours.) Get it? My friend Col. Allison Scott, business executive and Army Reserve Officer, suggested that lu-lu of a name. Let's have many sober and serious sessions to find out what all the shouting is about. Let's weigh calmly and sincerely all these foreign claims that America is no good . . . and that we need a regimented life economy of Nazi or Fascist dictation. What does that mean? Briefly . . . State or 'over-lord' dictation of all thoughts and actions. You have seen what happened to those who were not prepared to fight against it . . . in Czechoslovakia,

Austria, Poland, Holland, Denmark, Belgium and France. You have heard what happens to the free people who fall under the march of brutality. Dictation of thought and action. Would you want that in America? Isn't it Hi-Time we fathers and sons get together and find a solution? Find out what we want. Find out whether we believe that America is worth fighting for. It is your America.

"Third: I don't want to be sappy in this session. I don't want to do any flag-waving vaudeville stunt for you. We'll dispense with the reading or singing of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' . . . but Good God Almighty boys—do your share in all your contacts from this minute on to change the Indifference of Youth into a deep and sane love of this free country you inherit.

"Peter, you are seeing the hills, vales, canyons, deserts, beaches and people on your vagabond summer trip. Hearn, you see more than the ordinary through the eyes of your camera. Jack, you have your eyes in the sky with your love of planes . . . seeking distant horizons.

"What do you think of America? Isn't it great? Are you going to let these foreign propagandists lull you and your friends to sleep or into thinking there is Utopia at the end of a bloody rainbow of lust and murder and regimentation? Or conversely, are you going to let some of the crack-pots which exist and flourish in a democracy flim-flam us with theories that we shouldn't work (and regiment ourselves if necessary) to protect this country of ours from the enemies of our peaceful pursuits?

"Go out into your world and talk militant patriotism and love for free America. Fight by your words and your devotion the indifference which has been planted in your youth by skillful designers of disruption. You might also suggest to your boy friends that they work on indifferent fathers.

"Fourth: In these changing days — read both sides of all controversies. Be skeptical of obvious propaganda. Search for the motives behind the appeals you receive. Study the history of this country—not as you studied in school — but as an absorbing, personal guide to your future. Read, study, analyze,

weigh—and look at this land of yours objectively and patriotically. If we all have to go to training camps to prepare ourselves for possible protection—let's do it gladly. Let's say it's Hi-Time we all are willing to get away from ease and to work a little overtime to keep safe the land that has given us this ease and work.

"It is your America, Boys. It belongs to you and your boy and girl friends. It belongs to you and the kids who may some day unpack and rebuild the old trains.

"I've got to get back to work. I leave the rest of the session to you. Call the first meeting of The Hi-Timers to order. Organize it, promote it (by Direct Mail if necessary). But above all . . . be a Hi-Timer, and by your courage and example destroy the INDIFFERENCE OF YOUTH.

"Change that Indifference to Fire and Faith and Hope for a Free America. You can do it . . . and the fellow who knows you can do it is

"YOUR DAD."

The "Letter To Three Sons" was printed in my magazine. Also included in the same issue was the special bulletin with the letter from and answer to Ernest Schmitz of the German Railroads.

Letters poured in . . . "How can we help?" . . . "Give us more information" . . . "When can you speak before our club?" Among the hundreds of letters received, one from Paul T. Babson, President of United Business Service, Boston, seemed most typical of the thinking of so many. I asked his permission to reprint part of it:

"Dear Henry:

"It is utterly amazing how 'lulled to sleep' our whole country remains so far as propaganda efforts are concerned.

"Certainly, no one who knows anything about advertising can accept the viewpoint that this sort of thing may be permitted to continue without serious danger to our country and its institutions.

"The percentage of converts on each mailing may be low, but you and I both know that persistent hammering through the mails has a most telling effect over a period of time.

"My congratulations for your firm and honest stand, and if you think of any spot where I might offer a worthwhile contribution, please let me know."

Requests came in by the thousands for reprints of the "Letter To Three Sons." Naturally, I was pleased that other people liked something I had written in a flutter of worry on a Sunday afternoon . . . but more important, I knew that I wouldn't have to fight alone . . . that from now on more and more people would be warned about the danger.

The Y. M. C. A. asked permission to dramatize "The Letter To Three Sons" and disk it for broadcast. It became part of a series of awakening programs over many local radio stations. The American Educational Press in Columbus took up the "Hi-Timer" idea and promoted it in schools throughout the country.

With the help of my investigating contacts I prepared a new and more detailed exposé of the (as we thought) complete Nazi mailing scheme. A special issue of *The Reporter* at the end of July devoted nineteen pages to the story. All Government Investigating Agencies and many newspapers were supplied with advance page proofs the day before publication. In the article, charges concerning the German Library, the German Railroads, the American Fellowship Forum and the German American Board of Trade were repeated and elaborated. Additional information was given on each . . . how they worked . . . what arguments they used . . . whom they were trying to influence.

For the first time, it was possible to show how the Nazis had built a large mailing list (estimated at 250,000) of German Americans with relatives in Germany . . . how Japanese boats brought hulls full of printed material from Hamburg, Munich, Berlin . . . how these pieces were delivered under International Postal Union Treaties *free of charge* by the United States. (Under International Postal Treaties the country of origin retains the postage collected. The country of delivery delivers free. A wash-out transaction to avoid bookkeeping).

The Germans had seized upon this harmless and useful peacetime treaty as a method of getting their divide-and-conquer propa-

ganda delivered without a cent of cost. They needed only to print shabby imitations of postage stamps to place on the envelopes or packages.

The German-American citizens who revealed the plan to me were under strict orders of secrecy—but they were more frightened by the increasing volume of the destructive deluge . . . realizing that the increased tempo meant that time for physical action against America was getting shorter month by month. That's the way Hitler had worked in the trampled countries of Europe.

One German-American received in one 30 day period, exactly 25 separate pieces of mail from different points in Germany. Another gave me full details (and samples) of cleverly conceived packages coming to selected distributing agents—each package containing 50 sets of 20 or more single sheet circulars, each circular bearing one dominant type of argument. One sheet would attack President Roosevelt; another, the "Freedom of the Press" idea of Democracy; another, an attack on the Jews; another, an attack on the British; another, an attack on the Catholics. Each had an appointed purpose for its special mailing list. The distributors were instructed to mail (or give) the separate sheets to selected

individuals who were most likely to be affected by the particular appeal. It was a perfect "manufacturer-dealer-consumer campaign" . . . following the best advertising technique.

Several days after the appearance of this exposé and after our evidence had been subpoenaed . . . the Dies Committee staged raids on the German Railroads, the German Library and the American Fellowship Forum. That was my first experience with the Dies Committee. I met Martin Dies . . . and I felt then that *now* we would start getting action.

The raids and the stories resulting focused more attention on the Nazi mail campaign. Newspapers throughout the country began to talk more openly about it. The mail from abroad, however, steadily became heavier. Arrogantly, the German Library increased the size of *Facts In Review* from 12 to 16, then to 24 pages and Matthias Schmitz bragged about its increased circulation. Ernest Schmitz continued to mail his weekly bulletins . . . but didn't bring suit. The Dies Committee didn't raid the German American Board of Trade; Dr. Degener boasted that he wouldn't be raided because he had "protection."

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Campaigning Against Disruption

The late summer and fall of 1940 had its ups and downs. Mostly downs. Government Agencies said, "We'll look into it." But nothing much was done. A lot of hullabaloo . . . few results. Threatening letters and 'phone calls became more frequent. Typical of many of them is this excerpt from one message.

"We have good reason to believe that you will be placed into a concentration camp before another two years will have passed. It

is the plan of making a concentration-ghetto of the Bronx to avoid the necessity of shifting large numbers of Jews. The site will extend from the Harlem River to Woodlawn Cemetery (the latter boundary also being considered for practical reasons). You will, we are sure, feel quite happy in these surroundings among your friends the Jews."

Anonymous post cards popped up in the mail—such as this: "How many thousands

of dollars do you get for spreading that propaganda that you give out?" Signed — Curious.

Letters arrived warning us to be on the lookout for visitors: "I have read your special bulletin with interest. In answer to your question, 'Is this libel?', I would say that it most certainly is. I see nothing in the column headed 'Utopia' that might be classed as 'lies and deceptions.'

"Yours are the lies and deceptions. Since when is Germany a nation unfriendly to our country? They have never by a single act or utterance indicated that is so. However, they have every reason to hate us. From the very start of the war, when our President tried to capture the 'Bremen' for his good friend King George, we have tried to harm the Germans in every way.

"You have a nerve to complain about German propaganda, when half of our radio commentators spew out volumes in praise of the British. Of course, none of your funds come from that source. Of course.

"I expect to be in Garden City on the evening of August 18th and will drop in for a little chat, though I hardly hope to be able to change your viewpoint."

(Signed) G. W. T - - -

I had been accused many times of prejudice against the Germans . . . and told that I should investigate British propaganda and the efforts of "the people who are trying to get us in the war." Accordingly, I spent considerable time investigating agencies such as the English and French Information Offices. I investigated the work of the Committee to Aid the Allies, the Council for Democracy, the Friends of Democracy . . . and because I had been accused of Jewish affiliation, I tried to get acquainted with Jewish organizations. Nowhere could I find evidence that any of these groups was trying to undermine America or to *push* this country into war. They were honestly trying to get the public awake to the dangers that were ahead.

During this investigation, I refused to become affiliated with any of the so-called patriotic organizations. I wanted to work as a lone wolf. I wanted to stick to my one specialty . . . uncovering the misuse of the mail.

I was flooded with tips on possible Nazi Agents in this or that place, but I refused to become involved in any spy hunts. I simply wanted to find out and expose a gigantic misuse of the United States mails by Hitler and his dupes.

All evidence sent to me by friends around the country was diligently checked. These friends were to get their names (misspelled) on as many subversive lists as possible. By constantly checking mail received by these "dummy names" the mailing lists being used by the Nazis could be checked, and by that method we were able to make up charts of the types of people being solicited by what German Agencies.

Through the Post Office and the Dies Committee we were able to get a rough idea of the amount of mail coming in from abroad.

Here is the schedule of mail received at one West Coast port *from just one German Agency* . . . H. R. Hoffman in Munich:

| Date of Arrival | Steamship | Weight Pounds | Publication |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1940 | | | |
| Sept. 5 | Tokai Maru | 1120 | News from Germany |
| Sept. 5 | " " | 53 | " " " |
| Sept. 15 | Azuma Maru | 2578 | Foreign News |
| Sept. 15 | " " | 1500 | Periodicals |
| Sept. 19 | Kyusyu Maru | 525 | News from Germany |
| Sept. 27 | Brazil Maru | 1415 | News from Germany & American Views |
| | | | Periodicals |
| Oct. 2 | Tosan Maru | 490 | News from Germany |
| Oct. 18 | Sakura Maru | 844 | Periodicals |
| Oct. 19 | Asama Maru | 62 | " |
| Oct. 21 | Heijo Maru | 2847 | News from Germany |
| Oct. 29 | Nankai Maru | 3518 | Periodicals |
| Nov. 1 | Nitta Maru | 1496 | " |
| Nov. 6 | Sanuki Maru | 522 | " |
| Nov. 6 | Kinai Maru | 98 | " |
| Nov. 13 | Tatuta Maru | 875 | " |
| Nov. 21 | Seia Maru | 977 | News from Germany & American Views |
| | | | News from Germany & Economics |
| Nov. 27 | Hokkai Maru | 924 | |

This table is the record, remember, of shipments in Japanese bottoms from *one agent* only of the many that Germany was using. But observe its disclosure. On the fair basis of ten pieces of propaganda to the pound, we have here nearly 20,000 pounds or nearly 200,000 pieces for mailing or distributing in the United States in the short space of three months.

Since it was apparent that the law enforcing agencies of the Government either would not, or because of statutory restrictions could not, at this time take effective action to stop this flow of *black mail* from the poison pens of Nazism, another method was planned. Pressure upon the Congress and upon the Post Office Department might produce results. The best way to get that pressure, I decided, would be to tell the story to more people and to more influential people than reasonably could be reached through the pages of our trade magazine.

Busy days followed, making up a "strip film" . . . picturing and illustrating all the steps in the Nazi campaign that had up to that time been disclosed. To reach many hundreds (our hope was for thousands) of people, advertising clubs, alumni associations, Rotary and Kiwanis meetings and conventions of a wide variety of groups were offered the film as a feature of their meetings. At each gathering the members not only saw the film, but were able to read or examine the actual specimens of the seditious mailing pieces.

* * * *

In a luxurious apartment on Park Avenue one fine October afternoon, I made my film and sample talk to the members of the alumni group of a certain college for women. When I had finished the hostess came to stand beside me and said, "I want you, Mr. Hoke and all of you, to know that I knew this H. R. Hoffman you have been talking about. My husband and I *liked* him very much."

Then she told of a trip to Germany and to Munich in 1938; how she and the husband had been entertained, furnished transportation, roses in the rooms, etc.; how they had come back filled with praise for the Nazi wonders; how they had started to receive the mailed material from Munich in ever increasing quantities. And how it had taken this Park Avenue couple more than a year to wake up to the fact that they were being sold a bill of goods to "sell out" their own country.

That testimony brought home clearly the power of the Nazi selling strategy. It became easier to understand how weaker prospects could succumb entirely, and how our native

crack-pots would have a gospel ready made for their repeating.

After I had visited many places around New York and New Jersey, my tour carried me to Pittsburgh, Grand Rapids, Kansas City and many cities throughout the midwest. In every place the general reaction was amazement and disbelief.

"This really couldn't be happening here."

Late in January of 1941 came the first real good break in the crusade. The Post Office Department ruled (under a technicality) that it could no longer accept for delivery bulk shipments of mail coming in from abroad under the International Postal Union Treaty . . . because the senders had not registered under our laws as foreign agents. The Postmasters in several West Coast ports proceeded to burn the mail coming in from Hoffman in Munich and the other German Agencies. Newspapers played up the story. Action at last.

During the next few months I continued to make talks around the country . . . hammering hard on the German Railroads, the German Library and the American Fellowship Forum. Friedrich Auhagen, in the meantime, had been arrested for failure to register as a foreign agent. He was on the way to conviction and jail.

One phase of the propaganda campaign continued to mystify me. From many cities throughout the country I obtained lists of wealthy women who were acting as person-to-person distributors of Nazi literature. In New York, the practice was exceedingly frequent. We knew the names of the women—but couldn't find out who directed them. In my talks I showed specimens of the pieces so distributed. The "rich women" angle always stirred up heated discussions. I will tell you later, in its proper sequence, how this angle became clearer . . . in a way not a little embarrassing to me.

One of the most satisfying adventures of the crusade came in Rockland County, New York. An old time member of the Direct Mail Advertising Association lived in Nyack and he and his family were absorbed in a newly organized Rockland County Patriotic Council composed of ministers, school teachers, bankers, labor leaders, farmers, legion-

naires, and other representatives of community life. These people thought that something should be done to warn all the citizens of the County about the dangers threatening our American way of life. They asked me to show the film and the evidence to an organization meeting of the Patriotic Council on May 5, 1941.

Following that, arrangements were made for a personal appearance at all the High Schools in Rockland County . . . so that the young people could hear the story. I remember well the evening before the two-day barnstorming tour. Leaders of the community were gathered in the big parlor of a member's home. We talked for hours about what was happening to the country. Late that evening a telephone call came in announcing that the District School Board had just voted to prohibit my appearance in the auditorium of one of the seven High Schools in Rockland County. The Board "did not think the students should be given such sensational and controversial material."

The next morning we started out to cover the other six High Schools.

The students were usually enthusiastic. But in some cases, the teachers were apathetic. One teacher said that she "didn't want to hear about it." In one particular high school, the film demonstration was interrupted right in the middle by an anti-Semitic outburst. In the darkened room I was called "a Jew." The lights had to be turned on in order to get the meeting quieted down.

After the two day tour, I was invited to speak with Rex Stout at a county-wide mass meeting of parents. Students who had been present on the previous trip, came to the parents mass meeting to hear the story again. The most gratifying part of that whole experience was that *the kids* seemed to want information. I was beginning to wonder whether the "Letter To Three Sons" had been correct. The young people were not nearly so indifferent as their parents. Men and women acted as if they wanted to be helpful, but their questions revealed an undercurrent of doubt and in many cases, actual antagonism. Propaganda was having its effect . . . in Rockland County . . . and therefore in many counties throughout the land.

* * * * *

Once during a talk before a Hotel Association Convention in Atlantic City . . . I casually told the story of how this crusade started . . . on a bench beside my son Pete in the Quad at the University of Pennsylvania. I talked briefly about subversive activities on the campuses of the country . . . not knowing a reporter from a Philadelphia paper was present.

The reporter picked on the Penn angle for local news interest and phoned his paper. Reporters checked with University officials who *denied everything* vociferously. Next morning the story of the controversy broke, making me look like a dope. I rushed to Philadelphia, got an audience with the Dean of Student Affairs and encountered more denials. The denials stopped when I showed not only specimens of subversive literature but a boasting story in a national subversive sheet telling how officials of the University had been "forced to buckle under student pressure and to retract demand for membership lists" of subversive student groups. This, I said, was . . . *appeasement*. I agreed that freedom of speech and press should be maintained . . . but insisted that organized distributors of un-American literature *should be known*. The University *demands and gets* the membership list of every legitimate fraternity, class or club. Why protect or appease the hate spreaders? The argument was never settled. I meant no harm to my Alma Mater. I was fighting against a disease which raged on every campus. My pride in my own Alma Mater opposed hush-hush tactics. The way to drive out rats is to *expose them*. The University officials didn't know that I had talked with the student editors of more than fifty university and college papers. I knew the truth. The pressure of propaganda was . . . terrific. Later developments demonstrated that the young minds were able to resist the poisonous propaganda much better than their elders.

* * * * *

On my brief trips back to the office, trying to edit and produce my magazine, I would examine and analyze the growing file of specimens of franked mailings received by friends who had dummy names on subversive mailing lists. *An increased amount of franked*

mail from various members of Congress was reaching those dummy names.

As this evidence grew, I included it in my talks . . . closing each discussion with the statement that I hoped some member of Congress would either sue me or demand an explanation.

I kept hammering on that point . . . often referring to Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Montana), because specimens of his franked mailings seemed to be more numerous than others. In Senator Wheeler's case, for example, the addressee's name on many pieces of evidence had been placed on the envelope with a peculiar style of duplicating machine. The lettering and the impression did not look like the product of an American manufacturer. We thought it might be a German-made addressing machine. But with the help of some of the equipment manufacturers, we found that the addressing had been done by an old-fashioned Elliott Addressing Machine which had been out of general use for more than twenty years. By studying current supply order records in the company office, we finally tracked this type of machine down to three organizations in the City of New York. One was owned and used by the Steuben Society of New York. We obtained samples of confidential bulletins issued by the Steuben Society. In these bulletins, the Secretary urged members to attend specified meetings with emphasis on the assurance that reprints of speeches by Senator Wheeler and Senator Nye would be available *in franked envelopes* to be mailed to friends. "No postage required." The peculiar addressing style used by the Steuben Society matched the addressing on the Wheeler franked envelopes. The old-fashioned blue ink was the same. A code on the addressee plate was identical.

That gave us definite proof that Senator Wheeler was allowing a German organization to make promiscuous use of his frank. And that promiscuous use was a violation of postal regulations . . . by the Steuben Society!

It may be necessary at this point to explain exactly what the "franking privilege" really is. This privilege was originally intended to provide members of Congress with a means of carrying on free correspondence with constituents. The *frank* itself is the *signature* of

the sender placed on the envelope instead of a postage stamp. It is true that the franking privilege has been generally used around election time to win votes from constituents. But the early legislators did not visualize that a day would come when a Representative from a Boston district, for example, would allow his frank to be used to disseminate foreign-inspired propaganda to a national mailing list.

The postal laws provide no penalty in case of misuse of the franking privilege. However, a penalty of \$300 is provided for each misuse of free (penalty) mail by the Executive Branches of the Government. The Post Office has no recourse against members of Congress who misuse the franking privilege except to call the member personally and tell him, "please don't do it again." Perhaps that is why members of Congress have been free and easy with the lending of their frank. No penalty!

Under present liberal franking privilege regulations, a member of Congress may send bundles of unaddressed franked mail to *one agent*, who may address and mail such material without payment of postage . . . but the Post Office frowns upon and usually prohibits (when discovered) the promiscuous distribution of franked mail to be addressed by unknown persons.

One section of the Postal Laws and Regulations is written in plain language. (See Chapter 4, Sec. 613, 1932) . . . "It shall be unlawful for any person entitled under the law to the use of a frank, to lend said frank or permit its use by any committee, organization, or association, or permit its use by any person for the benefit of any committee, organization, or association. This provision shall not apply to any committee composed of members of Congress."

The law sounds clear but it doesn't mean what the average citizen might think. That provision means that a member of Congress cannot allow his signature (or frank) to be placed on the mailing envelopes of an outside organization. But it does not prevent the Congressman from putting his frank on his own envelope which contains material from the *Congressional Record* helpful to the organization doing the addressing. It sounds fantastic . . . but it's true.

Controversy with a Senator

May 15, 1941, was a date more significant than the June day in 1940 when we first saw the arrogant letter from Ernest Schmitz. This day a letter arrived from Senator Wheeler. Here it is:

"Washington
"May 14, 1941

"Mr. Henry Hoke, Publisher
"The Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising
"17 East 42nd
"New York, N. Y.

"My dear Mr. Hoke:

"Miss A—— K—— of St. Louis, Mo., has sent me your letter of April 18th to her, in reply to one which she wrote to you.

"I note you say: 'If you were here at my office and saw the evidence which we had you would probably be just as mad as I was and am.'

"I do not think that any member of Congress has a right to turn the sacred privilege of his frank over to foreign interests, and we have proved that this has been done.'

"Your letter would indicate that you have proven that I have turned the use of my frank over to foreign interests. If that is what you mean, it is a deliberate falsehood. If you have any proof of any foreign interests using my frank, I would like to know who they are.

"In one instance I found that a party had been using my frank without my knowledge, and I immediately turned the matter over to the Federal authorities for investigation .

"Respectfully,
(Signed) "B. K. Wheeler"

The Senator received a fourteen page reply, together with photostats of some of the incriminating material. There is no need for you to read all of that letter. Later developments make the picture clearer. But you should know now some of the pertinent excerpts from the letter to Senator Wheeler:

"I have claimed since May, 1940 that:

"MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE AIDING THE NAZI PLAN BY ALLOWING THE USE OF THEIR FRANKING PRIVILEGE FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF DISRUPTIVE PROPAGANDA.

"All evidence collected forces me to include you.

"I do not care to argue with you concerning your political position. You have a right to your own opinion.

"You can try as you will to make this world situation sound like an old-fashioned 'border dispute'; you can close your eyes to the world-wide scheme to disrupt our way of life; you can speak at meetings of the America First Committee and smilingly acknowledge the roars of the confused crowd in booing and hissing the President of the United States; you can stand uncomplainingly while the Nazi-packed auditorium cheers the Lindbergh line that Hitler cannot be licked. That is your privilege as an American citizen. You take your chances with the judgment of history.

"You may have a legal right to allow the use of your franking privilege as part of the propaganda drive to divide our thinking—but there is something wrong with our laws when this franking privilege can be turned into a propagandist's free-for-all at the expense of the taxpayers.

"Unaddressed franked mail under your signature and under that of former Representative Jacob Thorkelson of Montana, has been distributed by your violent adherent Donald Shea at his anti-Semitic meetings and by Nazi-loving, Jew-baiting Joe McWilliams at Christian Front meetings. Recipients were instructed to address the franked envelopes and dump them into the nearest postal box, without payment of postage.

"Franked mail of other Senators and Representatives has been likewise bundled and

passed out at meetings of the Bund, the America First Committee, the No Foreign War Committee and other groups of notorious reputation. This is against the letter and spirit of the law.



"FIVE peculiar pieces of franked mail were received by a New York German-American during the month of December, 1940. His name was spelled identically on the pieces received from Senators Nye and Wheeler and ex-Senator Holt; and on the pieces from George Holden Tinkham and ex-Representative Thorkelson. By a strange coincidence, the pieces from Holt, Nye, Tinkham and Thorkelson were addressed in identically the same handwriting.

"In your case, the envelope was addressed with a strange old-fashioned type of stencil which has been traced to the Steuben Society.

"What is the material in these envelopes? The same old stuff . . . no danger from Hitler . . . let's not get ourselves excited at the World going to pieces . . . the same kind of propaganda appearing in the German Library's *Facts In Review*. The kind of propaganda which wins you and Senator Nye much space and praise in the German controlled press.

"The franking privilege is being lent to outside committees or organizations under the guise of a legitimate use of the frank.

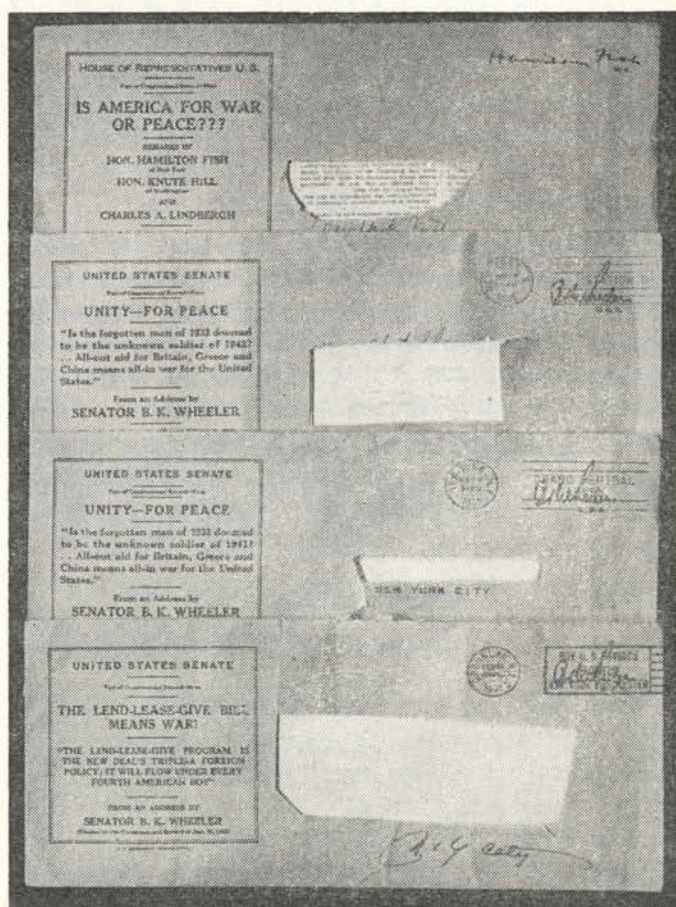
"For example, Senator Wheeler, an envelope bearing your frank postmarked Wash-

ington, D. C., on May 10th, contained reprints of speeches made outside by you and Representative Roy Willis. The envelope was received at a Long Island address by a 'dummy name' placed on the list of the American Coalition Society. . . .

"The mailing was actually a mailing for the Society. It was within the law which allows you to appoint an agent, but it plainly is a propaganda mailing for the Society. . . .

"There are other unusual cases. On March 15, 1941, the advertising manager of a New York magazine received for the first time franked mail from Representative Ham Fish. It contained the usual line from Fish and Lindbergh. On April 17th this same advertising manager (who had not been receiving franked mail before) received one of *your* franked envelopes containing the reprint of a speech you made on March 24th (same agent handling both your propaganda and Fish's).

"On May 2nd, our German-American friend (previously mentioned) received one



of the same Wheeler-franked envelopes containing your March 24th speech addressed with the peculiar old-fashioned blue stencil used during the big December appeasement drive.

"On February 22, 1941, you allowed or caused to be mailed from Brooklyn, New York, under your free frank, an unknown number of letters to prominent Irish-American names in New York City in an envelope which blared out the message that 'Lend Lease Bill means War' and that 'it will plow under every fourth American boy.'

"Inside your franked envelope was a small slip containing remarks made by you in Senate on January 12th. You enclosed (or allowed to be enclosed) a form letter processed on the stationery of The Committee on Interstate Commerce. It is an appeal by a Senator from the State of Montana to citizens of the State of New York to bring pressure on duly elected representatives of New York citizens to vote against H. R. 1776 (Lend-Lease). Many of the people on this mailing list resented your intrusion and presumption.

"Why was a mailing with your frank made from Brooklyn? Could it be possible that the offices of the discredited Fascist-minded Christian Front handled the mailing? If not, who did?

Time For Analysis!

"Isn't it about high time that the tax paying citizens of this country find out what is going on within the Halls of Congress . . . find out just how far any member of Congress can go in spending the taxpayers money for deluging the country with propaganda?

"You have allowed widespread and promiscuous use of your frank for propaganda purposes. You know, or should know, that batches of your franked mail for promiscuous addressing have been passed around at meetings attended by Nazis, anti-Semites, Fascists and others who do not love America. You, in the material circulated nationally under your frank, have helped to carry out the Nazi theory of 'Divide and Conquer.' You have helped in creating the wave of racial and religious intolerance sweeping the country.

Misuse Is General

"On April 25, 1941, in Omaha, Nebraska, Charles B. Hudson, violently anti-Semitic publisher, admitted to reporters that he had distributed isolationist speeches under the Congressional free mailing franks of Senators Worth Clark of Idaho, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri and Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, and Representatives Oliver of Maine and Bolton of Ohio.

"Hudson told reporters that the Congressional speeches didn't come directly from the Congressional office for distribution through him but 'are sent to me from the East but I don't know who sends them.'

"The office of Senator Clark of Idaho involved Representative Hamilton Fish of New York in the matter. Clark's office said that the speeches were sent only to the Order of the Purple Heart under Clark's frank so far as the Idaho Senator knew, but copies were sent to the office of Representative Fish. . . .

"Johnson of Idaho circularizes, under his frank, citizens of Texas asking them to feed the invaded countries; the Honorable D. Worth Clark allows his franked mail to be used repeatedly by who-knows to spread the cause of disunity and apathy toward Hitler's conquests; Clare Hoffman violates the postal regulations by reprinting an insertion in *Congressional Record* in booklet form with a cover. It is against the law to 'embellish' Congressional proceedings and mail under frank.

"James C. Oliver has been extraordinarily active in broadcasting tons of Lindbergh's statements inserted in the 'Record.' A University professor in Texas received a franked Oliver (Maine) envelope postmarked New York and bearing an address sticker obviously made from the address plate of a trial subscription to *Scribner's Commentator*, the great appeasement and God-bless-Hitler journal.

"Blank stuffed envelopes, bearing Oliver's frank, were distributed through Philadelphia, Chicago, New York and other areas for addressing by miscellaneous, promiscuous, unknown and unnumbered persons.

"On March 12th a correspondent of ours saw a sack full of franked plain propaganda

mail from a Senator in Washington delivered to the *Defender Magazine* (edited by Gerald Winrod) at Wichita, Kansas for readdressing to the (Winrod) lists. All these cases may be within the letter of the law . . . but . . .

What Can Be Done?

"This plague of disruption . . . this gnawing at the vitals of decency and of good statesmanship . . . is happening right here in America . . . in your and my America. Those who hear about it for the first time say 'It can't be true.' But, IT IS TRUE. A small clique of obstructionist members of Congress have prostituted their right to the franking privilege; they have turned over this right to bundists, crack-pots, anti-Semites, anti-Americans; they have violated (in spirit at least) the laws and regulations governing the use of the frank. They have violated their oath to uphold the dignity of their high office. And these same members of Congress are the most loud spoken in their criticism and contempt for those who are trying to guide this country through troubled waters. They label all critics of their questionable actions . . . WARMONGERS.

"If you are sincere, Senator, in your much publicized patriotism, I will retract my charges on the day that you stand up in the Senate and propose:

- (a) An Emergency Legislation Act . . . making it illegal for any foreign government (or its agents) to solicit or approach by mail or in person any resident of the United States for the purpose of influencing an acceptance of a form of government opposed to our own. Such an Act in legal and constitutional phraseology would close the German Library, the German Railroads, the German-American Board of Trade and all Communist and Fascist branches.
- (b) A complete revision of the franking regulations making it illegal (*with penalties*) for any member of Congress to lend the use of the frank for propaganda purposes—or to use that frank

FOR ANY PURPOSE except official business or for correspondence with constituents.

"Until that day, Senator Wheeler, we'll keep watching and accusing.

(Signed) "Henry Hoke"

As usual, in order to get publicity for this new angle in the crusade against the misuse of the mail, I had to depend on the small circulation of our trade magazine. The long message was reprinted in a special eight page section which reached subscribers about June 1st. Advance copies were sent to newspapers and magazines. A carbon copy of the original letter (and duplicate photostats of the evidence) was sent to the President of the United States.

Reactions were prompt. Letters came in from civic organizations, American Legion Posts and business firms throughout the country, asking for reprints of the letter to Senator Wheeler. We supplied at cost 100,000 reprints. The ridiculed "pebble dropped into Lake Michigan" had stirred up some pretty big ripples. Many newspapers broke the silence on this delicate question and blasted out at the disgusting mess. Some papers printed the entire text of the message to Wheeler. Carbon copies of irate letters from citizens to their Congressmen or to the Senator from Montana began flowing into our office with every mail. The Post Office Department stepped in and *fined the Steuben Society for illegal distribution of Wheeler and Nye franked mail.*

On June 20, 1941, a friend beside a news ticker called me on the 'phone to beat the headlines . . .

"Henry, you ought to be glad to know," he said, "the President of the United States has just issued an executive order closing the German Railroads . . . the German Library of Information and . . . the German Consulates."

I cleared my desk and took the balance of the day off to rest . . . and to thank the Lord that this country, at least, had a leader with guts.

Congressional Indignation

Senator Wheeler did not reply. But we received letters which he had written to other people. For the record, here is a letter mailed by the indignant Senator on June 30, 1941, to one of our voluntary crusaders in the mid-west:

"My dear Mr. Hester:

"This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 25, together with the pamphlet which you inclosed.

"Mr. Hoke, author of the pamphlet, has written me and has called at my office. (Have never been in Wheeler's office. . . . H.H.) I am not seriously concerned about Mr. Hoke's misrepresentations. In the first place, Mr. Hoke is interested in direct mail advertising, as he himself says, and is opposed to the use of the franking privilege on general principles. The present situation seems to afford him a handy vehicle for carrying out his propaganda against the use of the franking privilege and I have no objection to his program as such. I agree with him that the franking privilege undoubtedly has been abused in many instances.

"I note, however, for example, that Mr. Hoke makes no reference to the fact that those in Government who apparently favor our intervention in foreign war sent out under various Congressional franks some 2,000,000 pieces of mail all over the United States, much of it distributed by the pro-interventionist committees and organizations. Nor does Mr. Hoke make any reference to the fact that during the political campaigns, members of both parties and particularly their national committees made use of the franks of a large number of members of Congress to aid in the distribution of millions of pieces of propaganda mail.

"I want you to note that Mr. Hoke takes it upon himself to pass judgment as to what is contained in the speeches whose distribution he objects to. He characterizes my addresses, and those of other Senators and Con-

gressmen with whom he disagrees on the question of intervention, as being 'Nazi propaganda,' or certainly leaves that implication. It is axiomatic that in times of hysteria people make charges which are fabricated out of the whole cloth and I do not want to quarrel with Mr. Hoke's interpretations.

"For your information the only material that has ever gone out under my frank is my own speeches. If you believe that distribution of my speeches is wrong or improper, I cannot quarrel with you. We have been especially careful in my office in sending speeches to those who request them to see to it that organizations and individuals who are un-American do not receive them. However, we cannot and do not intend to require an affidavit from every person who asks for copies of my speeches regarding their personal qualifications to distribute them. This is still a free country and so long as American citizens request copies of my addresses for the purpose of aiding in their distribution, they shall have them.

"Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) "B. K. Wheeler."

In writing to a Mr. John Gordon in Atlanta, Georgia (a fictitious name used by one of our Southern helpers), Senator Wheeler included these enlightening paragraphs:

"Now with reference to Henry Hoke; I do not know the particular article you have reference to, but I have seen some articles he has written. He is a fanatic against the use of the frank. Some of the crowd in New York, including some of the International Bankers, the motion picture magnates who are financing the campaign of some of these fellows, have accused me of turning over some of my franked speeches to anti-Semitic organizations. Of course, this is ridiculous and unfounded.

* * * * *

"Why all this hullabaloo about Senator Wheeler and Senator Nye, when this is a practice that has been carried on by both the Democratic and Republican Administrations ever since I have been a member of the United States Senate. There is a little crowd who want to go to war, and who are seeking to do everything they can to take this means of discrediting those who are opposed to our getting into this war. They are doing exactly the same things that were done by Daugherty and his gang during the Harding Administration, when they started to smear old Bob LaFollette, Tom Walsh and myself, and others.

"As far as I am concerned, I am hardened to that kind of a thing, and they are not going to stop me in that manner."

When Ulrich Bell telegraphed Senator Wheeler complaining about his misuse of the franking privilege he received a hot reply:

"Ulrich Bell, Chairman, Executive Committee, Fight for Freedom, Inc.

"Retel. You should know me well enough to know that I never pass the buck. I stated to the *Tribune* that the statement that your organization made to the effect that my office had turned over my frank to McWilliams or any other anti-Semitic organization was false; that Ed Cooper who handles all of these matters in my office was a Jewish fellow and I did not think he was anti-Semitic.

"Since your communication came in I have asked him as to whether or not my frank or speeches had been turned over to anti-Semitic, Nazi or pro-German organizations. He assures me they had not been and that he had been extremely careful about it.

"It is apparent you do not want to believe it. Of course I pay the bill, but I do not personally take the name of everybody who asks for copies of speeches. Mr. Cooper does. I am amazed that you would stoop to this kind of thing.

"It is a vicious libel and if continued I will be forced to take action.

"WHEELER"

On July 16, 1941, we mailed another letter to Senator Wheeler answering the statements he had made to correspondents throughout the

country. I asked him to stick to the facts and not confuse the issue by accusing me of being opposed to the franking privileges *as such*.

I had never visited his office. I had not been supported by any outside organization or individual.

Senator Wheeler was supplied with additional evidence, such as a photostat of a Hamilton Fish franked envelope mailed June 30th from Omaha, Nebraska, to a planted name in Minneapolis which had been placed on the mailing list of pro-Nazi Charles B. Hudson.



A photostat showed the Senator his own postcard received on July 7th in Stoutland, Missouri, containing quotations from speeches made by Herbert Hoover, Joseph Kennedy, Charles Lindbergh and Gerald P. Nye (not a speech made by Senator Wheeler).

Photostats were also sent to Wheeler of the confidential bulletins of the Steuben Society (Unit 55) New York . . . with underlined sections which bragged "*franked mail of Wheeler and Nye is available for members to send out without payment of postage.*"

Copies of this second letter to Senator Wheeler were released to the newspapers.

On July 18, 1941, came the only direct answer to the charges:

"Mr. Henry Hoke
"17 East 42nd Street
"New York

"Dear Sir:

"I am in receipt of your letter of July 16th, and in reply would say that I repeat, you have

not only misrepresented but in my judgment, you have deliberately distorted the facts.

"I cannot take up my time to answer everybody who sees fit to misrepresent me. I have been misrepresented so many times, one more misrepresentation by you does not interest me.

"I have been very mild in my criticism of you, in view of information that has come to me.

"Respectfully,

"B. K. Wheeler"

Senator Wheeler was not the only member of Congress who heard from indignant constituents. Some Congressmen were boiling mad . . . were becoming alarmed. In some cases, we discovered statements which indicated that the Congressman involved did not know how he had become involved. Those statements provided clues which became valuable in succeeding months.

Congressman J. C. Oliver of Maine . . . in writing to Miss Christabel Cordell of South Portland, Maine, crawled out on these limbs:

"I did authorize the use of my franking privilege for the purpose of distributing copies of the testimony of former Colonel Charles Lindbergh before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs at the time when the so-called Lend Lease Legislation was under consideration. I did this because I felt that the people of this country were entitled to a complete knowledge of the observations and statements which he made. He is an American citizen, native born and, in my opinion, is a brave, courageous character who has fully demonstrated his integrity and intellectual honesty. It is his opinion that the United States should not intervene in these current conflicts and I fully agree with him.

(Note by H.H.: Lindbergh said that *Germany could not be defeated* even with the help of the U.S.A.)

"Let me add briefly that the organizations participating in the distribution of the Lindbergh statement were the America First Committee, *Scribner's Commentator*, the American Coalition and other patriotic organizations whose deep-seated interest in the wel-

fare of the United States cannot be questioned."

So concluded Congressman Oliver: "*cannot be questioned*"!

In a second letter to Miss Cordell, Congressman Oliver was more bitter in his criticism of the exposé of the misuse of the franking privilege:

"You certainly can question my judgment," he said, "and in your own mind you doubtlessly have very good reason for doing so. It does occur to me, however, in this matter of distribution of public statements of citizens of the United States that you have been unduly disturbed and alarmed by the unwarranted statements of Mr. Hoke which in effect are issued merely for the purpose of inflaming the minds of our people to a point where intolerance will creep in and result therefrom.

"What his purpose may be I do not know, but in view of his occupation which I understand is the direct mail order business, it is very possible that he has been retained by certain interested groups who are determined that the United States shall become an active participant in these foreign conflicts. I hope that his interests are based on a higher patriotic motive than this but in lieu of confirming information that such is not the case, I can only believe that he is benefiting financially in some way for the rather bitter printed indictment which he has made of those of us in the Congress of the United States who are following the dictates of our own conscience and who are interested in the welfare of this country."

On July 28, 1941, visitors in the gallery of the Senate Chamber witnessed a disgraceful exhibition. Senator Wheeler, assisted by a handful of co-workers, consumed hours of valuable time in whitewashing himself from the charges of misusing the mail. In a debate with Senator Barkley, Wheeler incorrectly described the purpose of the franking privilege. His denial about writing to the constituents of other Senators was erroneous . . . because I had previously submitted photostats showing Wheeler (Montana) letters mailed from Brooklyn to a New York Irish-American mailing list. Senator Barkley succeeded in getting Senator Wheeler to admit

that the America First Committee had purchased *one million of his franked post cards*.

The outbreak in the Senate seemed to open up new possibilities, if I could get my evidence assembled into some presentable and convincing form. I fell back on the standard "sales presentation" technique.

A paper merchant provided an attractive, 11¼" by 14½" 40-page spiral bound portfolio. Into this portfolio went a step-by-step illustrated description of the evidence concerning the misuse of the franking privilege.

The opening page charged that the following members of Congress were involved in the misuse of the frank:

| <i>Senators:</i> | <i>Representatives:</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Burton K. Wheeler (Montana) | Harold Knutson (Minnesota) |
| Gerald P. Nye (North Dakota) | Bartel Jonkman (Michigan) |
| E. C. Johnson (Colorado) | Stephen Day (Illinois) |
| D. Worth Clark (Idaho) | John Vorys (Ohio) |
| Robert A. Taft (Ohio) | Henry Dworshak (Idaho) |
| (Ex) Rush D. Holt (West Virginia) | (Ex) J. Thorkelson (Montana) |
| (Ex) Ernest Lundeen (Minnesota) | (Ex) George Holden Tinkham (Massachusetts) |
| <i>Representatives:</i> | (Ex) James C. Oliver (Maine) |
| Hamilton Fish (New York) | (Ex) William Stratton (Illinois) |
| Clare E. Hoffman (Michigan) | (Ex) Philip Bennett (Missouri) |
| Dewey Short (Missouri) | |

On each page of this sales portfolio were mounted actual specimens of franked envelopes, or affidavits from investigators who had witnessed franked envelopes being distributed in bulk at isolationist, Christian Front, anti-Semitic or pro-Nazi meetings. At the bottom of each page typed colored cards explained what the evidence meant. I attached either photostats or original copies of bulletins, letters, post cards, pamphlets, booklets, etc., which had been mailed under the frank of the members of Congress named in the portfolio. I showed tie-ups of material mailed under the frank with identical editorials appearing in the Bund organ *The Free American* and *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*.

Included were the letters to Senator Wheeler, his replies to individuals who had

written to him; and a large collection of news clippings on the "franking scandal."

The specimen portfolio completed, I was ready for Washington. The first member of Congress to see it was Senator Alvin W. Barkley, of Kentucky. The Majority Leader was shown by the evidence that Senator Wheeler's statements in the Senate on July 28th were, to put it mildly, erroneous. After Senator Barkley read it the book traveled around the Halls of Congress, but one copy was not enough. Many people wanted to study it for many long hours.

About this time, I discovered that Senator Wheeler was writing to various individuals throughout the country, claiming to have *authentic information* that Henry Hoke was employed by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

This was not true. I had not been employed by *any* organization.

The real truth was . . . that I had practically wrecked my own business. Advertising revenue had fallen off; I had no time to solicit new business.irate subscribers who belonged to the America First Committee or liked Senator Wheeler cancelled their subscriptions. I had no time to do counseling work which had in peaceful days been profitable. I was faced either with giving up the fight entirely or finding someone else to help with the money . . . for mine was just about gone. A few persons offered to kick in . . . but a long fight needs money.

One evening I went through the letters received since that first article in May, 1940 . . . picking out those specifically offering help whenever needed . . . people in the Direct Mail business all over the country. To a list of about 225 names I wrote this letter:

"Here's a situation. I'm leaving for Washington again in a few hours and this explanation will be brief. Have been down there on and off most of the time for past three weeks.

"A 'break' has come in the fight to clean up the franking mess—but only a small part of the story is out. Every development so far has confirmed the charges I've been making for a year and a half.

"With the help of friends, I've prepared a portfolio containing photostatic copies of all evidence and a complete explanation of a complicated plot to spread foreign propaganda under the protection of the free Congressional frank.

"So far, I've carried on the fight mostly alone—but the time is ripe now to get something done by more aggressive action than I can afford personally. We need more portfolios, more photostats, more contacts, more people working, more press releases, more footwork down there in Washington. We are fighting a bunch who are well heeled with money.

"Some of my expenses have already been pledged—but how long I can stay down there and how much I can get done depends on getting more money quickly.

"Would you and some of your friends be willing to help in the effort to get this black-eye of the franking misuse wiped out.

"Send whatever amount of money you can get together to my office, and they'll notify me. I can't make any promises, but you know I'll do my best. Every cent will be put to good use. We have a good chance of winning.

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) "Henry Hoke

"P. S. If I could afford to fight this out alone longer, I'd do it gladly without asking help from you or anyone else. Whatever we do, should be done quickly.

"H. H."

The response was immediate. Small and not-so-small checks came from everywhere. In some cases, individuals brought cash and asked me not to get their names involved because of "company complications." All the money received was deposited in a bank and entered in our books as miscellaneous income. Altogether about \$3000 was contributed. Stack that against the Nazi millions!

I spent every cent of the money collected . . . and more. The income was reported on my personal tax return, and the expenditures were listed as "expense." No one has ever asked for an accounting. Nothing mattered . . . except results. The results can speak for themselves.

* * * * *

Back in New York there was a hectic job of making up a dozen sets of photostatic duplicates of the original portfolio. Once those twelve sets were available, the job in Washington was a whole lot easier. More people could have copies for overnight study . . . *and people were studying*. In some cases, members of Congress refused to give the portfolio back after the first night's study. They wanted to keep it to show to friends. They wanted to know if every statement was absolutely true.

"It is unbelievable that this could be happening."

Indignation was mounting.

Hiding Behind the Purple Heart

With editorials and news items on misuse of the frank appearing now in the daily newspapers, in house magazines and in trade publications . . . with commentators Walter Winchell, Johannes Steel, Burnett Hershey, and Drew Pearson, among others, mentioning the franking scandal over the air . . . it was inevitable that additional evidence should pile up. New-made friends widened the circle of those who had been watching for examples in their own daily mail.

Many nights were sleepless with the effort to figure out how this scheme was being worked. A fellow in Minneapolis, for example, would join the America First Committee or subscribe to Charlie Hudson's Omaha bulletin or write a fake letter of praise to Senator Nye for a speech made over the radio . . . and just as sure as he did, he would begin to get letters addressed to the dummy name he had used, from other organizations, and franked mail from members of Congress. I had been in the Direct Mail business for some twenty years but I couldn't figure out *how* the details were handled. I knew that Senator Nye did not go into the Senate Dining Room and tell a fellow Senator that he had received a very flattering letter from so-and-so in Minneapolis and that the other Senator should write to him also. I knew that the operators of *Scribner's Commentator* in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and the managers of the America First Committee did not swap individual personal experiences . . . with America Firster R. Douglas Stuart telling Scribner's Douglas M. Stewart to put such-and-such a person on the mailing list.

We learned from a girl who worked in a locked and guarded room on the top floor of the Ford Building at No. 1710 Broadway in New York City that Ford Motor Car Company employees were compiling a master list of appeasers, anti-Semites, pro-Nazis and Fascists from fan mail addressed to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, to former Senator Rush Holt and to Representative Hamilton

Fish. The lists, when compiled, were delivered to Bessie Feagin, circulation manager of *Scribner's Commentator*. That explained how some of the dummy names used in writing to radio orators eventually got on the list of the America First Committee and *Scribner's Commentator*. But why the Ford organization? But why . . . a lot of things?

But this thread in the web of intrigue did not explain how Charlie Hudson out in Omaha, Nebraska, made arrangements with certain members of Congress to have reprints produced at the Government Printing Office in Washington and shipped in bulk — each reprint in a franked envelope—to him out in Omaha. Did Charlie Hudson go to Washington and make separate arrangements for each printing job? Did Lizzie Dilling in Chicago go down to Washington to purchase reprints of a speech made, for example, by Hamilton Fish or by Rush Holt? Was it all . . . could it be . . . all a series of unrelated incidents?

One evening came an inspiration. On a rare day back at my regular job, I had been studying the very intricate Direct Mail campaign of one of America's leading manufacturers . . . one of the largest users of Direct Mail in selling. The name of the company does not matter because it is in no way connected with this case. The fact remains that this marvelously planned Direct Mail campaign gave me the first real clue as to how the propagandists in Germany had been able to control the nation-wide distribution of the blackest Direct Mail campaign of all time!

This manufacturer produced a product used by many types of businesses. There were many different sales angles. In the home office located in a midwestern city, the advertising department each year planned from 400 to 500 different pieces of mailing literature. Each piece had a different selling slant. Each piece was created and produced to appeal to a certain definite type of prospect; one for a grocer and his special uses; one

for a butcher; another type for a hat shop; a different style for a florist.

This manufacturing company has branch offices in every important city in the country. If the branch office in Seattle, Washington, for instance, wants to make a special drive on the grocery stores in the immediate sales area, the branch office manager gets in touch with a *certain man* in the head office who is in charge of all Direct Mail promotion. By phone or by letter, the branch manager and this *certain man* decide what pieces to use and where the list is to come from. Bulk shipments of the individually selected pieces are then shipped to Seattle. The pieces are then addressed and mailed in Seattle. The campaign may consist of six or twelve or two dozen individual pieces, timed for successive mailings so that the proper impression can be made upon the prospect. The sales organization is then geared into the Direct Mail program. That procedure is followed in each local area in which a branch office is operated. Every detail is synchronized; salesmen and Direct Mail are co-ordinated. More than 20,000,000 pieces per year, with 400 to 500 different formats, are so directed by a certain man in the main office in a midwest city.

THAT WAS THE ANSWER. Why hadn't we thought of it before? So obvious!

I began to see how the Nazi mind had turned a modern American selling tool upon Americans as a weapon of disruption.

The enormous amount of franked propaganda flooding the mails in ever increasing volume could not be just a series of unrelated incidents. There must also be one certain man attending to all of the production and distribution details. Charlie Hudson out in Omaha couldn't go down to Washington and make separate deals with individual members of Congress to have their speeches reprinted and shipped in bulk out to Omaha. Lizzie Dilling was not running down to Washington to buy several thousand copies of a speech made by Ham Fish. Leon de Aryan out in San Diego, California, did not hop a plane to fly to Washington to make arrangements for 5000 copies of a reprint of Lindbergh's testimony to be mailed to his list under the frank of Congressman J. C. Oliver of the State of Maine. This thing was too big! There had to be one certain man . . . a man

who held a similar job to that of the manufacturer's Direct Mail manager we've been talking about. Who was the production manager of the Direct Mail department of this gigantic propaganda mill?

That night I flew to Washington . . . to find that certain man.

I set up headquarters in the old Raleigh Hotel, where I had stayed for years when making contacts with the Post Office Department across the street. I began gathering around me people in Washington who could be counted on to help in a difficult job. We felt sure that the one certain man would be located in Washington. We reasoned that the German mind is so thorough and efficient that it would establish headquarters in the most convenient place. That most convenient place would be within a short distance of the Dome of the United States Capitol. By preference, that headquarters would be either in the Senate or House Office Building where there could be daily contact with the members of Congress and with the *Congressional Record* office in the Capitol Building.

We watched the offices of logical prospects. At first we assumed that the "certain man" was in the Senate Wing. But in the process of elimination and watching mailing activities, the hunt in the Senate Office Building proved futile. The House Office Buildings—there are two, the New and the Old, south of the Capitol—proved a difficult job. There are a lot of offices. In visiting selected offices late in the afternoon, I learned how the mail is handled. We made a study of how orders are placed for reprints from the *Congressional Record*. The Congressman had to sign the original requisition. Money had to be deposited with the *Record* Office when the purchase sheet was written up. We investigated what Congressmen usually did with the daily fan mail. Friendly Congressmen showed me how their offices operated.

Whoever was handling this franked propaganda campaign certainly must have more mailing activity than could be found in the office of the average Congressman. And did it necessarily have to be a Congressman? Perhaps the secretary of some Congressman could be involved. So we watched for active offices . . . watched for any secretary who

might be cutting up high jinx . . . spending more money than a secretary's salary would warrant.

Checking back over all the records of the case so far, one little clue seemed to stand out challengingly.

On April 25, 1941 (see letter to Senator Wheeler on page 19) the office of Senator Clark of Idaho involved Representative Hamilton Fish of New York in Charlie Hudson's Omaha use of the frank. Clark's office said that the speeches were sent to the Order of the Purple Heart.

What possible connection could the Order of the Purple Heart have with this misuse of the franking privilege? Why should the Order of the Purple Heart be purchasing reprints from the *Congressional Record* for purposes much different from the functions of that historically sound organization?

In a room in the Mount Royal Hotel in Montreal, Canada, I had a serious talk with an Officer of the Order of the Purple Heart.* It so happened that this Officer had been on the auditing committee of the Washington Chapter of the Order of the Purple Heart. He swore on his oath that the Order of the Purple Heart had never spent any money whatsoever to purchase reprints from the *Congressional Record*. He explained the organization and told me about its officers . . . the national officers and the officers of the local Chapter in Washington. The Commanding Officer of the Washington Chapter at that time was *one of the secretaries of the Honorable Hamilton Fish*.

A few days later in Washington, D. C., at a cocktail party an inebriated secretary of a sedate Congressman grabbed the coat lapels of a high ranking government executive. He bragged about what he knew about

*Nothing in this account should be interpreted as containing any reflection on the good name of the Order of the Purple Heart . . . an organization of men who have won that prized decoration in the service of their country. We know for a certainty that the *Organization name* was used by one or more of its temporary officers as a handy expedient in carrying on their propaganda work. The Nazi propagandists were clever in thus using other organizations—including religious groups. They worked key men into responsible offices . . . and then hid behind the respectability of an accepted name.

the franking scandal: "If I ever told my story, it would blow the Dome off the Capitol." He mumbled that somebody ought to be paying some attention to all the money being spent by the secretary of Hamilton Fish. "It's a lot of money." The Government official gave me the tip. He didn't want to be involved.

A few friends went to work on this new angle. Within two weeks we had the ugly story. We were sure that we had found the *right certain man*.

* * * * *

On September 16, 1941, the Department of Justice, in response to public demand, had launched a broad investigation of Nazi propaganda agencies. A special Federal Grand Jury was drawn. Directing the inquiry were the special Assistant Attorney General, William Power Maloney and his assistant, Edward J. Hickey, Jr., veterans of mail fraud and propaganda prosecutions. The Grand Jury represented the usual cross-section of a community.

The Grand Jury moved quickly. It listened to and questioned Frank B. Burch, an Akron, Ohio, lawyer and Siegfried Hauck, President of the Flanders Hall Publishing House of Scotch Plains, New Jersey. A few days later it heard Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago and Prescott Dennett, Secretary-Treasurer of various committees and manager of the Columbia Press Service in Washington, D. C.

On September 23, Frank B. Burch was indicted for failing to register as an agent of the German government. He later pleaded guilty and was fined \$1000. Because of his age, Burch was given probation on his eight to twenty-four months prison term. He had been supplying mailing lists to the Nazis.

On the same day Prescott Dennett was ordered by the Court to give up all his files . . . and that afternoon the propaganda squad of the Department of Justice hauled a truck load of stuff from Dennett's office apartment in midtown Washington.

But (and it's a big BUT) a House Post Office truck spirited away twenty bags of mail before the propaganda squad got there.

On September 26th, Dillard Stokes of the *Washington Post* broke the sensational story

that Fish's office had ordered the truck to go to Dennett's office and remove the twenty mail bags quickly. At least ten of the mail bags were taken to the America First Committee and the rest were taken to Fish's storeroom in the House Office Building.

The America First Committee gave up ten bags of mail to the United States Deputy Marshal who served the subpoena. Prescott Dennett and Isabel French of the Washington Branch of the America First Committee appeared before the Federal Grand Jury.

On September 27th, Dillard Stokes was invited by one of Fish's secretaries, Walter T. Reynolds, to go up and look at eight mail bags "just located" in the House storage room. A guide was promised but not supplied. Stokes found the bags himself and discovered not the franked mail of Hamilton Fish, but the franked mail of nearly every member of Congress listed in the original portfolio of evidence which I have described on preceding pages.

On September 29th, during an uproar in the House of Representatives, Congressman Fish claimed that his secretary had sent for only 500 copies of Fish's speeches, but that more had arrived and "his secretary had intelligence enough to refuse to accept them." (*Congressional Record*, Vol. 87, p. 7576.) He blamed newspapers for a smear campaign.

By this time William Power Maloney,* Dillard Stokes and Henry Hoke were pretty well acquainted. With the portfolio of evidence, I had been able to convince Prosecutor Maloney that this mail bag "break" was much more serious than the first obvious implication. This wasn't a local Washington, D. C., situation. This case had ramifications which stretched all over the country . . . stretched even to Berlin. I told Bill Maloney about my theory concerning "a certain man." I

*Readers of this report should realize that credit for most of these developments should go to William Power Maloney . . . the courageous Prosecutor for the Department of Justice. He was the first man in Government who was unafraid of the bogey of "personal privilege" in Congress. His willingness to uncover the suspicious actions of members of Congress brought the case to public attention. For this he deserved the Congressional Medal of Honor . . . which, of course, he will never get. His patriotism and energy were rewarded eventually with enforced oblivion.

showed him exactly how the scheme worked . . . how the Purple Heart clue provided the clincher in the case. I went to the Managing Editor of the *Washington Post*, Dillard Stokes' boss . . . showed him the evidence to support my claim that this was an international plot . . . and he proved the courage of his convictions by placing Dillard Stokes on the job twenty-four hours a day.

On October 2, 1941, the *Washington Post* exposed Dennett's connection with George Sylvester Viereck, the registered Nazi agent. Congressmen issued statements denying any connection with Dennett. Even Fish told the House of Representatives . . . "my secretaries state that they did not send speeches to Dennett."

On October 3rd, the Grand Jurors called George Sylvester Viereck, former editor of the German Library of Information's *Facts In Review* and "angel" behind Flanders Hall.

On October 8th, George Sylvester Viereck was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury for failure to give a true statement of his activities in registering as a German agent. He was held for \$15,000 bail.

On October 9th, George Hill, secretary in the office of Representative Hamilton Fish made his first appearance before the Federal Grand Jury.

On October 10th, the Grand Jury heard Walter Reynolds, the other secretary of Hamilton Fish, and Charles Wilson, mail truck driver for the House of Representatives. George Hill, from Fish's office, was recalled after being threatened with jail for contempt of court for refusal to deliver the eight mail bags found by the *Post* reporter, Dillard Stokes, in storeroom No. 30.

The Grand Jurors continued to hear other witnesses, including employees of the House of Representatives folding and mailing room, employees of the Government Printing Office and secretaries of other Congressmen.

On October 17, 1941, I appeared before the Federal Grand Jury. What I said during the three hour session cannot be reported, but I wrote later:

"I feel reasonably sure that the prosecutors will not cite me for contempt or for violation

of the oath of secrecy . . . if I make the following observations about the Federal Grand Jury.

"(1) I'd hate like sin appearing before this body if I were the person being investigated.

"(2) Looking at the intelligent, earnest faces . . . I had the comforting feeling that as long as we the people can have Grand Juries like this, Hitler and his cheap American helpers CANNOT WIN."

The parade of witnesses before the Grand Jury grew longer.

On October 24th, shortly after noon I stood in Federal Court and watched the Grand Jury file in before the Judge's bench. The Jury returned an indictment against George Hill. He was arraigned at once on two counts: (1) That he swore under oath that he had no knowledge of how the mail bags got to Fish's office from Dennett's office; (2) That he claimed he did not know George Sylvester Viereck.

A former congressman, John O'Connor of New York, was present in court and became the attorney for Hill at the arraignment. The Government asked for \$10,000 bail, claiming that Hill was the Washington key man of the German propaganda machine. The Government revealed that this \$2,000 a year secretary admitted he had received \$12,000 in a

few months to pay for Congressional reprints. But Hill refused, so said the Government, to give any accounting of where he got the money. Hill was held for \$5,000 bail.

A Federal Marshal took Hill's arm and led him away . . . handcuffs ready to be snapped on.

Later that evening, riding down Pennsylvania Avenue, I gave a mental salute to the Dome of the Capitol. Democracy works. It may work slowly . . . but it works.

I didn't sleep very well that night. There are Venetian blinds in the windows of the Raleigh Hotel. The street lights down below threw a peculiar reflection on the ceiling . . . the light rays cast a pattern of bars above me. I couldn't stop thinking of Purple Heart Commander George Hill . . . behind bars for the first time in his life. It might not be so bad to be imprisoned for an ordinary crime . . . such as murder or arson or theft. But to see those bars . . . for working against his country!

I thought of all the fine people who had worked so hard to bring this cancer into the spotlight of publicity . . . and of law. I thought of one person particularly who must remain unknown. I wondered if George Hill, behind the bars, could imagine how we knew so much about his activities. He'll never know!

.7.

Putting the Pieces Together

With Hill indicted, but out on bail furnished by a surety company, the Federal Grand Jury continued its investigation during the Fall of 1941.

In the early morning hours of October 24th, Dillard Stokes (by now becoming famous) caught an employee of the Washington Chap-

ter of the America First Committee burning a large amount of franked mail in the alley behind the America First offices in Washington. Dillard hauled away the ashes. Under his study the ashes revealed the franks of William G. Stratton, Henry Dworshak and others. Of the original twenty bags of mail

taken from Dennett's office on the order of Hill, only eight were found in Fish's store-room and ten were seized by the United States Marshal from the America First Committee offices. It was suggested that the material being burned had been from the two missing mail bags.

Newspapers began to ask when Hamilton Fish would be called before the Federal Grand Jury. Fish issued statements that he would appear.

During early November, the Grand Jury heard a string of witnesses . . . employees in Congressional offices. A mysterious Miss "EVS" who worked under a Miss LaVance at the Ford Motor Company offices in New York on mailing lists, Lindbergh's fan mail, etc., appeared on the same day as Bessie Feagin who was circulation manager of *Scribner's Commentator* of Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The Grand Jury also called members of the Steuben Society of New York, and former employees of the Ford Motor Company at the World's Fair.

In the case of Bessie Feagin, the Grand Jury was obliged to hail her into Federal Court to make her testify. Later the Grand Jury called her employers, the owners and publishers of *Scribner's Commentator* for questioning about their obstruction of justice in talking to Miss Feagin about her testimony. After waiting for two weeks for Congressman Fish to appear voluntarily . . . after he had broken a promise to come . . . the Grand Jury issued a subpoena.

Fish was called for 10:30 A.M. on Wednesday the 12th.

On November 10, 1941, Fish raised a point of "personal privilege" in the House. His colleagues instructed him not to obey the subpoena until the question had been studied by the House Judiciary Committee.

On Wednesday, the 12th, the Grand Jury met without Hamilton Fish . . . but they questioned the owners of *Scribner's Commentator*.

In the early morning hours of November 14th, Hamilton Fish, in the uniform of a colonel, boarded a train for active reserve duty in an Army Camp. The departing witness admitted to a reporter that he knew

where Hill's \$12,000 came from. But he would not tell where!

Fish boasted to a reporter before taking his train for Army Service "they can't subpoena me while I'm in the Army." He told newspapermen that he would back his secretary one hundred per cent.

On Friday, November 14, 1941, the House Judiciary Committee reported back to the House with a weasel worded statement which implied that although Fish shouldn't have obeyed the subpoena as originally written, the House could still waive its immunity and ask Mr. Fish to appear before the Grand Jury while the House was not actually in session. Newspaper and radio commentators suggested that Congressmen were putting their own personal privileges ahead of the safety of the United States.

On Monday, November 17th, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution authorizing Congressman Fish to appear and testify before a Federal Grand Jury investigating foreign agents "at any time the House is not in session."

Rumor-mongers were busy in Washington . . . trying to discredit those connected with or helping the investigation, with such statements as, "It's a plot to hurt Fish politically" or "It's a Government plot to smear opponents."

An America First official in New York bragged that Fish would never appear before the Grand Jury. "The America First Committee will prevent it."

On December 5, 1941, a reluctant Hamilton Fish entered the Grand Jury room in Washington. What he actually said there remains a mystery . . . but it is now simple to fit the pieces together into a clear and logical pattern.

* * * * *

(1) "Outside interests" actually succeeded in making arrangements whereby pro-Nazi, anti-British, anti-preparedness and other obstructionist material was entered into the *Congressional Record*.

(2) "Outside interests" succeeded in establishing a purchasing office for Congressional reprints and free franks inside the walls of Congress.

(3) Some of the Congressmen involved were simply duped. They believed in the isolationist cause and it was easy to get them to insert propaganda and sign requisitions for reprints in any quantity.

(4) The purchasing center for tons of foreign-inspired propaganda was located behind the doors of the office of Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, 1424 House Office Building.

(5) It was no accident that the bags of mail taken hurriedly from Dennett's office by House Post Office trucks on orders from George Hill contained the franked material of many Congressmen. It was no accident because the purchasing agent, George Hill, had purchased those reprints, had paid for them in cash, and had arranged for their distribution throughout the country for local addressing.

(6) George Hill, in Congressman Hamilton Fish's office, was operating his end of the propaganda machine this way:

(a) He and Prescott Dennett (who, the Grand Jury said, was an agent of Viereck) would get orders from the America First Committee or outlets of outright Nazi control for a certain quantity of a certain type of speech—say an address by Lindbergh or a speech written by Viereck.

(b) Hill would arrange with a friendly secretary (and he had many such friends) to get the Congressman for whom she worked to insert the speech in the *Record*. That's a routine and easily handled procedure with Congressmen who are not so careful.

(c) Hill would prepare a dummy and a requisition for the reprints. The Congressman whose frank was to be used had to sign the requisition. The friendly secretary took care of that . . . placing the requisition in the daily mail waiting for signature. If the Congressman squawked—he was told that a "reputable" organization wanted to buy these reprints and pay cash. That is where the Order of the Purple Heart came into the scheme. Hill was Commander of the local chapter of the Order of the Purple Heart. He instructed his secretary friends to tell their boss if he complained about a too big order that:

"The Order of the Purple Heart wants to send them to their members." If anyone ever checked up, the Order of the Purple Heart office could say "O.K." because Hill *was* the office. *Clever!**

(d) Next . . . Hill took (or sent by page boy) the signed requisition to the Record Office and deposited CASH for the amount of the purchase of the extra low rate given to members of Congress. No one as yet has been able to prove how much he was paid for what he bought. *His profit was there.*

(e) Proofs from Government Printing Office then went to Hill. He OK'd the proofs and the job was printed. The Government Printing Office then delivered bulk orders to the House Folding Room with tags on bags reading "To Cong. Fish care of George Hill."

(f) Hill then instructed the House Folding Room foreman to ship individual lots to the final addressing centers—from instructions previously arranged with purchasers.

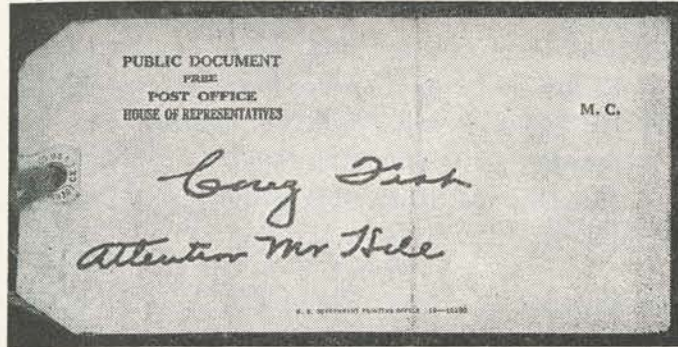
The persons who received the bulk shipments of franked mail were the "dealers" or "distributors." They were similar to the Seattle branch office of the national manufacturer mentioned sometime back in our search for a clue. Hill was the Direct Mail production man sitting in the home office, arranging for copy, printing and lists. The "dealers" out on the end of the line, Charlie Hudson, Leon de Aryan, Lizzie Dilling, America First offices, etc., did the addressing and mailing . . . without postage!

Dennett had a complicated role. He was not only a "dealer" mailing out to his own lists, but he was also a top officer above Hill . . . acting for Viereck in arranging with Hill for insertions in the *Record* and for financing the reprints. George Hill once introduced Pres Dennett to a girl friend as "He's my meal ticket."

The reason Hill was trying so frantically to hide the twenty bags in Dennett's office was that he didn't want anyone to see the numerous lots of franked mail of other Congressmen marked with tags indi-

*Hill resigned as Commander of the Order of the Purple Heart shortly after his indictment.

cating that they had been ordered by Fish. But he was caught. The Grand Jury knew that Hill was not telling the truth in his various appearances . . . because the Purple Heart angle had been well established. They were safe, therefore, in indict-



ing Hill for perjury. The Government had an air-tight case. Fish, himself, probably did not know about the Purple Heart angle when he made his wild speech in the House defending Hill. At least, he didn't know that we knew. His "testimony" on the floor of the House was just as erroneous as the testimony of Hill, on which the Grand Jury voted an indictment for perjury.

(g) Hill had another profitable racket on the side. He employed numerous girl typists at "outside locations" to type address cards from the fan mail received by radio-speaking obstructionist Congressmen.

That was easy, too. Hill simply got his friendly secretaries to save the affirmative fan mail of her boss (such mail is usually thrown out every evening anyway). When compiled (with duplicates removed) the lists were sold to *Scribner's Commentator*, *America First* and others for solicitation of contributions or subscriptions. That's why and how, if you wrote a complimentary letter to Stephen Day, for example, you eventually received mail from other Congressmen, from *America First* and from agencies with Nazi sympathies.

It was a fine racket while it lasted. It was nearly foolproof. It would have been foolproof if a lot of people hadn't become incensed at the flood of free propaganda going through the mails.

The schedule which follows was prepared for the Department of Justice; entered as evidence in court, it is now public record. It lists some, not all, of the material ordered by the office of Hamilton Fish from our Government Printing Plant; and yet it totals more than 1,600,000 copies. At first glance this list looks like a bare recital of facts. But for the imaginative reader, it is a chart of tragedy, a blueprint of destruction by prejudice, by hatred and by racial intolerance. It behooves us to study it well:

(Note: Where payment is shown as being made by "Page," the transaction was, in most cases, traced to Hill.)

| Date Ordered | Titles Appearing on Envelope | Who Ordered | Who Paid | How Much Paid | Whose Frank Was Used | No. of Copies |
|--------------|---|----------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1/11/40 | A National Referendum Before Conscription for Foreign Wars..... | W. L. Reynolds | W. L. Reynolds..... | \$ 9.79 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 1/16/40 | A National Referendum Before Conscription for Foreign Wars..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 12.72 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 1/18/40 | Anti-Lynching Bill..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 14.99 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 1/19/40 | Relief of Distressed and Starved Women and Children of Europe.. | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 14.99 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 1/26/40 | Dies Committee Should Investigate Foreign Agents..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 17.10 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 2/2/40 | A National Referendum Before Conscription for Foreign Wars..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 12.72 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 2/6/40 | Increased Farm Income Would Restore Industry..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 13.36 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 2/9/40 | Resolutions of the Steuben Society of America Pertaining to Finland and Our Diplomatic Relations with Russia and Germany..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 17.10 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 2/12/40 | A National Referendum Before Conscription for Foreign Wars..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 12.72 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 2/29/40 | Dies Committee Should Investigate Foreign Agents..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 13.14 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |

BLACK MAIL

| <i>Date Ordered</i> | <i>Titles Appearing on Envelope</i> | <i>Who Ordered</i> | <i>Who Paid</i> | <i>How Much Paid</i> | <i>Whose Frank Was Used</i> | <i>No. of Copies</i> |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 3/5/40 | Americanism vs. Internationalism... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 77.85 | Cong. Fish..... | 30,000 |
| 3/8/40 | Americanism vs. Internationalism... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 171.09 | Cong. Fish..... | 70,000 |
| 3/22/40 | Americanism vs. Internationalism... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 241.56 | Cong. Fish..... | 99,000 |
| 3/26/40 | A National Referendum Before Conscription for Foreign Wars..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 4.40 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 3/29/40 | "The Russian Way" Colliers Magazine Editorial..... | W. L. Reynolds | Frank Getty..... | 6.67 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 4/3/40 | Republican Party Is a Peace Party.. | W. L. Reynolds | W. L. Reynolds..... | 388.86 | Cong. Fish..... | 170,000 |
| (Nine separate orders dated, between 4/3 and 5/22, requisitioned and paid for by either Hill, Fish or Reynolds) | | | | | | |
| 4/30/40 | Peace and War Propaganda..... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 9.81 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 5/2/40 | Americanism vs. Internationalism... | House Page | W. L. Reynolds..... | 13.14 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 5/9/40 | Maintenance of American Neutrality | Cong. Fish | Cong. Fish..... | 27.34 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 5/28/40 | Keep Europe Out of America and America Out of Europe..... | House Page | M. W. Pickering..... | 27.34 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 6/5/40 | Keep Europe Out of America and America Out of Europe..... | House Page | M. W. Pickering..... | 23.09 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 6/7/40 | Keep Europe Out of America and America Out of Europe..... | W. L. Reynolds | Cong. Fish..... | 20.29 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 6/14/40 | Keep Europe Out of America and America Out of Europe..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 23.09 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 6/17/40 | Keep Europe Out of America and America Out of Europe..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 23.09 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 6/21/40 | Increased Farm Income Would Restore Industry..... | Letter | Cong. Fish..... | 3.20 | _____ | 1,000 |
| 6/24/40 | Republican Foreign Policies..... | Letter | Cong. Fish..... | 16.29 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 7/5/40 | Republican Foreign Policies..... | Cong. Fish | Cong. Fish..... | 12.04 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 7/17/40 | Republican Foreign Policies..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 7.62 | Cong. Fish..... | 3,000 |
| 7/31/40 | Six Men and War..... (written by G. S. Viereck) | Miss Posivia (on Hill's order) | Cash (Mailed by Hill) | 567.36 | Sen. Lundeen..... | 125,000 |
| 9/24/40 | Truth Regarding My 60 Day Amendment | Cong. Fish | Cong. Fish..... | 58.49 | Cong. Fish..... | 40,000 |
| 10/3/40 | Platform of the Steuben Society of America | Cong. Fish | F. J. Blank..... | 140.09 | Cong. Fish..... | 100,000 |
| 10/3/40 | Fish Amendment—Negro Draftees.. | Cong. Fish | Cong. Fish..... | 7.71 | Cong. Fish..... | 3,000 |
| 10/3/40 | Endorsement of Legislative Record of Rep. H. Fish by Brotherhoods... | Cong. Fish | Cong. Fish..... | 14.99 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 10/9/40 | Peacetime Conscription..... | George Hill | Cong. Fish..... | 9.81 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 10/11/40 | Legislative Record of Hon. Hamilton Fish..... | George Hill | Cong. Fish..... | 17.10 | Cong. Fish..... | 5,000 |
| 10/12/40 | Endorsement of Legislative Record of H. Fish by Brotherhoods..... | George Hill | Cong. Fish..... | 12.72 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 11/28/40 | Cong. Daniel Reed, N. Y., Unmasks New Deal Claim of Helping Howard University..... | House Page | E. J. Scott..... | 8.17 | Cong. Fish..... | 3,000 |
| 12/4/40 | Smear Campaign Tactics Undermine Representative Government..... | W. L. Reynolds | Cong. Fish..... | 12.48 | Cong. Fish..... | 1,000 |
| 12/27/40 | Smear Campaign Tactics Undermine Representative Government..... | Letter | Cong. Fish..... | 132.21 | Cong. Fish..... | 40,000 |
| 1/14/41 | Is America for War or Peace..... | W. L. Reynolds | Cong. Fish..... | 9.81 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 1/30/41 | America for War or Peace..... | House Page | Cash | 15.55 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 1/31/41 | Testimony of Col. Charles Lindbergh | Cong. Fish by letter 1/31/41 | America First Committee | 3,646.00 | Cong. James Oliver..... | 227,500 |
| 2/4/41 | Is America for War or Peace..... | W. L. Reynolds | Cash | 117.67 | Cong. Fish..... | 38,000 |

| <i>Date Ordered</i> | <i>Titles Appearing on Envelope</i> | <i>Who Ordered</i> | <i>Who Paid</i> | <i>How Much Paid</i> | <i>Whose Frank Was Used</i> | <i>No. of Copies</i> |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 2/20/41 | Constitutional Power of Congress to Declare War..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 86.60 | Cong. Fish..... | 25,000 |
| 3/7/41 | You're on Your Way to War Stop the March to War Three Steps to War..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 86.70 | Sen. D. W. Clark..... | 25,000 |
| 3/31/41 | England Expects Every American to Do His Duty..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 122.45 | Sen. D. W. Clark..... | 25,000 |
| 4/9/41 | You're on Your Way to War Stop the March to War Three Steps to War..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 18.30 | Sen. Clark..... | 5,000 |
| 4/15/41 | No Convoys—No War..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 86.70 | Cong. Fish..... | 25,000 |
| 4/29/41 | England Expects Every American to Do His Duty..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 251.05 | Sen. Clark..... | 60,000 |
| 4/29/41 | Your'e on Your Way to War Stop the March to War Three Steps to War..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 109.50 | Sen. Clark..... | 35,000 |
| 5/8/41 | No Convoys—No War..... | George Hill | Cash | 61.18 | Cong. Dworshak..... | 30,000 |
| 5/15/41 | No Further Without War..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 47.55 | Sen. G. P. Nye..... | 25,000 |
| 5/16/41 | The Dual Loyalty of English Born American Citizens..... | George Hill | Cong. Fish..... | 5.59 | Cong. J. Rankin..... | 1,000 |
| 5/20/41 | No Convoys—No War..... | George Hill | Cong. Fish..... | 8.47 | Cong. Fish..... | 1,000 |
| 5/21/41 | We Burned Our Fingers Once..... | ———— | Cash | 56.87 | Cong. Hoffman..... | 30,000 |
| 5/26/41 | Three Warnings..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 34.19 | Cong. Dworshak..... | 28,000 |
| 5/28/41 | Mrs. Roosevelt Is Mistaken..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 86.15 | Cong. Jonkman..... | 50,000 |
| 5/29/41 | Mrs. Lundeen Answers Walter Winchell | George Hill | George Hill..... | 55.52 | Rep. H. Knutson..... | 25,000 |
| 6/1/41 | Aid to England..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 47.55 | Rep. Cliff Clevenger.... | 25,000 |
| 6/2/41 | Stay Out of War America and the War Terms for Lasting Peace..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 71.50 | Sen. Wheeler..... | 20,000 |
| 6/3/41 | American People Have Right to Express Views on War..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 7.24 | Cong. Fish..... | 1,000 |
| 6/6/41 | Balancing the Risks No Economic Threat..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 61.00 | Sen. LaFollette..... | 30,000 |
| 7/14/41 | Crosses in Flanders..... | George Hill | George Hill..... | 26.35 | Cong. M. L. Sweeney.... | 10,000 |
| 7/18/41 | Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels. | George Hill | George Hill..... | 73.45 | Sen. D. Worth Clark.... | 10,000 |
| 7/24/41 | Congress Must Keep Faith with Selectees | George Hill | George Hill..... | 213.84 | Cong. P. A. Bennett.... | 66,000 |
| 8/11/41 | Opposing Gag Rule..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 8.33 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 8/23/41 | American People Are Weary of Broken Promises..... | W. L. Reynolds | Cong. Fish..... | 7.47 | Cong. Fish..... | 1,000 |
| 8/23/41 | American People Are Weary of Broken Promises..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 18.70 | Cong. Fish..... | 10,000 |
| 8/23/41 | Opposing Gag Rule..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 4.38 | Cong. Fish..... | 2,000 |
| 9/4/41 | War or Peace..... | House Page | Cong. Fish..... | 25.84 | Cong. Fish..... | 12,000 |

To make the picture clearer . . . you should know how the bulk orders were distributed. In the case of the 227,500 pieces ordered January 31, 1941, containing reprints of Lindbergh's testimony enclosed in unaddressed

franked envelopes of J. C. Oliver . . . records of the House Folding Room disclosed that shipments were made to the following people (who presumably addressed the envelopes and mailed without postage to their own lists):

| <i>Delivered to</i> | <i>Quantity</i> |
|---|-----------------|
| John Snow League for Constitutional Government 18 East 48th Street New York, N. Y. | 15,000 |
| Hon. Jeannette Rankin House Office Building (The only one who voted against war with Japan) | 1,000 |
| R. Townsend (Convicted Japanese agent) Box 347 San Francisco, California | 2,000 |
| Mrs. Wm. S. Walker (American Coalition) Southern Building Washington, D. C. | 5,000 |
| W. G. Springer (America First) 100 East 42nd Street New York, N. Y. | 10,000 |
| R. Douglas Stuart America First Executive Secretary Chicago, Illinois | 39,500 |
| Homer Chaillaux American Legion Indianapolis, Indiana | 15,000 |
| B. Brown Associates Women United 480 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. | 138,000 |
| F. Hansen Romanoff Caviar Company Danville, California | 1,000 |
| H. W. Swanson 1410 H Street Washington, D. C. | 500 |
| J. W. Sweeney 732 Grandview Avenue E. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania | 1,000 |
| Rev. W. T. Boetcher Erie, Pennsylvania | 1,000 |
| Helen Officer 5051 Lemon Avenue Hollywood, California | 1,000 |
| G. R. Rifle Braddock, Pennsylvania | 1,000 |
| A. F. Wilkinson Milwaukee, Wisconsin | 2,000 |
| C. S. McAtee Chicago, Illinois | 5,000 |
| Hon. Knute Hill 1226 House Office Building | 2,000 |

That is the distribution record on just one of the printing orders.

During the first week of December, 1941, the pressure in Washington was terrific . . . pressure to force the Department of Justice to quash the case against Hill. The America

First Committee was indignant. Congressmen who had been involved in the franking scandal were very indignant. No one knows what Hamilton Fish told the Grand Jury on December 5, 1941. Someone was pulling every possible string to have the case buried.

Sunday afternoon, December 7, 1941, just as our little family sat down to dinner . . . the flash we had feared came over the radio . . . Pearl Harbor!

I couldn't see the boys very well.

But I could see . . . Senator Gerald Nye addressing the Sales Executive Club of New York, with hatred and twisted "views" in every violent outburst . . . I could see the America First meetings I had attended . . . the crowd roaring approval of Lindbergh's and Wheeler's tirades. I saw Norman Thomas burlesquing the President . . . to screams of hate. I saw Senator Wheeler, coughing and twiddling his thumbs and looking tired while the cameras were pointed another way, but smiling when they flashed at him. I saw jittery, high-pitched Lindbergh claiming we could not be attacked—and heard the guttural howls of approval. I saw Anne Lindbergh sitting taut and harried behind her husband—watching the crowd . . . nervously pulling her wedding ring on and off—on and off—on and off till I felt like shouting above the bedlam "For God's sake, stop it!"

I stood again on street corners at night watching and listening to misleading fanatics on flag bedecked stepladders . . . hurling words of venom at our Government . . . while objectors were hustled away by police . . . and I treacherously put on an America First button handed to me by one of the "voluntary" girl workers . . . who winked cautiously, being one of us. Her eyes reflected her fear. She had seen these same things happen in her native Germany.

I saw the tons of propaganda telling us we had nothing to fear from either Japan or Germany. I saw the pages of *Scribner's Commentator*, filled with platitudes about our friends in Japan . . . saw those pages dropping down like bombs on the warships in Pearl Harbor. I had seen the bulk shipment list of *Scribner's Commentator* . . . with dozens of copies going each month to each warship, and the naval stations in the Pacific area.

VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER

Berlin, Sonntag, 8. Januar 1939

Rundfunkrede des Kongreßabgeordneten Fish

Schärfste Abfage an Roosevelts Kriegsturs

„Kriegsgewinnler, Kommunisten und hysterische
Internationalisten wollen mit amerikanischem
Blut und Geld den Weltpolizisten spielen“

Washington, 7. Januar.
Der Abgeordnete Hamilton Fish, ein bekanntes Mitglied des Außenpolitischen Ausschusses des Abgeordnetenhauses richtete in einer Rundfunkrede, die durch die National Broadcasting Co. im ganzen Lande verbreitet wurde, schwere Angriffe auf Roosevelt und dessen Jahresbotschaft, die er heute in schmerzlicher Weise namentlich, der zuerst im scharfen Ton Roosevelts außenpolitische Äußerungen kritisierte, hob unter Anspielung auf die Anwendung wirtschaftlicher Sanktionen hervor, Amerika habe seine eigenen Probleme zu lösen, Tiraden gegen Regierungsformen anderer Länder seien gänzlich unnötig.

Wörtlich sagte Fish Johann: „Alle totalitären Staaten, die Roosevelt angreift, sind und werden viele Jahre lang mit ihren eigenen unmittelbaren Interessen beschäftigt sein. Sie haben nicht den leisesten Gedanken, gegen uns Krieg zu führen oder etwa Lateinamerika zu überfallen. Ich denke nicht daran, ein Blatt vor den Mund zu nehmen, das Leben, die Freiheit und das Glück unseres Volkes auf dem Spiele stehen.“

Die Zeit ist gekommen, den Kriegsherrn des New Deal, hinter den die Kriegsgewinnler, Kommunisten und hysterischen Internationalisten stehen, die wollen, daß wir mit amerikanischem Blut und Geld den Weltpolizisten spielen und die Welt unter Quarantäne stellen, ein Halt zu rufen.“

Roosevelt habe in seiner Jahresbotschaft gesagt, er habe einmal prophezeit, daß diese

Generation der Amerikaner eine Verabredung mit dem Schicksal habe. Diese Prophezeiung erfülle sich jetzt. Dazu stellt Fish an Roosevelt die berechtigten Fragen: Von welcher Verabredung mit dem Schicksal redet der Präsident? Meint er fremde, kollektive Sicherheit, militärische Bündnisse, eine gemeinsame Front mit dem Kommunismus oder riesige Ausgaben für destruktive Zwecke und einen Krieg? Soll das heißen, daß noch mehr Millionen junger Amerikaner in fremden Ländern kämpfen und sterben sollen? Trotz der Tatsache, daß das amerikanische Volk den Frieden wünscht und von anderen Völkern, alten Blutsfeinden und Kriegen isolieren will, empfiehlt Roosevelt dem Kongreß, er solle ihm die Macht geben, Angreifernationen selbst festzusetzen und kann nur eine Folge haben, nämlich die, daß wir unmittelbar in alle fremden Streit-

igkeiten und in die Kriege der ganzen Welt verwickelt werden.“
Die Rede Fishs ist die erste eingehende Äußerung eines hervorragenden Kongreß-



Wohn.: Weisheit
Hamilton Fish

mitgliedes zur Botschaft Roosevelts. Es bezeichnend, daß diese Rede von keinem amerikanischen Zeitungen ur-

I heard Fish making his dramatic orations:

"The proposed 800 million dollar expansion to our Navy is unnecessary for defense." *February 11, 1938—Radio Address.*

"If we are arming merely for defense, we are spending far too much and wasting money, as no nation thinks of attacking us." *March 5, 1939—Radio Address.*

"Just how we can use more than 2,000 planes in America I do not understand." *March 12, 1940—Speech in Congress.*

"... We must not let our sympathies run away with our judgment and involve us in an Asiatic war 10,000 miles away that has no connection with the defense of the American Continent." *October 1, 1940 — Speech in Congress.*

"... No one in Japan really wants war with the United States..." *October 1, 1940—Speech in Congress.*

"... They will have to have a Navy three times larger than ours to dare to attack us..." *July 11, 1940—Speech in Congress.*

"... Today I fear no attack from any foreign source, because we have the greatest Navy in the world..." *February 7, 1941—Speech in Congress.*

"... I have no patience with those Americans who tremble every time Hitler sneezes, or get jittery every time he opens his mouth..." *September 4, 1941—Speech in Congress.*

I saw the tons of franked material flowing out of Fish's office... each piece working to keep this country unprepared; all dropping like bombs on Pearl Harbor... long before December 7, 1941.

All these scenes and more passed across our Sunday dinner table.

• 8 •

Can War End Disunity?

The story should now move more rapidly. War had come. The opening attack caused near disaster. Certainly now the voices of discord and disunity would be silenced.

The America First Committee promptly announced its disbanding. But, within two days we had reports of a check-up that had been made on prominent America Firsters... who voiced these amazing thoughts on Sunday evening, December 7th, 1941.

Said one: "When our leader deserts us, what can we do? I do not want to say much over the phone—but the thing stinks. I am reminded of the sinking of the Maine in the Spanish-American war. I do not wish to sup-

port the Government—I have no understanding for _____'s point of view. I will go on fighting."

Another said: "These American soldiers were really murdered by the President in his mad desire to get us into war. He is responsible for what has happened. How could we help but get embroiled in war with our foreign policy run by that doddering old hill-billy, Hull? He was unable to handle this Japanese situation. Anyway, Roosevelt goes over his head."

"FDR's direct message to the Emperor was an insult and slap in the face to the Japanese Government. He went over their heads. They had to act in order to save face."

This was said by *an American citizen* . . . when every sane man knows that it takes an enemy months, or years to prepare an attack such as that on Pearl Harbor.

Another America First leader said: "We got what we have been asking for for years. Japan was in her right to declare war on us—we did everything to bring it about. The only right thing to do now would be to go to Washington and impeach the President. Of course, we shall be defeated because Germany is going to declare war on us—and it will serve us right. Actually we have started the war and *not* Japan."

Another said: "Why couldn't we have minded our own business and stayed home? This is the time for us to start a strong nationalist movement. Conflicting elements in this country can now be drawn together. Let us hope that we will not become involved with the other nations. We must defeat Japan, but come out of the war strong and independent."

And still another: "The British are to blame because we haven't the right kind of planes to fight the Japanese. They got us to build short-range planes instead of the long-range we really need. England tricked us into this war with Japan. We are the victims of another one of their intrigues. This is all an English conspiracy."

Another voice this fateful Sunday night: "This war marks the end of democracy. This is a fight between the Communists and the Fascists and we are lined up with the Communists and on the wrong side. This war is an expensive way to defend Henry Luce's birthplace."

Another: "The Germans will bomb cities like New York because they have got so many Jews. I hope the God damn Jews will be the first to get bombed. Perhaps our getting into war is the only thing that could have saved us from a civil war at home. But I still hope we can drive every damn Jew out of the country."

A Social Registerite cried: "If there were any way to get over to Germany, I would go tonight. The Germans have already seen their worst and made their adjustment to war conditions. Our big troubles are still ahead of us. We are on the wrong side of the war."

A Middle West isolationist told a friend by phone: "You had better get the first train inland tonight and come home to Iowa. There is no telling what those Italians and Germans will do when they cut loose in New York City tomorrow. We Americans are in for a terrible licking from the Nazis and the Japanese."

Advice to members: "Keep your traps shut. Anything you say will be used against you."

A leading isolationist: "It is just awful. Of course America is going to lose. Churchill who is no politician, very recklessly talked Roosevelt into this war. Now England will be licked because we are not going to send war materials over there any longer. Roosevelt is alone responsible for this war. We are going to lose the war with Japan in a few months."

Remember . . . these were statements made *by Americans* on the Sunday night of December 7, 1941 . . . the blackest day in American history. Made by the same Americans who for months had been mimicking and distributing *the printed propaganda of the enemy*.

I mentioned a Social Registerite. Remember those speeches around the country when I talked about the "wealthy women" distributing Nazi material? And wondered who organized the rich girls? We knew the names of the women, but we didn't know who directed them! On the morning of December 12, 1941, five days after the outbreak of war, there was much excitement in our office building at No. 17 East 42nd Street in New York City. The FBI had, on the night before, nabbed "the biggest fish in the dragnet" . . . a Dr. Helgo W. Culemann, with offices on the 15th floor (my number is 1517). His window across the court looked into mine. I had chinned with him a number of times in the elevator or in the wash room. Once he had come in for a neighborly visit . . . to admire our exhibit of Direct Mail and promotions! Dr. Culemann was the organizer and director of the fashionable ladies brigade. Hadn't we been the clever ones . . . amateur Direct Mail sleuths . . . finding propagandists in Wichita, in Omaha, in Chicago, in Washington, in Lake Geneva . . . but not on the 15th floor of No. 17 East 42nd Street, New York!

* * * * *

The country, the Government, the people quickly got down to the business of war. The Hate groups disappeared; the poison sheets discontinued . . . so it seemed.

Word spread through Washington that "now with a war on" it would be logical to squelch "the persecution of poor George Hill." The unity honeymoon for the security of our land was short lived. On January 28th, Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan made a shocking speech in the House entitled "Don't Haul Down the Stars and Stripes," in which he labeled the President by inference "a Judas" blaming the Japanese attack on Roosevelt and Churchill. He ordered 145,000 reprints from the Government Printing Office—undismayed by the country's outcry against the misuse of the frank. More later on this one.

On January 28, 1942—Ralph Townsend, one of the brain cells of *Scribner's Commentator*, was arrested in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, after he and five others had been indicted by the Washington, D. C. Grand Jury on charges of conspiracy to conceal that they were unregistered agents of the Japanese Government. That marked the end of *Scribner's Commentator* . . . and justified all the attacks made upon it. I had been, at times, violently criticized for "smearing a fine magazine like *Scribner's Commentator*."

Chalk up another victory for our voluntary band of Direct Mail investigators. Little did the owners of *Scribner's Commentator* and the hate sheet *Herald* know that we had been getting confidential reports of subscription mailings, such as: "Sixty thousand letters and circulars mailed today to lists marked Fish and Nye. Returns continue tremendous. Twenty-two per cent so far on the Lindbergh enclosure mailing."

Editor Eggleston and Bessie Feagin didn't know that we had patriotic and fighting Direct Mail men near Lake Geneva. They didn't know that we had other men who reported whenever *Scribner's Commentator* tried to buy legitimate lists. On one occasion a *Scribner's Commentator* representative tried to buy a list of 40,000 teachers of Social Sciences to add to its complimentary distribution.

Scribner's Commentator . . . guided by Townsend, a Japanese agent! And now wiped

out! This was the magazine that featured Lindbergh, Fish, Nye, Wheeler and Ford. This was the magazine for which the Ford offices in New York secretly compiled mailing lists of Lindbergh fan mail. This was the magazine praised by Congressman Oliver of Maine as one "whose deepseated interest in the welfare of the country cannot be questioned." This was the bunch of patriots who had bombed the warships in Pearl Harbor and the Naval installations along the West Coast with bulk shipments of their monthly poison of appeasement and "no danger from Japan." This was the magazine for which George Hill in Congressman Ham Fish's office compiled mailing lists from the throw-away daily fan mail from various Congressmen's offices . . . the lists of crack-pots, "Roosevelt haters," Jew-baiters and Fascists which secured such unheard-of circulation results for Bessie Feagin. This was the hate sheet which the peddlers of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* promoted on the side. This was the mouthpiece of the America First Committee—filled with vicious un-American cartoons—dominated by a Japanese agent. Ralph Townsend was in jail—but the other officers of the magazine became . . . air raid wardens and editorial assistants for other magazines. The men in Congress who praised and protected *Scribner's Commentator* remained . . . in Congress . . . loudly to obstruct the war effort. The men who died at Pearl Harbor . . . the boys who man the ships of the Navy . . . would like to know WHY?

In spite of all pressure against it, George Hill went to trial in January, defended by Fish's friend and former Congressman of similar leanings, John O'Connor. Many days were consumed in getting evidence introduced over the sputtering objections of John O'Connor, who insisted he was defending Fish rather than "this poor clerk." I heard the evidence reveal what we already knew so well. Hill was *the certain man*. O'Connor rested without putting Hill on the stand. The Jury said "Guilty" rapidly . . . and I watched Hill go dejectedly to jail. He was convicted of perjury—but the evidence proved him guilty of conspiracy with Viereck and Dennett to use the Government Printing Office and the Congressional franking privilege for

the dissemination of Nazi and Fascist propaganda.

Said the Government's able prosecutor, William Power Maloney in his summation:

"The defendant Hill is an important cog in the most vicious propaganda machine, the most effective propaganda machine that this world has ever seen, so effective and so diabolically clever that it is able to reach in and use the halls of our own Congress as a sounding board for its lies and half truths, by which they are trying to defeat and conquer us just as they defeated and conquered France, Belgium, Holland, Poland and all those other nations in Europe."

With Hill in jail . . . the search for the man who had hidden behind the Purple Heart was now past history. I could devote more of my time to my business and to aiding our whole industry of the Graphic Arts in the war effort. If printing had been used by our enemies in an effort to destroy us, why shouldn't the Direct Mail industry work with the Government on every essential project to carry the true American message to every home and every person? That became a new crusade. It is still continuing. From the side lines we could watch meanwhile for signs of a reappearance of propaganda efforts.

In April, the Federal Grand Jury continued to examine witnesses. The Government was after "the distributors" . . . the publishers of hate sheets and the addressors of the bulk franked mail shipped to them from Hill and Dennett.

On April 10, 1942, another ugly story broke . . . misuse of the frank by Congressman Hoffman of Michigan in allowing Hudson and others to mail his January 28, 1942, "Judas" speech with an illegal seditious insert so violent that newspapers couldn't print reproductions. Hudson of Omaha went to jail for contempt in refusing to reveal the printer of the inserted card. He later relented and was freed. British censors, in the meantime, had intercepted a comment by Viereck to the German Foreign Office on the seditious insert as a "very effective piece of work." The plate for this piece of sedition was traced to "poor old George Hill."

In spite of all the resentment over misuse of the frank, Hoffman defended his right to

do as he pleased. Members of Congress remained silent. Hoffman continued to spout venom. And as we all know, he was re-elected by his constituents in the fall elections.

When Viereck was brought to trial, Congressman Fish appeared for the first time as a witness—and had a fiery tiff with Prosecutor Maloney over patriotism and his friendship with Viereck. Fish didn't seem to realize that in admitting he "may have" introduced Viereck to Hill, he admitted also that he knew Hill was perjuring himself when he defended his secretary on the Grand Jury indictment. The evidence presented during the long Viereck trial simply proved again that we had been on the right track since the search for a certain man on the Purple Heart clue.

Hill had been the Direct Mail Production Manager. Dennett was the publicity and contact man. Viereck was the advertising manager in charge of both . . . and others. Flanders Hall, the Nazi book publishers, had been directed by Viereck and publicized by Dennett with George Hill furnishing necessary contacts and promotion production.

Viereck went to jail, too. I saluted the Capitol Dome again that night, and slept peacefully. Couldn't lose sleep over a repulsive betrayer of his country.

In July, the Grand Jury indicted 28 "distributors" of propaganda. (Later reached 33.) These included Charlie Hudson, Lizzie Dilling, Gerald Winrod and others whom we will list later. To understand the full implications of the indictment of this motley group, we must remember that those indicted were equivalent to manufacturer's dealers or branch offices. Each sent his own local brand of poison to his or her own selected lists. The indictment charged that they conspired together to develop, produce and distribute "the poison"; and conspired with Hill and Dennett to secure the bulk shipments of undressed franked mail so that they could send certain Congressmen's super-poison to their lists.

Named also in the indictment as channels through which propaganda flowed were such tried and true poison spreaders as the America First Committee, *Scribner's Commentator*,

and Hamilton Fish's "National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars."

In midsummer of 1942, George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts announced his "retirement from Congress." One less paper and frank waster. Up in Maine, on June 16, 1942, J. C. Oliver was defeated for renomination to Congress. Citizens of Oliver's district had learned and had acted. In New York, Fish was endorsed for renomination by the Republicans in Orange and Putnam Counties. The Dutchess County group, however, turned him down.

To round out this episode, here is the story behind the Fish campaign in the 26th Congressional District, New York. Voters who had heard about my work in Washington wanted help. I couldn't enter into the campaign personally, but I offered them free use of the relevant facts, and drew up for them a tentative mail plan. If Fish had used tons of mail—why didn't they use mail to defeat him? Here was a suggested schedule:

Prepare six mailings to go out to a list of forty thousand. In addition, ask heads of all important groups to rebroadcast the messages and facts in their own circles.

First mailing: Letter explaining why the voters should have the true facts, and an enclosure titled "The Strange Associates of Hamilton Fish."

Second mailing: Four page tabloid newspaper style circular, titled "The Strange Actions and Voting Record of Hamilton Fish."

Third mailing: Another letter, explaining to the voters the importance of knowing the truth. Enclose an eight page circular titled "The Strange Case of the Propaganda Campaign, Operated From Room 1424, House Office Building (Ham Fish Headquarters)."

Fourth mailing: Small memo form explaining the enclosure of attached eight page reproduction from *Congressional Record* of September 29, 1941 and October 2, 1941.

Fifth mailing: Another letter asking the voters to weigh carefully the evidence and enclose eight page transcript of Ham Fish's testimony on the stand at the trial of George Sylvester Viereck.

Sixth and final mailing: Another tabloid newspaper style circular. A summary on "The Strange Ham Fish."

But, the committees were hesitant and disorganized. Fish's opponent wanted to run a "gentlemanly" campaign and not refer to the mess in Washington. Fish won the primary!

Late in the fall, a small group from Putnam County visited me and asked how much I'd charge for the material I had. They had only \$500 for their campaign.

"You can have everything I've got . . . for nothing," I told them.

I showed them how to make their money stretch by running page ads in the Putnam County newspapers—using reprints to distribute at meetings and to mail. Revising my old schedule, they whipped together four ads and placed them. (Rate: Only \$40 a page.) A furor started following the appearance of the first blast. People far away from the Fish district were seen reading Putnam Valley papers.

During the campaign—two important stories broke.

First: That Ham Fish had received a secret \$25,000 from a foreign power . . . and he had "forgotten" to mention this payment from Gen. Rafael L. Trujillo, Dictator of the Dominican Republic, in his 1939 income tax statement. Fish cried "smear" as usual . . . but filed an amended tax statement with the Treasury, claiming he had inadvertently forgotten about it . . . and claiming that the money was simply for a joint "oil venture" which had turned out badly—and that "half the sum was returned anyway."

The "payment" had been made just before Fish sailed for Europe in 1939 where he paused to chat with von Ribbentrop and where he reportedly told newsmen that "Germany's demands on Poland are just." That same fall, when Fish got back to America he had plunged into a new "National Committee to Keep America Out of War," which later on was to be named by the Federal Grand Jury in its indictment as one of the alleged instruments of the gigantic conspiracy to corrupt the loyalty and morale of the Army and Navy.

Second: Drew Pearson, in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" broke a story we had known about for months. Pearson revealed that at least five checks had been issued to Hamilton Fish by Guenther Hansen Sturm of the Romanoff Caviar Company of New York. The checks:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| April 11, 1939..... | \$ 100.00 |
| September 26, 1939.. | 500.00 |
| October 17, 1939.... | 1000.00 |
| October 17, 1939.... | 500.00 |
| October 27, 1939.... | 1000.00 |

Total..... \$3100.00

The Romanoff outfit had been known as a distributing center for disruptive literature. The back rooms were stacked high with propaganda. "Little fry" visited the Romanoff offices to fill their suitcases for individual distribution. Guenther Hansen Sturm is the nephew of Ferdinand Hansen, president of Romanoff Caviar, who lived in California and who (by Court Record) was one of the recipients of bulk shipments of franked mail from the George Hill propaganda mill in Fish's office. Guenther Hansen Sturm was friendly with von Gienanth of the German Embassy. Von Gienanth was the man, incidentally, who arranged the pay-off of Laura Ingalls . . . America Firster who went to jail for being an unregistered Nazi agent.

After the Pearson article appeared . . . Fish took to the air and again cried "Political Smear." He called Pearson "biggest liar in the country" and said the checks had been endorsed by him to the "National Committee to Keep America Out of the War," . . . as if that made it any better.

Pearson sued Fish for libel. Fish threatened to sue in return. Fish may or may not have known that Sturm's Romanoff Caviar Company had also paid money to Ralph Townsend (Japanese agent), the America First Committee, and to Flanders Hall (Viereck's Nazi publishing house).

The Putnam County folks continued their inadequately financed work. The Dutchess and Orange Committees saw that their lady-like campaign was a washout . . . and tried at the last minute to get the Putnam facts

before the voters. It was too late. Fish won by a scant 4000 votes. Very different from the 80 per cent support he claimed for his policies. But enough to win. The only solace possible to the little committee of patriots who struggled so hard was that Fish was defeated in his own Putnam County where the hard-hitting truth-telling campaign had been run. Somewhere in that episode is a demonstration of the power of advertising and of the power of aroused, indignant voters when armed with the truth.

* * * * *

Following the election of 1942 . . . the verminous Hate Sheets broke out again in full force. Many of them demanded the removal of William Power Maloney, the star prosecutor of the Department of Justice.

Returning, cocky Congressmen of the frank misusing tribe, blasted out against the indictment of the 33 seditionists. Gerald Nye claimed in a Senate speech "These people are no more guilty than I am."

Wheeler, Fish, Hoffman condemned the indictment. The hate sheets echoed their statements. *Western Voice* reprinted Hoffman's and Nye's speeches defending the "*Persecuted Christians*." The *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times Herald* chimed in, supporting the attack on Bill Maloney, and against the indictments. Every possible string was being pulled to prevent the case from reaching court.

Why?

The answer is simple. The Congressmen involved in the franking scheme did not want evidence presented in court which might connect them with the distributors . . . the addressors of the bulk shipments of franked reprints from the Hill-Fish office. And just suppose that one or two of the defendants confessed!

Can you imagine such a situation? With this country at war? A clique of Congressmen trying to make it difficult for the Department of Justice to bring to trial enemies of this country? It sounds impossible. But it is the grim truth.

Early in November, 1942, we caught Prescott Dennett . . . now a private in the Air

Force . . . using the soldiers "Free Mail" privilege to send out unknown thousands of nine page mimeographed bulletins attacking the Department of Justice, William Maloney, "little courtroom Napoleon"—and pleading for funds to defend this "Christian Warrior of the Republic." Dennett, the dumkopf, had forgotten that dummy names had been planted on his list, too. Army Military Intelligence has not revealed *what happened* after photostats of this abortive and illegal misuse of the mail reached them. But Dennett isn't mailing any more!

Then came a blow to democracy. Senator Wheeler was for some reason appointed on the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Washington columnists reported that he called on Attorney General Biddle demanding that Maloney be taken out of the case. Whatever the circumstances, William Power Maloney was shortly thereafter "promoted" to "Chief of the Criminal Trial Section of the Department of Justice," and then later removed from the sedition case. A new prosecutor was appointed.

Maloney removed . . . the best prosecutor in the Department of Justice . . . a man who had spent more than a year with the Grand Jury hearing long lines of witnesses . . . a man who had worked day and night making his own study and investigations . . . the man who convicted both George Hill and George Sylvester Viereck . . . a man with an air-tight case for the Government against disseminators of hate by mail.

Because Wheeler and other Congressmen supported the defendants in their violent attacks on a patriotic prosecutor . . . the Department of Justice pushed aside its star anti-Nazi. The case had to start again from scratch. No matter who the new prosecutor was, the job ahead seemed insurmountable.

That night on Pennsylvania Avenue the Capitol looked very dark. There were chill winds blowing. But in some offices in Washington, *visited by the attorneys for the defendants*, merriment was high.

.9.

"Double, Double, Toil and Trouble"

I usually disregard anonymous letters. But one involved, two-page affair on plain paper and in a plain envelope . . . got under my skin. It was more violent and abusive than any others I had received. The writer (afraid to sign his, or her, name) proceeded to lay me low for my campaign to smear political leaders. (Meaning my efforts to drive out of the mails the Nazi propaganda hiding under the free Congressional franks of Fish, Wheeler, Day, Oliver, Nye, etc., etc.)

He, or she, deduced that my interest in this case could spring from only one fact . . . the fact that *I must be Jewish*. He, or she, proceeded to castigate the Jewish people . . .

and recited the baseless gossip about Jews avoiding military service and overflowing safe Government Agencies . . . not realizing that this recital gave him, or her, clearly away as a carrier of the Nazi propaganda germ.

When this letter was matched with the activities of one of the antagonistic Senators who spread the story by mail that Henry Hoke's attack against the franking privilege misuse was due to the "fact" that he was employed and paid by a Jewish organization . . . I began to get more worried about the whole subject of anti-Semitism. Why were all the Hate Sheets plugging it so consistently? Why was this disease of intolerance growing

so rapidly . . . rearing up in strange places with ever-increasing frequency? Why were all the people who were fighting the native Fascists immediately labelled as Jews, Jew-lovers or Communists?

I studied the "Jewish" question from every possible angle. Talked to ministers, rabbis, laymen. Worked my way into several Jewish organizations . . . in one case as a counsellor on their mailing problems (no possible connection with the anti-Nazi fight). I became reacquainted with Jewish families I had known before . . . visited their homes, ate with them. Even talked in a Jewish synagogue. I studied their various conflicting views—the Zionists, the nationalists, the assimilationists, the Orthodox, the Reformed. I got to know whole organizations, from the telephone operator to the employer and the board of directors. I tried to discover traces of an international plot to rule the world or this country. I tried to get figures on "draft deferments" and monopolies of businesses. Everywhere I turned there were just the normal cross currents of any section of humanity . . . possibly in this case a little more closely knit because of a common fear . . . and countless years of being oppressed for political reasons.

Nowhere could I find this "international plot" . . . only a very human confusion of ideologies . . . the same confusion as exists between Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Unitarians and other religious units.

Everywhere I turned I found deep devotion and love for this, their nearly last land of freedom. A mere 3 per cent to 4 per cent of the total population. A small minority . . . giving our melting pot a rich reward in humor, entertainment, music, literature, business and science. Certainly, among them were irritants . . . just as there are irritants in any other segments of the people. One of the slyest crooks I ever knew was a trustee in a church I once attended. If an American nation of 130 million people cannot absorb or live with a small minority of 3 or 4 per cent . . . there is something wrong with the country. The furor raised by the "Jewish question" can be nothing more than a political device used to divert our attention from more serious issues. I am completely convinced of this.

One day, during my anti-Semitic investigations I had lunch with a group in a certain New York club high in the sky. An executive of an oil company startled us by repeating practically verbatim the exact bunk about the Jews which had been quoted by my anonymous correspondent.

"Where did you get this information?" I asked this oil man.

"Oh," he replied, "it's general knowledge. Everybody knows it."

I disrupted a peaceful luncheon by showing him to be an unconscious liar and a purveyor of Nazi propaganda. I flung in his face the figures I'd taken the trouble to dig up myself. I told him where he could go to find out that Jewish enlistments in both Army and Navy are actually higher on an area-percentage basis than the percentage of Jewish population. I told him where he could go to find the names and records of Jewish boys shot down at Pearl Harbor and Bataan. I told him where he could go to find the figures which prove that Jewish representation in Government is actually no greater than the percentage of Jewish population. I told him another place to go where he would be of more service to his country . . . by his absence here.

The anonymous letter writers, the spreaders of rumor and race hatred—show their false colors by calling those who fight for decency and tolerance—"Jew." As if that in itself made any difference in America . . . even though Hitler says it does.

It is pertinent here to examine Hitler's destructive views on this subject. In his *Official Guide for the Education of Hitler Youth*, there is a catechism of 50 points, twelve of them pertaining to religion. This vicious volume should stand as a symbol of constant warning to the world's democratic peoples. Here are the twelve points:

"Christianity is a religion for slaves and fools."

"Christianity and Communism are identical."

"Christianity does not differentiate between whites and negroes."

"The New Testament is a Jewish lie, concocted by the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John)."

"The Church is international."

"There is no such thing as Christian culture."

"Christianity has spoiled the German people."

"Christianity is only a substitute and cover for Judaism and was invented by Jews in Rome."

"Jesus was a Jew" (i.e., a member of a despised race and therefore an object of contempt).

"How did Jesus die? Whining on the cross. How did Planetta (the murderer of Dolfuss) die? Shouting 'Heil Hitler!' (Like a hero)."

"The Ten Commandments are a manifestation of the lowest instincts of humanity."

"The new Eternal City is Nuremberg; Rome is doomed."

I repeat again what I have said so many times in speeches, letters or articles . . . when it seemed necessary to defend my fight against the Black Mail campaign:

"I am not fighting for any one class or group. I am not paid by any one group in spite of what Senator Wheeler or Hamilton Fish may say. I am not fighting to defend Catholics, Jews, Democrats, Republicans, North, South, or what have you. I just don't believe in intolerance. I don't believe that any foreign country should have the right to use our mails or to hide behind our franking privilege to stir up intolerance against any group in our American picture. I don't care a hang whether a Congressman or business man is a Republican or a Democrat or what his religion may be, because whatever his label, he is a skunk for helping to breed intolerance and for misusing the United States mails."

Is that clear?

Another blow came in February of the year of war 1943 . . . the United States Supreme Court by a vote of 5 to 2 reversed the conviction of George Sylvester Viereck . . . on a technicality. The Court also censured the aggressive conduct of William Power Maloney . . . failing to mention that Viereck's lawyer was thrown out of court and barred from practice in the District of Columbia for the actions which caused Maloney to be rightfully irritated.

Congressional protectors of Viereck chuckled with glee. The 33 indicted mail misusers shouted their hopes that their trial would be quashed.

The new prosecuting staff of the Department of Justice plodded along, restudying the

case under John Rogge, an eminently honest, sincere and effective trial lawyer, but under a terrible handicap in the maze of evidence, trial briefs, etc., on 33 defendants. Meanwhile the seditionists continued to issue their weekly or monthly poison.

Far off some place . . . a war was going on!

My days during the early part of 1943 were spent in endless rounds from one Government Agency to another . . . trying to find out what each home front department needed to tell the American people and how they were telling it.

My visits put me in contact with about fourteen separate agencies handling some sixty essential civilian projects. I learned to know the enthusiastic people who had given up jobs (many at much higher pay) to pitch in and do their share in work for which they were best equipped—promotion.

Working together, we tried to get the commercial users of advertising to help the Government educate the home front in projects such as Rent Control, Travel Reduction, Fuel Conservation, Winterizing of Homes, Elimination of Absenteeism, Recruitment of Women Workers, Share the Home Plans, Industrial Accident Prevention.

The Government in wartime needs the support of all the people. There are definite explainable ways in which the people can help—buying bonds, working hard, conserving, gardening, canning, fighting rumors and intolerance, keeping secrets, building morale. If advertising (including Direct Mail) can sell products and services in peacetime—it should be able to sell war-winning habits in a period of emergency. If our enemies used printed promotion in an attempt to destroy us, we should be able to develop printed promotion antidotes to confound the enemy.

With that kind of antidote in mind, we helped to publicize the campaigns of the Office of War Information and of all the Government Agencies which had a vital story to tell to the people. Advertisers generally accepted the challenge . . . and put printing to work for victory.

As I worked there in Washington . . . I watched the jitters develop. There were signs

that the same old clique of obstructionist Congressmen were "out to get the OWI." Wheeler said that "it should be discontinued."

I watched the men in the information departments building up evidence for Congressional hearings. Rumors were spread around that the OCD block leader plan was "communistic" . . . an effort to regiment each little neighborhood. Someone stirred up the "Southern bloc" against the OWI by showing them a harmless booklet prepared to demonstrate the Negro's place in the war. OPA was pestered from every angle by obstructionists working to get higher prices; blasts were made that rationing wasn't necessary—just a trick to wear us down.

Things were not perfect by any means in OWI and in some of the information departments. But most of the people in those departments were honestly trying to do the best possible job with a hurriedly organized set-up. They were confused by the attacks against them. They didn't know that many of the attacks originated from the *black mail* campaign described in this book.

The House of Representatives at first killed the entire OWI budget. That *was* a gloomy day. Later a compromise gave back a part of the program.

The Office of Defense Transportation budget for publicity was cut nearly to zero (with travel conservation one of the most vital projects).

Congress inserted in its final grant to OWI a provision prohibiting the issuing of a circular or booklet to the public. Can you imagine the mirth of Joseph Goebbels when he received that flash? That provision meant that with a war going on . . . fighting an enemy that had used millions upon millions of printed pieces directed to citizens of this country, our Government's information division couldn't produce a single piece of literature to be sent to individual citizens.

By the time Congress was ready to quit for the summer, the jitters were so severe that promotion work in many departments was at a complete standstill.

An expert on publicity distribution leaned back in his chair one afternoon and said, "Henry, I've been a good Republican all my

life. I gave up a good job to come down here to help. The minute I got here, my friends back home began to call me a bureaucrat. I'm disgusted."

During the hot summer of 1943 . . . George Sylvester Viereck came to trial again. Twice. The first was dismissed because of a legal complication over a woman juror. For long sweltering days the second jury listened to a detailed recital of the same old story . . . capably presented by Prosecutors Arent and McNulty of the Department of Justice.

Washington Night Scene:

9:00 P. M. on one of Washington's most sultry evenings. There's a motley assortment of reporters and spectators lounging around the seats in Federal Court. Some of the newspaper men are draped over the counsel table. Some are asleep. One is sitting on the bottom step below the judge's bench, chinning with the defendant, who appears to be more calm and cool than the others waiting for the jury's verdict.

The jury has been out since 3 P. M. Rumors are thick. "The jury is hung." "The jury is going to be locked up for the night." "He's going to be acquitted on most of the counts."

George Sylvester Viereck walks over to a group in which this reporter is standing. He is cheerful. The prospects for acquittal look good. The minutes drag. The wise cracks get less humorous.

11:30 P. M. Judge Lawes appears and the courtroom is filled with an air of dignity . . . and tension. The jury walks in and stands in a semi-circle at the side of the bench. Viereck stands before the jury and glares. The clerk reads each count and the foreman answers—"Guilty" . . . six times. Viereck's lawyer asks that the jury be polled. Viereck glares at each juror as the question is put six times, and the answer six times is "Guilty." Seventy-two times Viereck hears his "fellow citizens" say the word "Guilty." The big marshal standing behind George Sylvester Viereck takes out his handcuffs and the Nazi agent goes out through the back door. Court adjourned.

* * * * *

Here, briefly, are the essential highlights of this crucial case:

George Sylvester Viereck was convicted on an indictment consisting of six counts. Count 2 referred to the fact that Viereck failed to mention in his foreign agent registration papers that *part of his activities included writing speeches for Congressmen and getting those speeches inserted in the Congressional Record.*

Count 6 also charged Viereck with failure to account for the same type of activity. We reprint here Section (b) and (c) of Count 4. Read these sections carefully, even though you have to wade through the legal verbiage:

(b) The said defendant advised and informed, directly and indirectly, divers public officials and other persons in the United States on matters pertaining to political interests, public relations and public policy, and engaged, directly and indirectly, in disseminating and placing for publication within the United States of America oral and written information and matter pertaining to political interests, public relations and public policy, and in this connection wrote, edited, prepared and revised speeches, public addresses, books, pamphlets and other matter, including speeches to be delivered by Members of Congress on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, and supplied material to Members of Congress for publication in the *Congressional Record*, and arranged for and subsidized the nation-wide distribution under Congressional frank of said speeches and material and also other political material appearing in the *Congressional Record*; and

(c) Aided, abetted and assisted one Prescott Dennett and divers other persons in the operation and work of a certain committee known variously as the "Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee" and the "Islands for War Debts Committee" and contributed large sums of money for the maintenance of and to defray the expenses of the said committee, and used the said committee to disseminate and distribute by mail under Congressional franking privilege and otherwise certain speeches and public addresses delivered on the floor of Congress and elsewhere by present and former Members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States, and to disseminate and place for publication, through newspapers, radio broadcasts, periodicals and otherwise, certain oral and written informa-

tion and matter, in order to influence American public opinion in matters pertaining to political interests, public relations, and public policy.

Viereck was convicted on all six counts, including that Count 4. Viereck was the controlling figure for the use of the Congressional franks. His agent, Prescott Dennett, controlled the activities of George Hill, in Congressman Fish's office. Through that office the orders were placed for the reprints from the *Congressional Record* and they were distributed in bulk lots throughout the country under Congressional franks (of many other Congressmen beside Fish) for addressing and distribution by most of the 33 alleged seditionists and others not yet indicted. That is the story the voters of the 26th Congressional District of New York refused to believe in the 1942 campaign.

* * * * *

The Department of Justice propaganda squad—under the direction of John Rogge continued to struggle through the mass of material collected since September, 1941. Rogge is efficient and thorough. So are the rest of the hard working crew, including Jean Meyer and Joseph Burns. But efforts to stop the case had not stopped.

During the rest of the hot summer, we continued plugging away . . . grinding out bulletins and project folders urging advertisers to back the attack with constructive, helpful printed words. Sell rationing, sell conservation, fight the black markets, sell morale!

We tried to pep up some of our discouraged friends in the crippled information offices. We showed them the Hate Sheets . . . how these were used to undermine every constructive thing being done. "Fight back" we urged, "fight back!"

We watched greedy groups coming to Washington trying to get more metal, more gas, higher prices, more paper or whatever it was they wanted that the other fellow shouldn't get. "Let's win the war, but don't hurt my business."

The battering in Washington on those who are trying to do a job is terrific. Sometimes, it's terrifying. I've watched men spend days figuring on something they wanted to do and worrying not about whether it would

help win the war, but whether what they did would get them into trouble with Congress or somebody else. Many people in Washington are afraid to stir up criticism from the rambunctious and spiteful newspaper axis . . . the *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Daily News*, *Washington Times-Herald*. Things needing to be done are not done . . . for fear of criticism.

If by a miraculous decree, the President could order every obstructionist, every fear-

ful soul, every selfish axe-grinder out of the city by tomorrow morning . . . Washington would be wonderful.

Many nights, taking the train for a weekend at home . . . I felt that the world surely must be coming to an end . . . or if it wasn't, then this storm of uncertainty couldn't possibly be true. Why couldn't we all wake up tomorrow after a bad nightmare . . . face all the enemies and tell them, "We ain't gonna play no more. We mean business from now on."

•10•

So You Don't Believe That This Is Your Enemy?

By the fall of 1943 . . . the volume of *black mail* had grown to alarming proportions and was increasing rapidly. The average citizen, when told about it still said, "I don't believe it." He didn't see many of the Hate Sheets of the vermin press—or he may have seen only one or two which he passed off as "crack-pot."

Many had said to me: "We are at war. The FBI wouldn't allow that sort of stuff to go on," or "The Post Office surely wouldn't allow this kind of material to go through the mail."

Even conscientious members of Congress when approached had expressed doubt that the situation could be serious. They couldn't believe that the mails are still being flooded with this type of "nationalist" propaganda.

A "sales portfolio" worked once before. Maybe it was time for another . . . to blow the lid off.

So we set to work . . . to build a presentation entitled—"So You Don't Believe It?" This time it took two large bound volumes. Each page contained tipped-on samples of current (not past history) examples of the Hate Sheets. Beneath each specimen a col-

ored card summarized the history of the piece, its background and the persons responsible. There are nearly fifty individual case histories. Fifty separate hotbeds of *black mail*. If every reader of this report could be forced in some way to read every word of one issue of every one of these cases . . . the doctors of this country would be deluged with an epidemic of nervous indigestion . . . or acute shock from fright. It seems impossible to believe that these intolerant black words can be going through our mail . . . while our boys are in far places trying to protect the democracy and tolerance on which this country was founded.

The new portfolio did not contain all the present crop . . . only the most notorious. For the benefit of this record, and for your complete understanding, I quote below brief summaries of the descriptive cards appearing under the specimens of mailed pieces in the book which made many "calls" in Washington.

AMERICA PREFERRED: Edited by Carl Mote who is president and general manager of the Northern Indiana Telephone Company and the Commonwealth Telephone Corporation, Indianapolis.

Mote is not too subtle an anti-Semite; he insists that Wendell Willkie is a communist; he shouts the fantastic story that the Administration is plotting to bring about "famine in America"; he doesn't believe in "social equality" or "minority rights." Mote despises democracy and makes no bones about it. "Let's put an end to this hypocritical cant about democracy!" he shouted at a meeting in Chicago. "The Jews, the Jews!" the audience called back.

A pamphleteer and an associate of known Fascists for many years, Mote recently began editing his *America Preferred*. He is recruiting new members to the "nationalist" cause by keeping speaking engagements in various parts of the country. He recently addressed the Citizens U. S. A. Committee in Chicago.

AMERICA SPEAKS: Edited by William Kullgren, indicted for alleged sedition in a still pending indictment. *America Speaks* is composed principally of reprints of speeches by obstructionist Congressmen and reprints of editorials from one of the three members of the "newspaper axis"—*The Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News* and the *Washington Times-Herald*. One issue alone reprinted six articles from Cissie Patterson's Washington paper. The gist of these articles is: The alleged seditionists (frank misusers) are being "persecuted"; the Four Freedoms are no good; the Atlantic Charter is so much hogwash; the New Deal is foisting Socialism upon America; we are in immediate danger from Communism; the "world government" crowd are selling out "Nationalist" America.

Kullgren is a vegetarian and an astrologist who turned "nationalist" when Hitler came into power. He sold fruit juices and anti-Semitic literature for a living, and as an astrologist he used the stars to prove that Hitler was right.

THE AMERICAN WOMEN AGAINST COMMUNISM: Is a "patriotic" organization dedicated to "outlawing Communism in America." Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison has been associated with such pro-fascists as Elizabeth Dilling, Allen Zoll, Joseph B. Kamp, Edwin Banta, John Eoghan Kelly (recently convicted as an unregistered Franco agent). Her organization sends out reams of litera-

ture ridiculing international cooperation. Right now they are playing up dangers of "internationalism" and the need of a third, "nationalist" party. Mrs. Morrison is a fellow traveler with Gerald L. K. Smith, Carl Mote, the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, and Earl Southard.

BIBLE NEWS FLASHES: Edited by William D. Herrstrom, a Fundamentalist minister and an old friend of Gerald Winrod, who was indicted for alleged sedition. Herrstrom has written many articles for Winrod's magazine, *The Defender*—including one which lauded Japan.

Notes concerning a recent issue: (1) The front page, right hand column plugs Charles Lindbergh, the hero of all native fascists; (2) Page 5, lower right hand column predicts that "INTERNATIONALISM will be the great sin of the end of the age"; (3) Page 5, lower left hand column proves that "God is not a Jew"—no one ever said he was in the first place, but refutation is supposed to increase anti-Semitism; (4) Page 6, center column, announces the formation of the "Christian Civil Liberties League" . . . to defend Gerald Winrod during the sedition trial.

THE BROOM: Edited by C. Leon de Aryan, the Rumanian-born "nationalist" who was indicted for alleged sedition in a still pending indictment.

De Aryan, whose real name is Constantine Legenpol, was dishonorably discharged from the United States Army in 1914. He sat out the last war in Mexico and went to San Diego about twelve years ago where he founded and began editing *The Broom*.

De Aryan follows the straight "nationalist" line. The Jews are at the root of the world's ills; the alleged seditionists are being "persecuted"; Congressmen Nye, Wheeler, Rankin, Fish and Hoffman are great men; an ideal society can be built only on "Christian racism," etc.

De Aryan has addressed meetings of the German-American Bund. He is a collaborator of Robert Noble, who, after Pearl Harbor, said: "To hell with MacArthur!"

THE CITIZENS U. S. A. COMMITTEE: Is run by William J. Grace and Earl Southard . . . and issues frequent bulletins. (Grace also runs the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee. Southard works on the side for Gerald L. K. Smith.) The two of them in pre-Pearl Harbor days helped run the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee. At that time, as well as today, their friends and co-workers have ranged from Congressmen to persons under Federal indictment for alleged sedition.

These two have their fingers in almost every "nationalist" pie the country over. They have worked with and fronted for many of the "vermin" publishers included in this report. Their rallying cry is: "The issue is NATIONALISM vs. INTERNATIONALISM."

In the old days it was called "Fascism." *Nationalism* is the 1943-1944 model.

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS:

Famine in America

You'll Live on \$129 a Year and Like It!

Native Nazi

How to Win the War

These four booklets, written by Joseph P. Kamp, are the most "noteworthy" of a series printed and distributed by the Constitutional Educational League (named in the first and second Federal indictments as one of the channels through which propaganda flowed), with New York City headquarters at No. 342 Madison Avenue. This is one of the most important "patriotic" organizations involved in obstructionist activities. While the League claims as its purpose the combating of Communistic activities, it has been closely tied to and in complete agreement with the same type of various "anti-Communist" and pro-Nazi groups in the United States.

Joseph P. Kamp is the guiding force and chief spokesman. He has had a long association with such leading pro-fascists as Lawrence Dennis, Harry Jung, John Eoghan Kelly (recently convicted as an unregistered agent of Franco's government), Allen Zoll and Joe McWilliams. In 1938, Kamp was one of the sponsors at a dinner given General Van Horn Moseley, who was shortly after-

wards exposed as the front for a number of notorious subversive groups.

From 1935 to 1937 he was editor of the *Awakener* to which Lawrence Dennis, Jung and Kelly were contributors. So well did it represent Fascist thought, that it was recommended by *World Service*, the Nazi propaganda organ operating from Erfurt, Germany. In 1938 Kamp closed down the *Awakener* and began to work through the Constitutional Educational League. Under its auspices Kamp published *Join the C.I.O. and Help Build a Soviet America* and won the undying praise of *World Service*. Kamp claimed to have distributed over two million copies of this misleading pamphlet.

In January, after Pearl Harbor, the League circulated a book by Kamp, titled, *Why Win the War . . . and Lose What We're Fighting For?* the theme of which was why avenge Pearl Harbor when enemies within the Government would destroy the Constitution, etc.

The title was later changed to *How to Win the War . . .* and the Chairman of the un-American activities Committee of the American Legion helped to distribute it.

You'll Live on \$129, etc., another Kamp booklet, is an attack on the Salary Limitation Bill. *Famine* raises the terrifying spectre of hunger and riots as the result of bureaucratic mismanagement and scheming. *Native Nazi* violently attacks the Department of Justice and praises the persons indicted. All Kamp booklets are aimed at discrediting the Administration and its efforts to win the war on the home front. How many hundreds of thousands of these poisonous books are being distributed no one knows. Kamp, himself, still remains a free agent. The Department of Justice has taken no action as yet.

THE CROSS AND THE FLAG: Gerald L. K. Smith, editor. Smith, a former minister, started as an associate of William Dudley Pelley in the Silver Shirts. He soon graduated to the Huey Long organization, which he aspired to inherit after Long's death. Later he was associated with Francis Townsend in the Share-the-Wealth movement, but was kicked out for being a "Fascist." Smith has been associated with Charles E. Coughlin for many years and today is his staunch de-

fender, calling him that "persecuted Christian, Father Coughlin."

With the backing of reactionary industrialists Smith set up his own Committee of 1,000,000. Despite having been Huey Long's right-hand man, he is a Republican and sought a seat in the United States Senate. Running in Michigan in 1942, he was defeated, but rolled up 112,000 votes in the primary.

When Smith's rabble-rousing monthly, *The Cross and the Flag*, was started early in 1942, Senator Robert Rice Reynolds and Senator Gerald P. Nye gave it unrestrained endorsements. The magazine has replaced *Social Justice* and is now the organ of Smith's America First Party, which is making vast strides in the Middle West, pulling together under one banner all the misguided "patriots," embittered isolationists and Coughlinites whom Smith has led in the past, together with thousands of new converts who have fallen prey to Smith's dynamic demagoguery. Said Smith: "*When chaos comes, I'll be the leader.*"

THE CRUSADING MOTHERS OF PENNSYLVANIA: Run by Mrs. John Brown, have followed the pro-fascist line in declaring "Internationalism," rather than the Axis, as America's number one enemy.

The Mothers, like Hitler, think the crux of the world's ills is the International Banker, alias the Jew. Mrs. Brown recently wrote: "We Mothers are working for a 'Just Peace.' There is only one way to have peace . . . that is to break down the strangle hold of the *International Bankers*. The Mothers of this organization have the interests of our own country, America first, and last, we do not wish to consider the peace of Europe, Asia, or Africa." Like so many America Firsters, however, Mrs. Brown holds America's legally constituted government in less esteem than almost any other country in the world. She may be for America First, but she expresses dislike of America's government while failing to express equal dislike of Hitler's.

THE DEFENDER: Published by Gerald B. Winrod, a Fundamentalist minister in Wichita, Kansas, who first entered politics when the theory of evolution stirred up a public

fuss. Winrod denounced the believers in evolution as the "anti-Christ," the root of the world's ills. When the issue of evolution cooled, and the Ku Klux Klan was gaining ground in Kansas, Winrod discovered that he had been mistaken, that the Catholics, too, were the anti-Christ. When Hitler came to power, Winrod discovered that he had been overlooking the Jews; so his magazine *The Defender* became anti-Semitic. Its circulation soared.

Winrod hasn't lost his distaste for the evolutionists and the Catholics. He still takes occasional cracks at them, but his current Number 1 anti-Christ is the Jew who, Winrod explains, is controlling everything in this country.

Winrod is no crack-pot to be dismissed lightly. He has Congressional connections such as Senator Robert Rice Reynolds. He is backed by influential rabble-rousers like Gerald L. K. Smith, whose editorials in *The Cross and the Flag* are reprinted regularly in *The Defender*.

But the Kansas minister, who is himself under Federal indictment for alleged sedition, hasn't lost contact with the "crack-pot" fringe of the Fascist movement. Recently his *Defender* printed a song by Col. Eugene Sanctuary, one of the most notorious of the alleged seditionists.

DESTINY: This is the organ of the Anglo-Saxon Federation and is edited by Howard B. Rand. *Destiny* magazine is an expensive, slick-paper job. Its thesis, which is alleged to be based on Biblical prophecy, is that the Jews are not all of the Israelites; that the Anglo-Saxons are the true Israelites and God's Chosen People; that Christ was not a Jew but an Israelite, that all Christ's disciples—except Judas, who was a Jew—were Israelites. *Destiny* argues that the Israelites moved out of Greece, and Greece fell; moved out of Rome, and Rome fell; and then migrated to Britain and the United States. The magazine reported that the Communists were the cause of the race riots in Detroit; that Communists have been trying to raise the Negro to the White strata of society, while God has ordained that the black men shall look to the white in all matters of responsi-

bility, economics, government, etc., etc. So *Destiny* argues.

Despite the fact that *Destiny* claims the British to be "Israelite" too, Rand's organization and publication have been anti-British and isolationist for years.

William J. Cameron of Henry Ford's Sunday Evening Hour and one of the authors of Henry Ford's series of articles on the "International Jew," was formerly associated openly and actively with *Destiny* and the Anglo-Saxon Federation.

DRAMA OF THE CONSTITUTION: Is a leaflet published by Margaret Lille-Cummings . . . a new name in the pro-fascist business. But she manages to get around. Besides distributing the leaflet she has sent out copies of George E. Sullivan's open letter to President Roosevelt. Sullivan's letter says in effect that our whole government is run by communistic Jews and that the yoke of these present leaders is no better than the yoke of the Nazis or the Japs would be.

The Cummings leaflet says the same thing in somewhat less lucid terms. It says that the people of the country were duped by evil conspirators during the last war and during this one, and that we'll have good government only after we "return" to the Constitution.

Mrs. Cummings also distributes a letter by Earl Southard, right hand man of William J. Grace of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, and a reprint of Jeannette Rankin's speech on Pearl Harbor.

FARMERS GUILD NEWS: Organ of the National Farmers Guild, is edited by Oscar B. Smith.

The *News*, which consistently criticizes our national policies, is important on the political scene principally because of its association with Carl Mote and Congressman William Lemke of North Dakota. Mote, who despises democracy, and both political parties, is a regular contributor to the paper. Lemke, who was announced as a speaker at the National Farmers Guild, ran for President of the United States in 1936 on the Union Party ticket. His candidacy was backed by Father

Charles E. Coughlin and the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith. Lemke still has not broken with these two in ideology.

GAELIC AMERICAN: The house organ for New York Coughlinites, is edited by James MacDermott and its leading columnist is the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Father Charles E. Coughlin's representative in the East.

The paper has always, and still does, advocate strict isolation. It denounces the British, the Russians, Roosevelt, any kind of international collaboration. It carries on personal feuds with anyone who intimates that Franco's Spain isn't as democratic as it should be. It supports Christian Front groups, such as the American Rock Party, which are coming out into the open again. Its editorial policy is pretty well summed up in the headlines: "Loyalty to Father Coughlin Urged In Sermon—Maligners of His Priestly Personality Scored . . . Dr. Edward Lodge Curran Lauds Father Coughlin's Patriotism at an Anniversary Mass." . . . These headlines ran in the *Gaelic American* of July 3, 1943. (Remember that Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* was discontinued after being cited by the Post Office as being obviously seditious.) Dr. Curran in April, 1944 . . . started a crusade for a strong America First Movement.

THE GUILDSMAN: Has been edited by Edward A. Koch for some years. The magazine cover announces that it is "Devoted to the Cause of a Corporative Order" . . . in other words, it's devoted to the cause of fascism.

From time to time Koch has said that our aim in this war should not be destroying Nazism, for he thinks there is much that is good in that system. He compares Nazism with Communism and infers that Nazism comes through with flying colors. After all Nazism is "devoted to a corporative order," which Koch says is a good thing.

Koch's propaganda is not to be underestimated. He has a ready-made audience in St. Louis, and his magazine is aimed at all the Catholics in the U. S.

HEARD AND SEEN: In Chicago, there has sprung into being a full-blown "nationalist" movement, supported by Britain-haters, extreme isolationists, and anti-Semites. The



Here are some of the current voices of disruption.



These are the voices which during war time are crying for negotiated peace . . . crying against rationing, price control, the government, and of course, against the Jews.

"respectable" touch is added by the support of some of the former frank-misusing Congressmen.

House organ of this movement is *Heard and Seen*, edited by William H. Stuart. The publication plugs the "obstructionist" meetings—The Citizens U. S. A. Committee, the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, the Round Table Luncheons. Stuart goes along with his friends in plugging the embittered publisher of the "nationalist" *Chicago Tribune*, Col. Robert McCormick, for President of the United States. The theme song of Stuart's publication, like that of the Chicago movement, is: "Down with the Internationalists; we must have a Nationalist America."

MALIST: Is a rabidly anti-Semitic, anti-Administration, anti-liberal, anti-Free Mason sheet aimed at a selected group of Catholics. Father Coughlin was the victim of scurvy politics . . . the War is the result of a Jewish, Free-Mason plot, etc. . . . Silent for three months, the *Malist* came to life again with a presentation and interpretation of the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion." This vicious forgery purports to expose the plot of "International Jewry" to conquer and enslave the world. Henry Ford's attacks on the Jews in the nineteen-twenties were based on the "Protocols." The "Protocols" has become the basis of all Nazi propaganda and a major weapon of power politics. Although Ford finally apologized in 1927 and withdrew his endorsement, this scurrilous libel continues to crop up with his name attached. In 1943 South America was flooded with a Spanish version of Ford's "The International Jew."

MONEY: Edited by John Scott, represents a whole cult of financial theorists all of whom to a greater or lesser degree are pro-fascist.

The front page of a recent issue, for example, runs a long story on Andrae Nordskog, a West Coast activist who for a long while was ardently pro-Nazi.

The premise from which the money theorists work is that our financial system is all wrong and that there is a conspiracy through which the system continues to be foisted upon the American people. Sometimes they say that Hitler has a new money system and

that Hitler is right. Sometimes they don't go quite that far, but the effect is often the same. The back pages of a recent issue of *Money*, recommend the Institute of American Economics in Chicago, an offshoot of the Midwest Monetary Federation which employed Joe McWilliams as a lecturer.

THE MOTHERS OF SONS FORUM "BULLETIN": Is headed by Mrs. Lucinda Bengé, long one of the most out-spokenly pro-Nazi leaders of the multitude of "mothers" organizations.

Even though Elizabeth Dilling is under Federal indictment for alleged sedition, the Mothers of Sons Forum invited her to address one of their meetings. The audience applauded wildly at her tirade against our government, the Jews, our Allies, democracy in general. And Mrs. Bengé recently took a trip to Chicago to address We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America . . . the group that is now calling on our government to "put an end to this needless slaughter" by signing a "negotiated peace" now.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES BULLETINS: Edited by Edward James Smythe of 401 West 46th Street, New York City, were until recently still polluting the mails . . . and viciously. A recent, insulting open letter to President Roosevelt asks "Are the Jews to Dictate the Peace Terms Again?" The same letter adds an appeal: "Help Add Another Freedom to the Four . . . Freedom from the Roosevelts."

Smythe is an old-timer at both the anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic game. He, too, is under indictment. His name reached the headlines when he failed to appear for scheduled opening of his trial with 29 other alleged seditionists. Smythe has been mixed up with most of those indicted (and some of those not yet indicted) for sedition. His bulletins during the war-time year of 1943 reeked with obstruction and with hate of the Administration. He would be against any Administration that was not Fascist.

His bulletins called for "A people's candidate for President . . . not Dewey, Willkie, nor Stassen, they are all Jew controlled!" He wants a "pro-Christian President."

In Bulletin No. 19 issued late in the summer of 1943, Smythe, after making an appeal for funds to help him fight the Department of Justice, concludes under the heading "Warning"—

"These Patriotic Bulletins are not to be read by members of the Armed Forces of the United Forces or are they to be mailed to any Army Post, or Naval Stations at Home or Abroad, or to ships at sea, or under the sea or ships in the air, or to any of the battlefronts of the world, lest you be charged with 'SEDITION' and thrown into any of the many JEW DEAL Dungeons at Washington, D. C., and above all don't send any of them to Mr. Roosevelt, King George the Eighth or Joe (Bloody Joe) Stalin, for they may get a severe stomach-ache, if you do, but when you finish reading them pass them on to another poor downtrodden, and pauperized Christian like yourself, it may cheer them up to know that at least one fellow American is fighting for his rights . . . Thanks."

Perhaps Symthe isn't important . . . but his words have reached many . . . and may inflame some.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

LETTER: Edited by Merwin K. Hart, (formerly the New York State Economic Council) follows a reactionary line. It is violently anti-Roosevelt and anti-New Deal. It is anti-labor; it follows the Red-baiting line of Elizabeth Dilling; it announced as its major purposes the saving of what it calls "free enterprise." It is super-nationalist in its views of patriotism; it gives aid and comfort to the nationalists and is hyper-critical of all the war efforts.

NATIONAL DEFENSE: Edited by A. Hoepel has become violent in its "nationalism"* during the past months. It claims that neither the Democratic or Republican parties are any good . . . a line that has been used by everyone from Adolph Hitler to Gerald L. K. Smith and Lois de Lafayette Washburn—the latter now under indictment and on trial for alleged sedition. It recommended John Rankin for President, although Rankin is the one who said the Detroit riots were caused by the "communistic Jews" who are preaching

"equality" for the Negroes. Rankin . . . who opposes votes for soldiers.

Like the *N. Y. Daily News*, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Mrs. Washburn, it plugs for a "Third Party." Like Joe Kamp, it tries to scare people with the bogey of "famine in America." Like Gerald Winrod and Harvey Springer, it warns of a conspiracy to abolish the American flag.

THE NATIONAL RECORD: Newspaper of Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, is very much a part of the disruptive press. It says very many of the things that the others say. A front page headline in a recent issue announces that we must decide between "Nationalism versus Internationalism." That currently is the rallying cry of every fascist from Maine to California.

The *National Record* is distributed at meetings of William J. Grace's Republican Nationalist Revival Committee and the Citizens U. S. A. Committee in Chicago. These two currently represent dangerous pro-fascist movements. Reynolds himself has been closely associated with everyone from Gerald L. K. Smith to Harvey Springer, the No. 1 defender

*My friend John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover*, sums up the Nationalist theory as briefly as possible, and has given me permission to include it here:

"Just as old notions of anti-Semitism have been altered to become a revolutionary Trojan Horse device, by the same token, the old notion of healthful nationalism has been warped by Nazi strategists to subvert Democracy and serve as prelude to revolutionary Fascism. David Baxter, the California Nazi (now under indictment for sedition) proved the point by declaring in his *Tactics*: 'In America the revolution will no doubt be staged by American fascist forces—patriotic American nationalists.'

"Mussolini's Fascist system was first described as 'nationalist.' The French Fascist organization, Croix de Feu, which developed into a Vichy instrument, was called 'nationalist.' The Nazi party is the National-Socialist Party. The Japanese War Party is a 'nationalist' party and Franco's Falange was first known as a 'nationalist' party. All these countries had their 'Germany First,' 'France First,' 'Spain First' parties. Recall that the motto of Sir Oswald Mosley's Black-shirts was 'Britain First' and Stahrenberg's slogan (a notorious American Nazi described in *Under Cover*) was 'America First, Last and Always.'

"'America First' can be no different in its connotation and ultimate outcome despite the sincere intent of some of those who mouth it. 'America First' is a cry unwittingly used by Liberty's hangmen."

of those who are under Federal indictment for sedition.

Reynolds can't be brushed aside because he is a United States Senator, and Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. In the Fascist movements he's "one of the boys." He has announced his retirement from Congress . . . but will continue his "patriotic activities."

PATRIOTIC RESEARCH BUREAU NEWS-LETTER: Elizabeth Dilling, editor of the *Patriotic Research Bureau* newsletter, is one of the most prolific writers in the nationalist, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi field. She wrote *The Red Network*, a book which proves that everyone from the Quakers to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is a dangerous radical; she wrote *The Octopus*, the most vicious anti-Semitic tract since the faked "*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*." Hudson of Omaha distributed it.

Mrs. Dilling led the women who marched to Washington in 1941 to impeach President Roosevelt. She visited several Congressmen, notably Stephen Day, who boasted to her that William Dudley Pelley looked toward Day "to save the Republic."

While under indictment for alleged sedition, Mrs. Dilling still dealt with Congressmen. Fish introduced an amendment to the sedition law, which, if passed, would have hamstrung the sedition trials. Mrs. Dilling plugged this bill in nearly every issue of her newsletter. Fish sent her copies of his speech introducing the amendment along with his franked envelopes. Mrs. Dilling promptly sent the speech out to her mailing list—under Fish's frank.

POST-WAR BULLETIN: Published until recently by Joe McWilliams, the rabble-rousing Fuehrer of the Christian Mobilizers who used to scream that "blood will run in the streets of New York." Joe left New York in 1941. Just before leaving he said: "I was brought into this movement for one purpose: to make America Jew-conscious. I've done that, Lindbergh, Nye, Wheeler, Reynolds and the rest of 'em can carry on now . . . I'll swing back into the saddle when the time is

ripe. I'm going to travel—to start little fires all over the country so that they can burst spontaneously into a national flame that'll raze Democracy clear to the ground."

Joe openly advocated the razing to the ground of all Democratic and Republican party headquarters and establishment of a "Nationalist" government patterned after Hitler's. He spoke jointly with Fritz Kuhn at Camp Siegfried and invited Bundists to address his meetings.

McWilliams apparently thought "the time is ripe." He was in Chicago (until his indictment and trial) booming his "Servicemen's Reconstruction Plan," a "ham-and-eggs" scheme aimed at making the soldiers think that McWilliams is their saviour. He has patronized the "nationalist" meetings where audiences yelled "Jews" and cheered Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Organ of McWilliams' Servicemen's Reconstruction Plan was the *Post-War Bulletin*, edited by Alice Rand de Tarnowsky, McWilliams' financial angel. Alice helped Joe with his meetings too, until she broke into the news for running off with a soldier.

PUBLICITY: Was formerly published by Elmer J. Garner and his son.

Even after Pearl Harbor, *Publicity* was full of references to the "Mongolian Jew controlled Roosevelt dynasty."

The Garners were closely associated with a large number of the persons who are under indictment. They reprinted editorials by William Dudley Pelley, who is now in jail and who said after Pearl Harbor: "Real Americans cannot help but rejoice at an Axis victory . . . even against our own forces." *Publicity* praised Robert Noble unstintingly, although Noble is the one who, during the battle of Bataan, said "To hell with MacArthur."

Although they stopped publishing their paper after the indictment in July, 1942, their subscribers and others have continued to receive their leaflets ever since. Right up to now. The leaflets are violent.

(Note: The elder Garner died during first few weeks of sedition trial in Washington.)

REPUBLICAN NATIONALIST REVIVAL COMMITTEE: Is run by William J. Grace, former leader of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

Grace's friends range from Congressmen to those who have been indicted for conspiracy to undermine the morale of the Armed Forces. Speakers at his meetings range from Congressmen to Anglophobes and anti-Semites. The core of his movement is a collection of rabble who called themselves fascists before Pearl Harbor, but they have become "nationalists" now. "The issue is NATIONALISM vs. INTERNATIONALISM" they shout.

The bulk of the movement (as its meetings make obvious) is made up of Coughlinites, ex-members of the German-American Bund, alleged seditionists and friends of alleged seditionists. The group hit the front pages when they asked Col. Robert McCormick to run for President of the United States. They issue frequent bulletins and "petitions" . . . for signatures.

THE STATESMAN: Is edited by Eugene Talmadge, the former governor of Georgia.

Talmadge has gained a good deal of notoriety through his campaign to "keep the niggers in their place," his primary achievement being that any teacher in the Georgia school system who recommended that Negroes and Whites go to the same schools would be fired automatically.

Talmadge's racism is very closely related to the racism of the fascists . . . so he didn't waste much time joining their camp. Now he says aliens aren't to be trusted; our good neighbor policy is no good; the poll tax should not be abolished; Mrs. Roosevelt is no good; the Administration spends too much money; the Detroit riots were caused by the "uplifters"; the New Deal is destroying America.

It's the straight "nationalist" line.

WESTERN VOICE: Edited by Harvey Springer, a Fundamentalist minister, of Englewood, Colorado.

Springer is a close friend and collaborator of Gerald B. Winrod, under Federal indictment for alleged sedition. Springer, consequently, took the sedition indictment to heart, and nearly every edition of his paper reeked with defense of the "persecuted Christians." This consistent support of the alleged seditionists has won Springer *some* friends in Congress. Senator Robert Rice Reynolds subscribed to his publication.

Springer's line is very close to Winrod's. He wants to have no truck with this "internationalism." He spits on the "World Flag" and says we must stick to Old Glory. He has no use for the Jews, and he thinks the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is "Communist-dominated." He thinks Gerald L. K. Smith is a "real man of Christ" and invited Smith to bring his "spiritual message" to the congregation in Englewood, Colorado.

In one issue Springer headlined: "Congressman Hoffman Speaks Again." "Congress Orders Radio Probe (the Cox mess)." "Congressman Hamilton Fish Acts Wisely." "Senator Nye Defends Persecuted Christians." This latter article which ran over into the inside pages was a strong defense of the people indicted for alleged sedition.

WOMEN'S VOICE: This publication is the organ of "We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America."

"We, the Mothers," a violently isolationist, anti-Roosevelt, anti-Communist, anti-International Bankers, and pro-fascist group, was active long before Pearl Harbor. The group followed Elizabeth Dilling, its spiritual leader, to Washington in 1941 to petition for the impeachment of the President. Announcement of the "mothers' " march to Washington ran in *Social Justice*. Anti-Semitic cat-calls were, and are, common among the "mothers," for they have three "enemies"—the Communists, the Jews and the International Bankers. And, the "mothers" say, all Communists are Jews, all International Bankers are Jews, all Jews are Communists, International Bankers, or both.

The "mothers" went underground right after Pearl Harbor. Now they are out in the

open again. They are holding meetings of their own; they distribute Elizabeth Dilling's literature, even though Mrs. Dilling is under Federal indictment for alleged sedition. In 1943 they began to publish their own newspaper, which says "The International Bankers must not be permitted to take part at the peace conference. None but Christians should participate . . ."

X-RAY: Edited by Court Asher, indicted for alleged sedition. He claims to have been associated at one time with the Ku Klux Klan.

X-Ray is filled with stories about diabolical "plots" and fantastic "conspiracies," being hatched by the Jewish-Communist-International Bankers who control the Roosevelt administration.

Asher follows the line: "Christ Was Not a Jew"; "British Israel Jew, Moses Sieff, Seeks U. S. Chaos To Put Over Totalitarian Scheme Here"; John L. Lewis, since he has been embarrassing the Administration, is a great hero; "World Government" would mean the end of our American way of life; we must have a "Nationalist" America.

Those are some of the important current Voices of Disruption in this year of war. There are others, including some seemingly legitimate newspapers and magazines which reprint or rephrase the poisonous material. From there on, the disruptive thoughts are passed along by word-of-mouth. Much of the whispering and gossiping reaches the men in the Armed Services.

Some of the newspapers which pass along the poison even try to suppress those who try to expose the Hate Sheets. They defend those indicted by the Department of Justice.

One of the most disgusting examples of the use of the mail for intimidation—was the crusade conducted by Frank Gannett and Edward A. Rumely of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., to suppress or decrease the sale of John Roy Carlson's book *Under Cover*. The crusade was supported by Bert McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* and Joe Kamp's "Constitutional Educational League." Carlson didn't devote much space or time to Rumely or to Gannett's committee. He reprinted newspaper clippings of 1920, showing how Rumely was convicted and served time for "trading with the enemy." Carlson made no mention of the hundreds of thousands of pieces of mail now being sent out by Rumely's organization . . . material which is not helpful in promoting unity of purpose.

Rumely and Gannett elected to mail unknown thousands of four page letters to book-

stores and book dealers nationally, implying court action if they continued to sell *Under Cover*. Gannett when interviewed by a reporter on his four page intimidation letter emphatically pointed out that the copy for the letter was copyrighted . . . and anyone reprinting it would be prosecuted.

To these lengths go such men who want to suppress truth while they themselves participate in the barrage of undermining propaganda. Why should any former cooperator with the Germans remain unquestioned when every investigating agency in Washington knows about his past record and his present propaganda activities?

(Salute to Democracy: *Under Cover* remained a best seller in spite of all dirty work at the cross-roads.)

* * * * *

Back in May, 1943, we warned the harried information men at OPA of one of the Nazi schemes supported by the publishers of Hate Sheets. Helpers were being urged to spread the word that it is "patriotic to patronize the black markets . . . look what we did to a bureaucratic law like prohibition . . . patronized the bootleggers and got rid of the law. Let's support the black markets—and we'll kill OPA."

On September 16th in the City of Chicago an unbelievable thing happened. At Frank Gannett's Food Parley—a United States Senator, sworn to uphold the law, voiced practi-

cally the same enemy-inspired disruption. He said:

"The trouble with planned economy is that the plans are changed so often we cannot keep up with them. During prohibition we developed a workable and business-like system of evading the law. Our distribution and delivery were promptly and efficiently serviced. Anyone willing to pay the price could get his drink. Then along came repeal and threw our distribution machinery all out of gear.

"Bootleggers went into other business ventures where a profit was still possible. By the time the planners developed that new masterpiece, the OPA, our prohibition bootleg machinery had completely disintegrated and now we have to start all over again."

So far as we know, no member of Congress challenged the Senator's lack of cooperation with the war effort.

How can we expect the little people, all

of us, to accept and conform to a vitally necessary rationing program when a United States Senator holds "rationing" up to ridicule . . . and recommends a program of non-conformity never designed or promulgated by friends—a program harmful to the war effort.

* * * * *

The disruptive voices want to divide and confuse us. They want to weaken us by making us intolerant—by making us hate each other. They want to keep us weak by preventing us from fighting back.

We must remain ignorant no longer. The most powerful counteroffensive against these blinding tactics consists in using the tested democratic weapon of understanding. The time is now. Let us learn to understand the impartial truth, and let us have the intelligence and courage to speak out on every possible occasion, without let-up. Armed with the truth, we will come always closer to the democracy which is our strength.

• 11 •

The Strange Case of Destiny

Shortly after the new demonstration portfolio had been finished . . . and had started circulating around Washington, I published in *The Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising*, a list and summarized descriptions of thirteen of the current printed Voices of Disruption. *Destiny Magazine* (see page 52) was number *thirteen* on the list.

Soon after publication, my office began to receive letters, phone calls and in a few cases "visits" . . . urging me to be careful of what I said about propaganda in the mail. Friends were approached . . . with suggestions that pressure should be applied to prevent this reporter from continuing attacks on propaganda.

An old story . . . this suppression technique!

Among the letters were two similar documents from two of our good friends in the Direct Mail business. One was from a most reputable printer; the other from an authority on mail selling. Both letters were friendly, but firm in censuring us for including *Destiny Magazine* in the list of hate sheets.

One letter read: "I think you should get your facts straight before taking somebody's word for the fact that *Destiny* is not a reputable publication (then the writer gave 'facts')."

The other letter denied that *Destiny* is isolationist, anti-British, un-American or anti-Semitic. It described the religious background and policies of *Destiny*. The writer entered a subscription for *Destiny* in my name and sent a copy of the book *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright*, by J. H. Allen (written in 1902 and a *Destiny* "Bible") so that I could study . . . and be convinced.

I was invited to come to Boston to meet the publishers of *Destiny* so that I could "straighten out the facts." To both friends I wrote that I would read and investigate—and report later.

Because of the importance of this case as it affects (1) the use of the mail, and (2) the security of our country . . . I made a more than ordinary restudy of the *Destiny* set-up.

The final letter written to my two friends is summarized here. It contains a clue which may be even more important than *the Purple Heart*.

"Dear Friends:

Thank you for requesting a further study of charges that *Destiny Magazine* is one of the links in the chain of Fascist inspired propaganda in the United States.

You have a perfect right to question me—and I admire you for coming frankly out in the open without resorting to the customary back-stabbing. We need this kind of friendly discussion . . . if democracy is to survive.

Without your urging, I should not have had the energy to wade through the reams of manuscripts, documents, magazines, books (and interviews) during the past weeks.

Before publishing any attack on the misuse of the mail, I always make a thorough investigation . . . as George Sylvester Viereck, George Hill, Ernest Schmitz, Ham Fish, Senator Wheeler and others well know by this time.

In the case of 'So You Don't Believe It' the same careful investigation was made. I was sure of my facts but checked them with others. I promised both of you that I would read your evidence . . . and compare it carefully again with evidence available to me. That job has been completed and this is my report. We should, however, agree on two preliminary points.

First: Let us mutually agree that I am not selecting subjects for attack just for the fun of it. Let us agree that the revelations so far have proved that we knew and know of a plot to divide the thinking of the people in the country with undermining printed material sent through the mail or distributed by

other channels. Let us agree on the point that the Nazi-Fascist plan to disrupt and weaken this country was based on the simple scheme of getting us (through inflammatory propaganda) to fight among ourselves.

If we cannot agree on those points, then we cannot agree on anything pertaining to the subject. The facts concerning the scheme were proved in Federal Court during the trial which resulted in the conviction of George Sylvester Viereck, the Nazi agent.

Second: I will not argue with you on your religious beliefs. That would be folly. You are entitled to your beliefs as I am to mine. But I reserve the right to condemn any group which uses religion as a mask to cover undemocratic activities. My report to you will touch only lightly on 'religion' and will confine itself mostly to (a) the Anglo-Saxon Federation, (b) the backers of *Destiny*, and (c) *Destiny* itself.

'Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright'

Since this book is one of the 'Bibles' of the Anglo-Saxon Federation, I read it carefully. I think I understand what it tries to prove. Briefly, that God made an accurately reported word-by-word interpretable covenant with Abraham . . . promising that Abraham's seed (made possible by the covenant) would inherit the earth, would rule many nations; that the Jewish people as we know them today were the offspring of an illegitimate relation . . . a seed of the flesh, not the seed of the covenant. The 'true Israelite' is descended from Isaac, who was the seed of the covenant (Abraham and Sarah) and who by the covenant became the forefather of all the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic 'Chosen People,'—Israel. The true Israelite is of the master race, ordained to rule the earth with the help of the more unfortunate offspring of Abraham. Reverend Allen uses most of his 377 page book to prove that the chosen people, the master race, can foretell every event in history by a literal interpretation of the prophecies in the Bible.

Nowhere throughout the book could I find any clue as to how the exact words of God, spoken to Abraham (or Abram) reportedly some 2800 years before Christ and finally collected in written form some thousands of

years later, would be word-for-word accurate. But that is a question of religious belief.

I do not believe the claims made by the Reverend Allen for race superiority. You have a right to believe them. It all sounds strangely familiar . . . chosen people, a master race to rule the nations and the world . . . bastard Jews . . . planning the future by the occult . . . moves made by mystic foresight. Nowhere the precept of Christianity 'Love thy neighbor.' Throughout, 'Hate thy neighbor. We are the master race!' I cannot say more . . . for I feel the chill of biting winds howling over the cliffs of Berchtesgaden.

The Anglo-Saxon Federation

The Anglo-Saxon Federation came into being about 1927 or 1928 right after Henry Ford apologized for and disclaimed 'The International Jew' and stopped publication of the *Dearborn Independent*, edited by Wm. J. Cameron . . . the real author of 'The International Jew.'

Cameron became President of the Anglo-Saxon Federation and started *Destiny Magazine* . . . which took up where the *Dearborn Independent* left off.

After a few years, A. P. Knoblock (others followed) became President, but Cameron was retained as 'Chairman of the Publications Committee.' One of the jobs of his 'Committee' was to encourage the distribution of the faked 'Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion' (one of the most vicious libels ever exploited by the Nazis). I have seen printed copies of the 'Protocols' which were purchased in office of ASF and rubber stamped with their name.

Howard B. Rand (editor of *Destiny*) is the Commissioner of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. His home (and office) is located at 22 Summit Avenue, Haverhill, Mass.

Howard Rand, in an authenticated interview, claims that the Anglo-Saxon Federation is an offshoot of the Anglo-Israel Federation in England, but 'they changed the name because Americans might not "stomach" the wording "Anglo-Israel."'

The Anglo-Saxon Federation printed and exploited Gen. George Van Horn Moseley's

vicious attack on the Jews. It printed and still distributes William Cameron's leaflet 'Was Jesus a Jew?'

The Anglo-Saxon Federation also distributed propaganda issued by Winrod, Edmundson and other trouble makers (now under indictment . . . and themselves publishers of pro-fascist Hate Sheets).

The most active 'branch' office of the Anglo-Saxon Federation was located in the McCormack Building at 332 South Michigan Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. (now at 3059 West Washington Boulevard). It is in charge of S. A. Ackley, who formerly was active in the America First Committee. Ackley is an ardent 'Anglo-Saxon Israelite' and bases his predictions on 'the pyramids.' He predicted in an authenticated interview that there would be no election in 1940 and later that the 1940 election would be the last (a la *New York Daily News*). He knows Lizzie Dilling and has displayed in his office copies of Joe Kamp's *Fifth Column in Washington*, together with reprints of the speeches of the former Nazi-admiring Congressman Jake Thorkleson.

Ackley and the Chicago Anglo-Saxon Federation hold many meetings (some super-secret). Here are samples:

a. At one, Dr. John H. Dequer delivered an enthusiastically received talk which was viciously pro-Hitler, pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic.

b. At another ASF meeting, a speaker claimed that 'the whole Chinese People was Jewish.'

c. At another meeting, a speaker stated 'when you go to hospitals and take the blood of Jews and analyze it, you always find all kinds of blood streams, from Mongolian to Ethiopian.'

d. I have intimate knowledge of the meetings held by the Anglo-Saxon Federation in Chicago on January 17, 1943 and February 2, 1943. At both the general tone was:

1. Deride the Government
2. Abuse the Jews.

Ackley was prominently present.

About the Editor of 'Destiny'

Howard Rand is Editor of *Destiny* and Executive Secretary of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. He is a typical promoter. In the words of a reliable interviewer, 'He works hard at being friendly—but one gets the impression that he doesn't like people very much.'

In an authenticated interview on August 25, 1941, he, among other things . . .

- a. Foresaw the doom of Democracy.
- b. Swore to the accuracy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and said he knew of a Jew who knew the actual author.
- c. Claimed that Haverhill is bankrupt on account of the Jews.
- d. Praised Lizzie Dilling, the indicted crackpot from Chicago.
- e. Defined Democracy as 'nothing more than mob rule which Jews foisted on Christians.' He said 'It is doomed.'
- f. Said that the Jews were of the tribe of Judah, 'a discredited bastard tribe.'
- g. Praised the late and unlamented *Scribner's Commentator*.
- h. Denied Cameron was still connected with *Destiny* but admitted 'his interest.'
- i. Made this amazing statement—'everyone knows that all subversive organizations are led by Jews. Jews are seeking to destroy our Constitution. If they do not stop this country will witness the most violent pogroms in the history of the world.'

On Rand's desk during the interview was a copy of *Roll-Call*—the sheet published by William Dudley Pelley (now in jail for sedition).

In another interview, Rand admitted that *Destiny* was formerly published 'out at Dearborn' . . . in the office of Wm. J. Cameron.

On September 16, 1941, Rand wrote to John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover*—

'Dear Mr. Pagnanelli:
(*Under Cover* name)

'Naturally, it is impossible for me to be very enthusiastic over any all-out aid to Britain when I happen to know, as you probably

do, that one of the objects of those in power today is to use this for the purpose of taking over America and regimenting our people according to a plan that they hope will continue to be in effect after the war is over.'

The Reverend Carlton N. Jones, Minister of the Episcopalian Church in Haverhill, Mass., made a public statement that Rand and *Destiny* were 'Dictatorial' in purpose, and that the *Anglo-Saxon-Destiny* set-up was 'the most subtle, anti-Church, anti-Christian, anti-Democratic, anti-Semitic Fifth Column movement in the United States today.'

About 'Destiny'

Destiny is the official publication of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. It says so on the letterhead of the Federation. In 1937 the cover of *Destiny* carried the Anglo-Saxon label—but later on the label was moved back under the second class notice. *Destiny* is a slick paper job, 36 inside pages, 9" x 12", plus an expensive four color cover. Sells for \$3.00 per year. No advertising . . . and couldn't possibly 'pay out' on that basis.

The circulation appeal folders are likewise expensively produced. The magazine, although carrying no paid advertising, advertises innumerable 'house' books. It looks dignified, impressive, solid and substantial.

I have examined some of the past issues. Here are just a few notes:

January, 1941: Article titled 'The Last Revolution' by Frederick Haberman, announces that on the basis of Scriptures . . . Capitalism and Democracy are dead, to be replaced by dictatorship and then by 'A Divinely appointed and directed government . . .'

February, 1941: Article by Howard Rand on the 'Twilight of Democracy' asserts that 'The present conflict is, in the plan of God, for the purpose of completely smashing democratic forms of government for all time! . . . When the present conflict ends, democracies will be a thing of the past, never again to be restored as a form of human government.'

May, 1941: A complicated use of Biblical prophecy shows that settlement of the Ford labor trouble 'should determine the future

course of the elect nation for the divinely guided solution of our labor problem.'

July, 1941: Rand writes: 'Under the harlot's superintendence (the harlot of Revelations) the Church of Rome puts forth blasphemous pretensions worse than Imperial Rome did in pagan days. The Pope is placed by the Cardinals in God's temple, and the Cardinals kiss the feet of the Pope. This is nothing else than paganism baptized and is blasphemous in the sight of God.'

September, 1941: 'Union Now has as its objective the building of a great democracy in the federation of all democracies, lest they be scattered abroad and destroyed. But a union based upon the perpetuation of the present order is as certain to fall as the endeavor to establish a central government at Babel was followed by confusion and scattering abroad.'

January, 1942: The prosperity of the nation is dependent upon the great middle class, and the small thrifty enterprises its members conduct. These are now being taxed out of existence. However, this is in accordance with God's plans, for it will result in the destruction of the Babylonian system of economics and the ground having been cleared, will enable others to build the God-given economic system, 'under which is promised perpetual liberty and freedom.'

April, 1942: In an article condemning the government for condemning hoarding, it is stated that 'a government that rewards shiftlessness and penalizes thriftiness is now moving to destroy foresightedness on the part of the thrifty.'

May, 1942: Commenting on the prospective Spring offensives in Russia, *Destiny* says: 'Reports of victories emanating from Russian sources cannot be accepted as boding good for us simply because we have a sure word of prophecy that states otherwise. It is possible that Russia and Germany are staging a gigantic hoax, enabling Russia to secure enormous supplies of material from us previous to revealing the most stupendous and far-reaching treachery the world has ever witnessed?'

July, 1942: Questioning the conduct of the war *Destiny* says: 'Controlled economy, rationed sugar, gasoline and many necessities

yet to be added to the list; controlled business and the closing of many old and tried business concerns; destruction of prosperity and the depletion of our storehouses as we turn our energy and work towards preparing goods for destruction.'

The editor sharply criticizes the fact that men in war industry are asked to work on the Sabbath and that drives for collecting scrap metal and war stamps are also conducted on this day.

August, 1942: *Destiny* continues its implicit criticism of the war effort and its negative attitude toward our role in the war by attempting to place the responsibility for our military failures on the 'evils' existing among us. The editor conversely approved Nazi victories.

The rationing program is scored in an editorial as destroying morale. It claims: 'There are no lengths to which our people will not go to win the war, but artificial and planned scarcities and needless rationing is doing everything else but strengthen the morale of the people.'

In a strangely ambiguous editorial entitled 'Investigation Needed,' *Destiny* repeats its previous pleas for investigations of those who are behind 'smearing campaigns.'

September, 1942: In a savage editorial entitled 'Minorities and Persecution' Mr. Rand states: 'Let us discard that sentimental nonsense which tends to bring immunity to those of any race residing among us in their acts of economic aggression just because we are sorry for the suffering of their people in foreign lands. Such are but taking advantage of our good will and are not worthy of our hospitality.'

October, 1942: Rand defines democracy and further elaborates: 'Democracy in its fullest sense is the rule of the mob in which the political system is directly exercised or controlled by the people collectively; it is government by the people . . . A democracy, therefore, is a form of government in rebellion against God, being a government by the people in which the final court of appeal is public opinion.'

November, 1942: The question is asked 'Would Defeat of Hitler End the War?' The

answer given by *Destiny* is that the Allies will fight amongst themselves after the defeat of Germany. Stress is placed on the futility of post-war planning, for the future of the world is in the hands of God. *Destiny* believes that Japan and not Hitler constitutes the greatest danger to the United States.

January, 1943: 'Property is being taken and prosperity is rapidly vanishing while the prying, inquisitory methods of bureaucracy reach into the privacy of individual homes and the lives of all our citizens and the end of it all is not yet in sight.'

February, 1943: The editor attacks fuel rationing with a cry that it is 'penalizing the rich.'

September, 1943: A few significant quotes from an editorial: 'True democracy is the predecessor of tyranny and suppression . . .'

'Unknown to men, we are not fighting to make the world safe for any ism, democratic or otherwise . . .'

' . . . in the fight to preserve this seed-race, all vestige of tyranny and its spawning ground, democracy, will be swept away. Wrecking crews are busy, the old order is passing . . .'

To give you more (and there is so much more) would be a tedious repetition of the same old story — just garbed in different religious trappings.

Analysis of the Facts

You asked me to make a thorough investigation of this user of the mail. I have done so. The conclusions must be obvious.

I not only repeat the original charges, but amplify them as follows:

1. The Anglo-Saxon Federation is an un-American organization, which is working on the Fascist theory of a master race. In order to gain control by a minority, it uses the device of partly concealed anti-Semitism as a political weapon. 'Get 'em to hate somebody or something and they won't notice what we are doing.'

2. *Destiny* Magazine uses religion as a cover-up to spread its poison. It preaches under various cloaks:

- a. Distrust of our government

- b. End of Democracy
 - c. Right to rule of 'a master race'
 - d. Hatred of our fellow men
 - e. Disunity, chaos, intolerance, bigotry.
3. The Anglo-Saxon Federation and *Destiny* Magazine should be charged with
- a. Incitement to riot (talk of pogroms and revolt against rationing)
 - b. Interference with the war effort (before and after Pearl Harbor).

Section 33 (Title 50) of the U. S. Criminal Code defines as punishable only those whose willful statements are made with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies. This Code enacted in 1917 before printed psychological warfare was widely recognized — should be made to apply to the present situation. The poison generated by *Destiny* and echoed by the less pretentious Hate Sheets, surely and positively spreads to the armed forces. It delays production. It aids the enemy. Freedom of speech is a sacred heritage of Democracy . . . but when Freedom of speech is used to imitate a foreign conspiracy against democracy . . . it is time for a new interpretation!

4. *Destiny* is a dangerous magazine. It preaches that Democracy is doomed. On that point alone it labels itself un-American.

Destiny preaches class hatred—pits religion against religion, race against race. Its practices are more despicable than most of the poison sheets, because *Destiny* hides behind the respectability of the word 'religion.'

It is the opinion of many responsible people who have studied this case that *Destiny* is simply a front for a Fascist-minded group which wishes to aid larger and similar minded groups seize power in the post-war period (either with or without the cooperation of a foreign fascist regime).

It is the opinion of the same responsible students of psychological warfare that the actual start of the alarming anti-Semitic campaign in this country can be traced step by step back to the originators of the Anglo-Saxon Federation.

I'm sorry that we have to discuss these things . . . especially anti-Semitism. But we

do. The mails are being used to spread chaos, hate and disunity. Anti-Semitism is only one of the appeal elements. It is important only because of the emphatic use of this 'political weapon' by those who want to destroy us by disunity. It's too bad, too, that the mails had to be selected as the best medium to spread the poison. That, I suppose, was inevitable, because Direct Mail is selective.

In Conclusion

I am not defending the Jews or any other segment of American life for any religious or financial reason. I have been accused of such motives. The truth is: *I like Democracy*. I don't like intolerance. I don't like to see the business I've followed (the mail) used to breed intolerance and to wreck Democracy. . . .

I have three sons in this scrap. I have a feeling of kinship with all the fathers of sons who are in the scrap . . . whether they be white, colored, Jew, Protestant, Catholic, rich or poor. I'll back up those sons with all I've got . . . and I mean *all I've got*.

Sincerely,

HENRY HOKE."

Since the "Letter to Two Friends" was written, Howard Rand has advised various individuals that we committed 36 varieties of libel or misstatement. He devotes considerable argument to whether the Anglo-Saxon Federation started in 1927 or 1928; whether Cameron or Rand started it; whether the start was in Dearborn or Haverhill. Rand maintains that he is not anti-Semitic (it's just our interpretation) . . . and that he has no authority over the Chicago office. But he admits he "doesn't think much of Democracy." That final admission eliminates all other claims to possible errors. Rand may forget that in his letters to the Post Office Department in 1934 when he refused to give a statement of ownership (claiming *religious* exemption) he specifically stated that *Destiny* had been published in *Dearborn*.

This final item concerning Rand and *Destiny* may make the picture clearer. We quote part of letter received October 8th, 1943, from a business man in Grand Rapids, Michigan, (name withheld . . . but decidedly not Jewish).

"My dear Mr. Hoke:

"Howard Rand came to Grand Rapids about three years ago and addressed the Masonic Lodge of which I am a member. I challenged him on his facts on the floor of the meeting and finally sat him down with his own admission that he did not have the facts 'with him'—they were on file in his office, so he said. At the next meeting of the lodge the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese and I took about two hours and a half exposing the unhistorical and un-American nature of his remarks and activities. Rand threatened the Bishop with a libel suit. The Bishop's attorney replied that the Bishop would welcome a libel suit in that such would give him the opportunity to expose in the United States

District Court Rand's un-American activity. Needless to say Rand did not file the suit. Rand trades on people's ignorance and their religious interest to sell his ideas. It is pitiful for well meaning people to be so hoodwinked.

"So, more power to you. You have done the country a service."

Because I have devoted a complete chapter to *Destiny* and the Anglo-Saxon Federation, you should not overemphasize the importance of this one link in the network. Other links are just as important—some much more important. You should realize that similar case histories could be given on most of the publications or individuals mentioned in Chapter 10. The following pages will show how the links fit together.

•12•

The A.B.C.'s of Disruption

All that has gone before is preliminary to the point for which this report was aimed, and at which we have now arrived.

Our purpose is to make this subject of Black MAIL *so simple* that a child can understand it . . . and it needn't be a "quiz kid" child.

If the mechanics of book production under wartime conservation permitted their reproduction, I would like to show you actual facsimiles of the maps which I prepared as this investigation developed.

It took four years to plot the sequence of maps which we put into circulation in Washington . . . so that the growth of this intricate conspiracy could be traced and clearly explained.

The first map was charted in early 1940. The second started then, but took time to build up. The sixth came after the hunt had ended for the man hiding behind the Purple

Heart. The rest came along as clues developed.



I wish that you could see these maps on the 20" by 30" sheets of *transparent material* just as we prepared them originally to show in Washington. It would be easier for you

to see and understand the spinning of the web. For by the use of the transparencies, the maps when placed in chronological order one on top of the other enable you to *see through* the whole network of propaganda as succeeding segments and patterns added to another.

Visualize a condensed outline map of the United States before you, *now*.

As I explain, in the briefest possible words, each succeeding map—trace in your mind's eye the network of lines which radiate from the mailers to recipients or to their contacts.

Only by doing this can you grasp the scope of the blackest Direct Mail campaign of all times. A mailing campaign designed not to sell or be of good service . . . but to break down our America.

Map No. One: The Nazis started the mail attack shortly after 1933. Tons upon tons of mail were shipped from abroad (mostly arriving at West Coast ports) and reached selective lists of approximately 250,000 German-Americans with relatives still abroad. This material consisted of:

World Service Bulletins
Fichte Bund Bulletins
Auslands Institute Bulletins
News From Germany
Volksbund Fuer Das Deuschtum im Ausland

Mark your mental map . . . showing lines radiating out from the West Coast to every section of the United States. That was the first attack. Millions of pieces of printed material to prepare or soften the minds of *Deuschtum im Ausland*. Messages designed to enlist their support in *dividing the people* of America and keeping us unprepared.

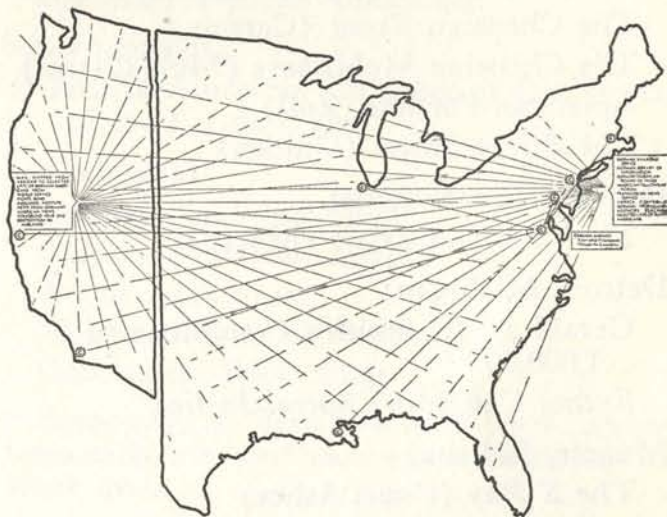
On the East Coast at New York the map shows the highly organized German controlled offices such as:

The German Railroads Office
 The German Library of Information
 The German-American Board of Trade
 The American Fellowship Forum
 Trans-Ocean News Service

These were the Viereck controlled German propaganda agencies . . . directed in turn

by the German Embassy and Consulates. Each issued propaganda designed for particular "class" groups. Each carefully built up selected lists. Their poison reached into every section of America . . . quietly, insidiously.

Here is what our first map looked like. It is greatly reduced . . . but it will give you the idea. . . .



Map No. Two: Soon after Hitler came to power, seemingly independent and unrelated native Fascist organizations, publications and individuals cropped up in the United States. If a group had been formed earlier, it now became more active. Each built up selective lists and issued propaganda for its "class" of prospects . . . copied from the Fascist line. (To refresh your mind on type of material . . . refer to our analysis on page 5.)

Spot on your mental map the following publications or organizations. Extend from each one radiating lines—symbolizing their mailing matter reaching into every section of the country. These are some of the names which appeared on our Map Two:

Washington:

The American Coalition (Trevor)
The National Republic (Steele)
 The American Indian Federation
 (Jemison)
The Industrial Control Reports
 (James True)

The National Gentile League (Shea)

The Women Investors in America (Curtis)

New York City:

Protestant War Veterans (Smythe)
 Constitutional Education League (Kamp)
 American Review Book Shop
 (Seward Collins)
 World Alliance Against Jewish Aggres-
 siveness (Sanctuary)
Vigilante Bulletins (Edmondson)
 The Christian Front (Cassidy)
 The Christian Mobilizers (McWilliams)
 American Patriots (Zoll)
 The Silver Shirts (Gulden)

Boston, Massachusetts:

The Christian Front (Moran)

Detroit, Michigan:

Gerald L. K. Smith's Committee of
 1,000,000
 Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*

Muncie, Indiana:

The *X-Ray* (Court Asher)

Indianapolis, Indiana:

Carl Mote Publications

St. Albans, West Virginia:

American Nationalist Confederation
 (George K. Deatherage)

Chicago, Illinois:

Patriotic Research Bureau
 (Elizabeth Dilling)
 American Vigilant Intelligence Federation
 (Jung)
 The Paul Revers (Hadley)
 The Third Party (Jenkins)
 The American Gentile (DeKayville)
 Lawful Money Pilgrims (Coogan)
 American Gentile Protective Association
 (Washburn)
 The Silver Shirts (Maertz)

Atlanta, Georgia:

The Ku Klux Klan (Colescott)

Kansas City, Missouri:

H. D. Kissenger (writings)

Omaha, Nebraska:

America In Danger (Hudson)

Wichita, Kansas:

The Defender (Winrod)
Publicity (Garner)

Asheville, North Carolina:

Liberation (later *Roll Call*) (Pelley)

Houston, Texas:

The Christian American (Ulrey)

San Antonio, Texas:

The Gold Shirts (Taylor)

San Diego, California:

The Broom (De Aryan)

Los Angeles, California:

Kingdom Temple (Jeffers)

San Bernardino, California:

Social Republic Society (David Baxter)

Atascadero, California:

The Beacon Light (Kullgren)

Tacoma, Washington:

League of War Veterans Guardsmen
 (Clark)

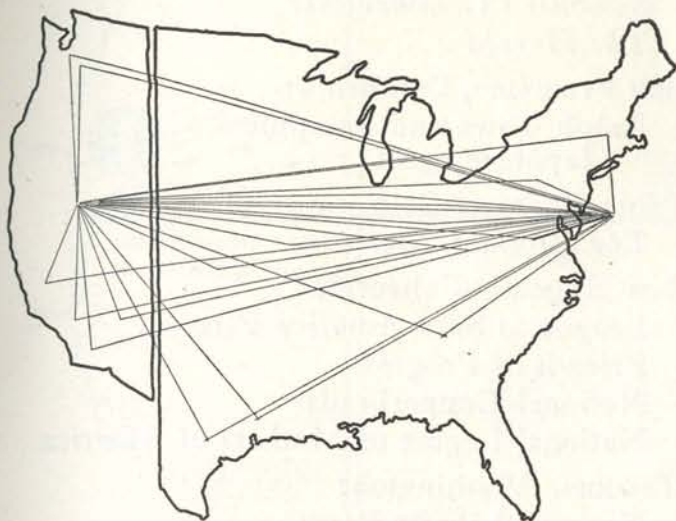
(Remember to draw radiating lines from each one . . . for each one mailed to selective lists a particular brand of divisionist propaganda.)

Map No. Three: On the sequence of trans-
 parencies which I pre-
 pared for Washington, Map Three was
 formed by (1) superimposing Maps One and
 Two, and (2) adding *lines* to the combined
 transparencies to show that the seemingly
 independent native propagandists were *par-*
roting or reprinting the material contained in
 the pieces received from West Coast ports
 or the Viereck agencies in New York. That
 is, where a native publisher used *similar*
material, we drew a line from the source to
 the user.

To show you how completely the job was
 done, I'm reproducing the *connecting lines*
 for Map Three (see next page).

These lines simply trace the story of *prov-*
able connecting words and thoughts between
 the foreign and native propaganda. Under-
 stand? Material printed in the native Hate
 Sheets was in many cases copied from the
 material written in Germany. Certain native

Fascists were on the lists to get material from Germany and from the German dominated propaganda agencies.



Map No. Four: (1934-1936 period.) Here we must show how actual German controlled native organizations, such as the German-American Bund, the Steuben Society, etc., came out in the open. These organizations became distributors of the Nazi-inspired literature of both German and native groups. So place on your mental map at strategic centers in the United States such organizations as:

New York:

German-American Bund (Fritz Kuhn, with branches all over)

Steuben Society

B. Westerman Bookshop

American National Socialist Party

German-American Vocational League

Volksbund Feur Das Deutschtum im Ausland

Kyffhaeuser Bund

American National Labor Party

German-American Business League

German-American Conference of Greater New York

German-American League

German-American Republican League

Philadelphia:

German-American Federation of Pennsylvania

Detroit:

German-American Central Organization

Chicago:

German-American National Alliance

Einheitsfront

German-American Economy Alliance

Milwaukee:

German-American Volksbund

San Francisco:

German-American Chamber of Commerce of the Pacific Coast

Los Angeles:

German-American Bund

German-American League

Aryan Book Store

Militant Christian Patriots

Continental Book Shop

Remember to have radiating lines coming from each one—for each was a distributor of *black mail*.

Map No. Five Maps 1-2-3-4 disclosed the basic network of the pre-European war propaganda campaign. Our nation, oblivious to dangers, paid no attention to its significance. In fact, no one seemed to know much about this new style program of *black mail*.

Then, Hitler plunged Europe into war. Fascist propaganda in the United States became concealed under a cloak of respectability. This period saw the growth of native organizations, such as the National Committee to Keep America Out of the War — Islands for War Debts — America First — *Scribner's Commentator*, etc., etc., appearing under the sponsorships of American names well regarded both locally and nationally. Each organization became a *large user of mail* . . . mimicking and repeating the material from abroad. "No danger from Hitler" . . . "They can't attack us," etc.

So place on your (mental) map these new "Patriotic" organizations. From each—radiate lines to indicate mailed material or printed handouts reaching out to the millions of worried, questioning Americans.

New York:

America First Committee (branches in all important cities . . . so we won't repeat)
 "Mother" Groups (with branches in all important cities)
 American Women Against Communism
 Americans for Peace
 Emergency Council to Keep the U. S. Out of Foreign War
 National Committee to Keep Out of Foreign Wars
 National Economic Council
 No Foreign War Committee
 Paul Revere Sentinels
The Gaelic American
 Women Investors in America
 Women United
 Women's National Committee to Keep the U. S. Out of War
 National Legion of Mothers of America

Washington, D. C.:

Citizens No Foreign War Coalition
 National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars
 National Legion of Mothers of America
 Islands for War Debts
 Make Europe Pay War Debts
 War Debts Defense Committee
 The American Vindicator

Darby, Pennsylvania:

Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania

Detroit, Michigan:

American Mothers
 Mothers of the U. S. A.
 National Workers League

Cincinnati, Ohio:

Mothers of Sons Forum

Noblesville, Indiana:

Roll Call
The Galilean

Asheville, North Carolina:

The American Vindicators

Chicago, Illinois:

We the Mothers Mobilize for America
 Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee
 We Mothers and Women of America

Wichita, Kansas:

Hudson de Priest publications

Lake Geneva, Wisconsin:

Scribner's Commentator
The Herold

San Francisco, California:

Ralph Townsend pamphlets
 (Japanese agent)

Santa Barbara, California:

The Vigilante Bulletins

Los Angeles, California:

League to Save America First
 Friends of Progress
 National Copperheads
 National Legion of Mothers of America

Tacoma, Washington:

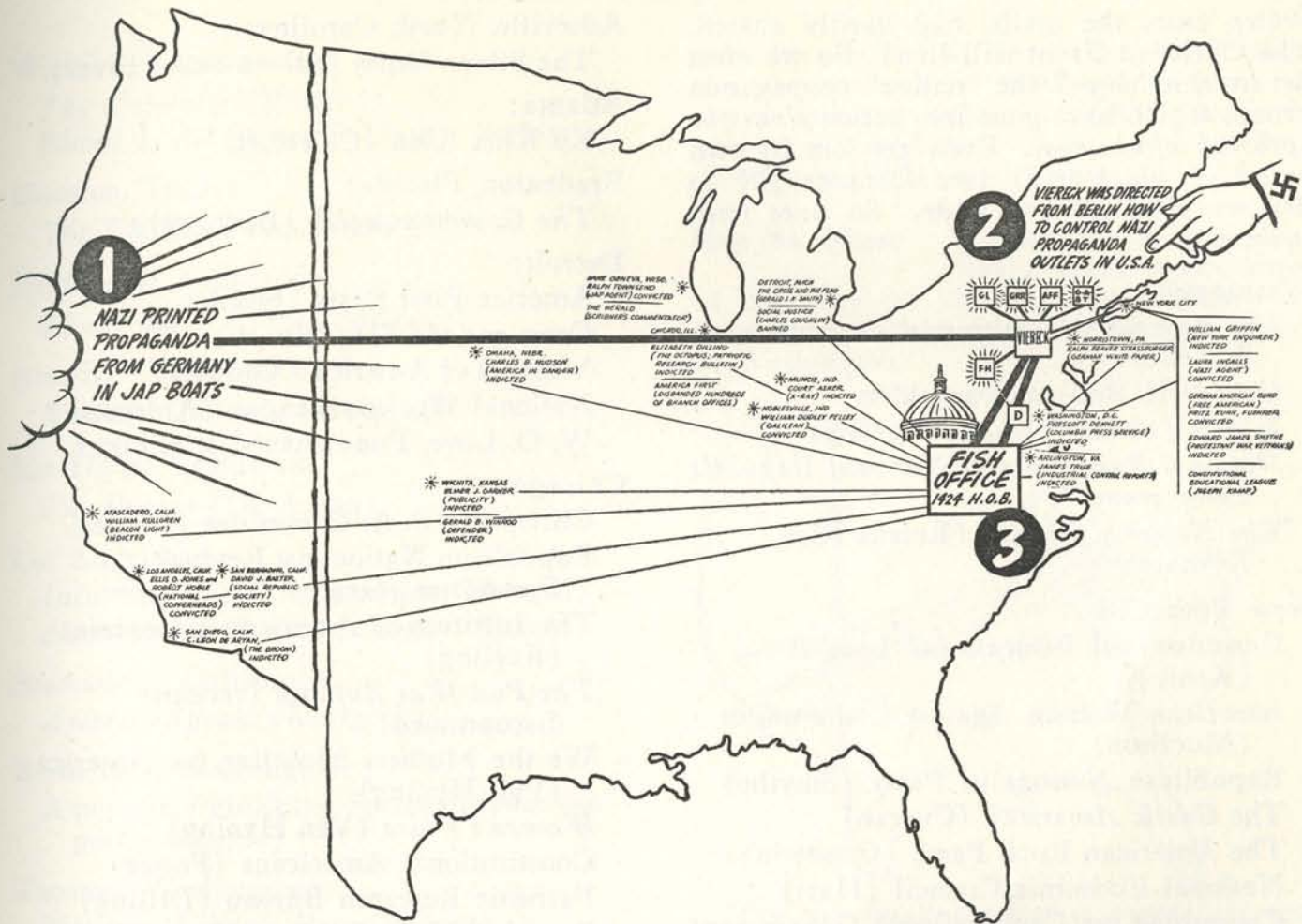
National Liberty Party

Each of above sent out its own type of rehashed "unpreparedness" or "disunity" propaganda . . . and many of them distributed the propaganda of their collaborators.

Map No. Six: *Black mail* came into maximum power and influence through the abuse of the franking privilege. On this map, I showed (with lines) how George Sylvester Viereck in New York controlled Flanders Hall, the book publishers. Prescott Dennett (Flanders agent) was Viereck's agent in Washington. Dennett has "contact" with George Hill in Hamilton Fish's office. Viereck through Dennett through Hill arranged (1) to have material inserted in the *Congressional Record*; (2) to have reprints printed at the Government Printing Office at LOW cost . . . and (3) to ship bulk quantities to addressors, scattered throughout the country who (4) in turn mailed them to the names on their already established lists. About twenty Congressmen were involved either wittingly, or unwittingly, in the scheme.

The Congressional franks most consistently used included those of the members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate named on page 24.

To make this all more easily understood I insert here a special, simplified chart, superimposing parts of maps 1-2 and 6.



For clarity, I've eliminated the maze of foreign and native "patriotic" organizations, taking only the most important of the latter. See how easy it is to understand this part of the network? Step (1) (as circled on map) shows the stuff coming in from abroad . . . giving the right "copy" angles. Step (2) the German controlled propaganda distributors, the German Library, the German Railroads, American Fellowship Forum, German-American Board of Trade. Step (3) the Viereck, Dennett, Fish set-up with radiating lines reaching out to the independent distributors (first shown on our Map 2) who received the bundles of franked mail, addressed the pieces and mailed them *free of postage* to hundreds of thousands of "prospects." How do you like the picture?

Map No. Seven: In this section you must start with nearly a clean map, forgetting most of the former names and lines.

When war came to America on December 7, 1941, the large "keep America out of war" propaganda groups closed their doors. The franking racket had been exposed by the indictments of George Hill and George Sylvester Viereck. The Bund and openly controlled German organizations were forced underground. The Post Office had barred incoming material from abroad. The President had closed Viereck's propaganda mills. That left the original native publishers (Map 2) *seemingly without direction*.

But soon the native groups began to get their bearings. Gerald L. K. Smith speeded up his activities; he began editing the *Cross and the Flag* and organized the America First Party.

William J. Grace suddenly was heading up a first class "nationalist" movement in Chicago . . . with its tentacles reaching all over the country. Father Charles E. Coughlin's influence, despite *Social Justice's* being with-

drawn from the mails, had hardly abated. The Christian Front still lived. So we must list on this Map 7 the "native" propaganda groups which have gone into action *since the outbreak of the war*. Each gets out its own brand of *black mail* (see Chapter 10) to lists scattered far and wide. So lines must radiate.

Washington:

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies
George E. Sullivan pamphlets
A string of new "Mother" groups
National Republic and *National Republic Lettergrams*
The National Record (Robert Rice Reynolds)

New York City:

Constitutional Educational League (Kamp)
American Women Against Communism (Morrison)
Republican Nationalist Party (Smythe)
The Gaelic American (Curran)
The American Rock Party (Goodwin)
National Economic Council (Hart)
Committee for Constitutional Government (Rumely)

Boston:

The Christian Front (Moran)

Meriden, Connecticut:

The Malist (Sattler)

Haverhill, Massachusetts:

Destiny (Howard Rand)

Concord, Massachusetts:

Grapevine Letter (Edward Holton James)

Beckett, Massachusetts:

Lawrence Dennis pamphlets

Pittsburgh:

Defenders of George Washington's Principles (Madden)

Darby, Pennsylvania:

Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania (Mrs. Brown)

Alexandria, Virginia:

James True leaflets

Asheville, North Carolina:

The Silver Shirts (driven under cover)

Atlanta:

Ku Klux Klan (Colescott)

Bradenton, Florida:

The Commonwealth (Burrows)

Detroit:

America First Party (Smith)
Cross and the Flag (Smith)
Mothers of America (Knowles)
National Workers League (Alderman)
W. O. Love, Fundamentalist minister

Chicago:

Citizens U. S. A. Committee (Grace)
Republican Nationalist Revival Committee (Grace)
The Institute of American Economics (Keeling)
The Post War Bulletin (recently discontinued)
We the Mothers Mobilize for America (Van Hyning)
Women's Voice (Van Hyning)
Constitutional Americans (Foster)
Patriotic Research Bureau (Dilling)
Round Table Luncheons (Stuart)
Heard and Seen (Stuart)
Anglo-Saxon Federation (Ackley)
American Vigilant Intelligence Federation (Jung)

Muncie, Indiana:

X-Ray (Court Asher)

Indianapolis:

America Preferred (Mote)

Germantown, Illinois:

The Guildsman (Koch)

Minneapolis, Minnesota:

Bible News Flashes (Herrstrom)
C. O. Stadskev (distributor)

Omaha, Nebraska:

America in Danger (Hudson)

Salt Lake City:

Joseph P. Spencer (distributor)

Boise, Idaho:

George E. Hornby (distributor)

Wichita, Kansas:

The Defender (Winrod)

Elmer J. and James F. Garner leaflets

Houston, Texas:

The Christian Americans (Ulrey)

Englewood, Colorado:

The Western Voice (Springer)

Arcadia, California:

National Defense (Hoeppel)

San Diego, California:

The Broom (De Aryan)

Los Angeles:

Informed Voters of America (Sherrill)

Americanism Defense League (Orme)

Atascadero, California:

America Speaks (Kullgren)

Bremerton, Washington:

American Publishing Society (never use personal name)

Tacoma, Washington:

National Liberty Party (Clark)

The above, added to those on Map 2 omitted here, constitute the major portion of the known distributors of disruptionist propaganda at the time this book goes to press.

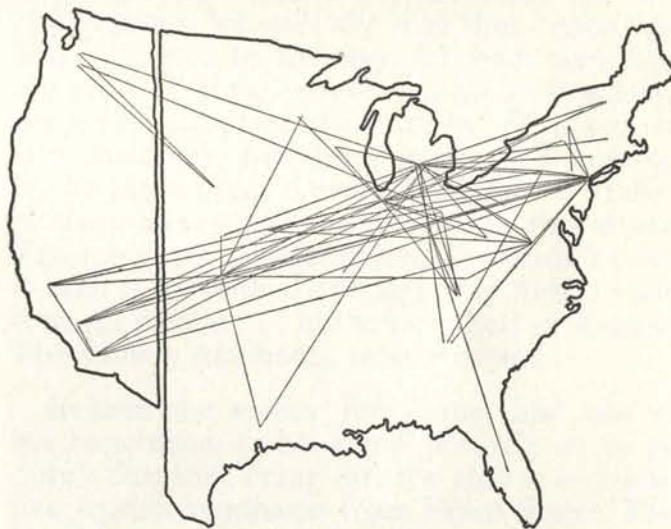
Map No. Eight: Congressmen and newspapers raise their voices in disunity and disruption.

In Washington "familiar" utterances come from the mouths of: Gerald P. Nye, Burton K. Wheeler, Robert Rice Reynolds, John Rankin, Clare Hoffman, Hamilton Fish, Stephen Day (and a few others).

And in support, with daily slurs, daily criticism, daily appeals to disunity, daily distortions of fact and magnifications of petty incidents to national resentment, the Newspaper Axis* operates. The *Chicago Tribune* blankets its Middle West empire. The *New York Daily News* repeats the clamor. In Washington, the edition-an-hour member, the *Times-Herald*, parrots the work of the *Tribune* and the *News*.

So Map 8, in your mind's eye, should show you the network of obstructionist Congressional speeches (many reprinted) and the parroting distribution of the same wordage through the isolationist press.

Map No. Nine: Is a mess. And we'll insert here a small reproduction of the original 20" x 30" transparency we have used in showing the final step to people in Washington.



Try to visualize what it means! It may be difficult. We place this transparency over our maps numbered 2-7-8 (2—the early native propaganda publishers still going; 7—the new propaganda set-ups since the start of the war, and 8—the Congressional and newspaper layout). Those lines mean that we can prove a community of thought *expressed in printed words* between the various groups on the maps. That is—a staff of research experts worked for months reading, marking and classifying the disruptive articles, or ideas, in the native poison sheets (Map 2), in the propaganda releases of the newcomers, in the speeches of Congressmen and in the editorials in the isolationist newspapers. By

*This is what a shortwave listening post reported that the Berlin radio on August 21, 1942, said about the above three newspapers: "Berlin, commenting on the so-called free press of America today, cited the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, and the *Washington Times-Herald* as typical examples of what the American press was up against under Roosevelt's dictatorship. These newspapers, being true-American papers and representing the majority of American people, are being persecuted by the Roosevelt administration even to being accused as saboteurs of the war effort."

careful classification it was possible to establish where *one* had used the material of another. The poison sheets, for example, (1) reprinted Congressional speeches or (2) Congressmen parroted or used the "poison" material. Or, for example, one poison publisher used the identical article or paragraphs from another like-minded publisher. Wherever we found such a duplication of thought, we drew a line on our map from the one person or group to the other person, or group.

Put together they prove that there is a complete, convincing and absolutely undeniable connection between the printed thoughts of all concerned. If *you* can visualize what those lines mean . . . then you understand the final phase of the *black* mail campaign. It's the identical kind of set-up which existed *before* the war. The trappings and flags are different. The purposes just the same. Intolerance, disunity, chaos, fear, distrust.

•13•

Making It More Simple

The maps have shown you how an international campaign was conducted through the United States mail to divide the thinking of a nation, to destroy it by intolerance, fear, disunity and uncertainty.

Here is a hypothetical tale, told in terms of the average American town. This simple example, given in many public talks, has served to bring home to many Americans the imminent dangers confronting our nation:

A Home-Town Program of Disruption

Let's call the villain of this fable Joe Gobel. He's a smart and scheming guy and he wants to become Mayor of the town in order to set up a graft machine that will make him wealthy and powerful. He needs the backing of a strong and reputable organization to act as a cover up for this ambition. He picks on the local advertising club . . . most of the good business men in town belong to it. Joe must first wreck the club in order to get quick control. The club is old; the fellows who meet for luncheon each Friday have known each other for years; there's always good fellowship at the weekly meetings.

Joe needs a couple of trusted henchmen to do the dirty work. He introduces several new members . . . and quietly they start to work. They will depend mostly on "words" . . . spoken words. They won't need very much printing, since printing is only a substitute for personally spoken words.

A forged letter is dropped in the men's room . . . "revealing" that the president of the club (good old dependable, home-loving John) has been leading a double life. The mistress (in the forged letter) is about to start trouble. The word is passed around the club. Some of John's closest buddies hate to take it up with him. One fellow mentioned the scandal one night to his wife, she whispered it to a friend, the friend, etc. . . .

Bill Smith had been treasurer of the club for ten years. His reports at the annual meeting were greeted with howls and wise cracks . . . and "accepted" pronto. A story started from nowhere that a former cook for the club kitchen let spill the dirt that "good old Bill" (trustee in his church) had been taking graft all these years from the food wholesaler who supplied the kitchen. Bill, too, so said the story, had been getting his cut out of the big annual dance, charging his "take" to *decorations* and *souvenirs* for the wives. Tension grew. The club members didn't want to take it up with Bill—and they didn't want it to get public . . . but what a hell of a mess! The weekly luncheons were strained.

Behind the scenes Joe Gobel had one of his henchmen (who acted publicly as if he didn't like Joe) bring into the club *at one time* five Jewish merchants from Front Street. The henchmen sat at their table one day soon after they joined and managed to instigate a loud and embarrassing fuss with a waiter. A whisper started "Have you noticed how the Jews are beginning to overrun this club . . . we oughta do something about it." Joe himself was approached by one of the board for his opinion and he very reluctantly confessed that he was getting "damn worried about the Jews! . . . even though some of my best friends are Jews."

Charlie Green was the life of any club party. An insurance man, scheduled to be the next president. He ran all the annual golf tournaments and the summer family picnic. Everybody liked him . . . from the kids on up. A Southern member playing pool in the recreation room, missed a sure shot when he heard that Charlie Green had been seen shaking hands with one of the Negro waiters. From that minute on the pool player started digging up more dirt on Charlie.

Why go on? You know what happened. Whispers spread about *this* fellow and then *another*. "Bob" was secretly going to Com-

munist meetings. "Ralph" cheated every customer he got. The fellow who owned the radio station was secretly plotting to grab up the newspaper and control the town's advertising business. Joe Gobel was very much distressed about all this. Members came to him about the problems . . . and he was sympathetic and helpful. He was in favor of "throwing out the Jews—we sure ought to have a dependable, trustworthy administration running the club." Inside of six months the old friendly spirit had disappeared. Word of dissension had been "hinted" in the town's newspaper. Wives of club members were in a dither.

Came the annual election. The boys got together and kicked out "good old John," the president, and Frank the treasurer. Charlie Green didn't have a chance after the dirty stories told about him.

The club needed a decent man to clean it up and start it going places again. What better man than Joe Gobel, who always kept *his* skirts clean? So they elected Joe and the slate he suggested modestly when he was asked if he'd step in and save the dear old club.

So Joe had it . . . and from there on it was easy sailing. The newspapers praised the election—and foretold a reorganization on sound business principles. Joe's henchmen went to work on the other side of strategy . . . to heal the wounds. Joe did marvels! He even donated personal money for new and spectacular projects. The new editor of the ad club news played him up big. The club instituted altruistic civic projects. The newspapers took up the story . . . and soon Joe was being mentioned as a possible dark horse for the mayor's job. The ad club got behind the idea, organized committees and flooded the town with publicity. And damn if Joe wasn't elected mayor! Thereafter, he promptly changed his spots, and really went to town building a fascist kingdom of his own.

That sounds silly, does it? Well . . . maybe. By clever strategy, nearly any club in the country could be wrecked or disorganized within a year. Visualize your own club . . . your own Church. If you were suddenly to become sadistically inclined, you could

wreck friendships, ruin reputations, build up intolerance by a whispering campaign such as we've described.

Extend this example to a state, to our nation, to the world. Change *whispers* into *printed words*. Mail those poison words to selected lists of people who would be most susceptible to a given argument. Tell the Negro that the "colored Japs" are their real friends; tell the Southerners that the Negro is the real threat; tell peace loving churchgoers that the Government wants to force them into war; tell the college youths that their elders have gone war mad; tell the Irish to hate the Jews; tell the "discontented" to patronize the black markets . . . to spread more rumors. Pick your groups . . . and tell them, tell them . . . tell them *constantly* . . . by mail. It can't happen quickly! There is no substitute for time in a Direct Mail campaign. *You must keep hammering away.*

That is the strategy of Disruption by *black mail*. That is how the Nazi-Fascist mind planned it. That is how they have worked. That is what they are trying to do to us . . . to our homes . . . to our country . . . to our world.

Black mail has worked for its creators in strange ways. The marks left by it . . . may strike home to most of us . . . from unexpected angles.

Some months ago, I stopped off in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, to visit my father . . . and others in the family.

I grew up in this quiet county-seat. Because Dad was in the real estate business and we were, after Mother's early death, more bachelor chums than father and son . . . I knew most of his customers including the relatively few Jewish families who were merchants along Main Street. They were just "home folks" to me.

But on the last trip home . . . *within one hour after arrival* . . . I was asked, "What are we going to do about the *Jews* after the war?" At every place visited, except one, that question in some form popped up. Above the elevator call button on the second floor at the hotel I found two crude swastikas cut into the plaster.

On Sunday morning at eleven I took my place in the old familiar Falling Spring Presbyterian Church. Rays of tinted sunlight streaming through stained glass windows, like gentle returning spirits of those who sleep in the graves along the creek; the same families . . . just a little older and greyer; the same doored pews; the same choir loft where my mother sang; the same minister who taught "us kids" of the Knights of King Arthur in our meetings and up at Camp the first principles of tolerance and getting along together. How could there be anything different? Suddenly some long forgotten words flashed back . . . from a Sunday School play on Christmas Eve. We had worked hard rewriting and rehearsing "The First Christmas Tree" by Van Dyke. I played St. Boniface . . . and I could hear myself in the solemnity of fourteen declaim:

"Look ye, my friends, how calm and peaceful this convent lies tonight. 'Tis a still haven on the brink of a tempestuous sea. But out yonder in the dark forests who knows what storms are raging tonight in the hearts of men . . . who knows what haunts of wrath and cruelty are closed against the advent of the Prince of Peace."

A modern St. Boniface could say the same words looking out from the quiet and peace of my old hometown church.

What has happened to Chambersburg . . . and to other similar towns you and I know? Why has intolerance and "the Jewish question" crept in? In the homes of some of the people sitting in church that Sunday morning I had heard the question, "What are we going to do about the Jews?" I had heard complaints against, or disregard of, rationing.

Down Main Street everything is just about the same as it was in my youth. About the same number of Jewish merchants—but more cars at the curbs. How was the Jewish question planted?

I think I know. I've had an opportunity to examine the mailing lists of many of the subversive organizations. Everyone always looks for his own face in a picture, or for his home town on a map or a list. I naturally looked for Chambersburg. Not many names, it's true, on *Scribner's Commentator* or the German Library's *Facts in Review* . . . or America First, etc. But some. Teachers in the High School or at the College; ministers . . . a few business men . . . the newspaper. Constantly . . . month after month . . . these relatively few people received the obstructionist, non-preparedness, anti-Semitic, hate-Government Black Mail messages disguised as "Protectors of Democracy." These people, *most of them unwittingly*, became carriers of the new weapon. They spread the seeds of intolerance and disunity.

That's how the network stretches from Berlin to your home town. Does this personal experience make the plan clearer to you? Test it in your home town.

You think the constant hammering of propaganda won't warp minds? The mother of a New England Christian leader has read and heard so much anti-Semitic, Christian Front propaganda in Boston that her health is breaking down over fear of "getting sold something by a Jew." That is the power of persistent, drop-by-drop propaganda. It warps minds. It destroys.

•14•

The Last Chapter Cannot Be Written . . . Yet

All books need a last chapter. A story needs an end . . . a climax. I wish I knew the true climax for this story. Most of us may not be alive to read it . . . for it may go on and on and on.

The trouble with many Americans is that we've allowed ourselves to become accustomed to *planted words* without knowing what the words really mean. We've been deluged by the enemy with word *labels*. We accept the labels (we like them or hate them) without understanding their background.

For instance, what does *bureaucrat* mean? Is it the fellow next door who has taken a job in Washington? Does that step make him a bureaucrat?

What does *Democrat* mean? What does *Republican* mean? What is *Democracy*? What is a *Republic*?

What is *Fascism*? What is *Nazism*? What does *Nationalist* mean? What do we mean by saying "Jew"—or the "New Deal"? When we hate "Roosevelt" are we accepting a label or are we thinking of the whole background behind and around the man Roosevelt?

Ask the average American,—“Do you like Fascism?” He answers, “No.” Ask him if he wants Hitler's Nazism. The answer is still “No.” Ask him, “Do you believe in Democracy?” He says “Yes.” Then ask him ten questions which relate to democratic principles, and the confused answers will prove that he doesn't even understand the meaning of *Democracy*.

We've been bombarded with *labels*. We've stopped thinking about what the label means. We either like or dislike the label. Americans will recover their natural inherent common sense when they stop being fooled by labels, and when they pay more attention to what's in the can behind the label. When someone says, “The New Deal is out to wreck private initiative—we want the good old days back again”—we should ask, “What is the New

Deal, what is private initiative, what exactly were the *good old days*.”

Only by understanding the true meaning of the word labels our enemies throw at us can we defeat the forces of disunity. Americans may need a concentrated course in Semantics.

As these words go to press . . . The Department of Justice has proceeded against the misusers of the mail. John Rogge, who replaced William Power Maloney, finished his long and difficult job of reviewing, re-analyzing, re-investigating . . . and presented the case to a new Grand Jury.

After several months of hearing a long string of witnesses, this third Federal Grand Jury on January 3rd, 1944, presented a third indictment against the misusers of the mail. This time the indictment is stronger. A few new names appear in the list; a few who were in the two former indictments do not appear now. (But the former indictments still stand.)

The new indictment includes: Joseph E. McWilliams; George E. Deatherage; William Dudley Pelley; James True; Edward James Smythe; Lawrence Dennis; Howard Victor Broenstrupp, alias Count Victor Cherep-Spiridovich, Lieut.-Gen. Cherep-Spiridovich; Robert Edward Edmondson; E. J. Parker Sage; William Robert Lyman, Jr.; Garland L. Alderman; Gerald B. Winrod; Elizabeth Dilling, alias Reverend Frank Woodruff Johnson; Charles B. Hudson, alias Reverend Frank Woodruff Johnson; Elmer J. Garner*; George Sylvester Viereck, alias James Burr Hamilton; Prescott Freese Bennett; Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze; August Klapprott; Herman Max Schwinn; Hans Diebel; Franz K. Ferenz; Ernest Frederik Elmhurst; Robert Noble; Ellis O. Jones; Eugene Nelson Sanctuary; David Baxter, alias John Pepper, alias John H. Rand; Lois

*Died during first few weeks of trial.

De Lafayette Washburn, alias T.N.T.; Frank W. Clark, alias G.P.; Peter Stahrenberg. (See Chapters 10 and 12 for most of these names.)

The indictment charges that the defendants unlawfully, wilfully, feloniously and knowingly conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together and with each other and with officials of the Government of the German Reich and leaders and members of the said Nazi Party to:

- “(1) Advise, counsel, urge and cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States; and
- “(2) Distribute and cause to be distributed written and printed matter, advising, counseling and urging insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States.”

Among the publications named by the Grand Jury as channels of propaganda were:

Mein Kampf; *The National Socialist Party Programme*; *Welt Dienst (World Service)*; *Der Stuermer*; *News From Germany*; *Deutsche Wochenschau*; *Muenchner Neuste Nachrichten*; *The Free American* and *Deutscher Weckruf Und Beobachter*; *The White Knight*; *the American Nationalist Confederation News Bulletin*; *The Revealer*; *The Defender*; *Liberation*; *The Roll Call*; *The Galilean*; *National Liberty Party*; *Yankee Freeman*; *Yankee Minute Men*; *Friends of Progress*; *Industrial Control Reports*; *Social Republic Society Bulletin*; *Comment*; *The Corporate State*; *What Prince Lippe Told Me*; *Patriotic Research Bureau News Letter*; *Edmondson's Economic Research Service*; *American Vigilante Bulletins*; *The Christian Mobilizer*; *The Weekly Foreign Letter*; *The Dynamics of War and Revolution*; *Publicity*; *America in Danger*; *Nationalist Newsletter*; *Our Common Cause*; *The World Hoax*, *Roosevelt's Jewish Ancestry*; *History Repeats*; *The Answer to the Betrayal*; *America on the March*; *National Socialism and its Justification*; Card headed “West Africa

is Not Iceland — it's Anything but a Nice Land”; *The Miracle of Happiness*.

The Grand Jury in its indictment listed twenty-four *major representations* used by the defendants in the alleged Nazi inspired conspiracy. For the record, these themes should be included here, because these are the thoughts expressed by some of those people we described in other chapters:

- “(a) Democracy is decadent; a National Socialist or Fascist form of government should be established in the United States.
- “(b) A National Socialist revolution is inevitable if we are to rid our country of its decadent democracy.
- “(c) The Government of the United States, the Congress and public officials are controlled by Communists, International Jews and plutocrats.
- “(d) The Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates for public office are tools of International Jewry, and do not represent the will of the American people.
- “(e) The acts, proclamations, and orders of the public officials of the United States and the laws of Congress are illegal, corrupt, traitorous and in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States.
- “(f) The United States is governed, not by duly elected representatives of the people, but by a group of alien-minded persons opposed to American principles and ideals and seeking to overthrow the Constitution of the United States.
- “(g) President Roosevelt is reprehensible, a warmonger, liar, unscrupulous, and a pawn of the Jews, Communists and plutocrats.
- “(h) President Roosevelt is a Jew and is working with International Jewry against the interests of the people of the United States.
- “(i) The activities and territorial acquisitions and plans of the Axis Powers

constitute no real danger to the national existence and security of the United States or any of its territorial possessions.

“(j) The Axis Powers are fighting to free the world from domination by Communism and International Jewry, and to save Christianity, hence the United States should give no aid and comfort to the enemies of the Axis.

“(k) The cause of the Axis Powers is the cause of justice and morality; they have committed no aggressive act against any nation and are fighting a solely defensive war against British Imperialism, American Capitalists, and the desire of American public officials to rule the world, hence any act of war against them is unjust and immoral on the part of the United States.

“(l) The nations opposed to the Axis, plan to use American lives, money and property to defend their decadent systems of government.

“(m) The participation of the United States in the war has been deliberately planned by our leaders with the ultimate aim of promoting our enslavement by British Imperialism and International Communism.

“(n) The public officials of the United States of America are trying deliberately to provoke war with peaceful nations, such as Germany, Italy and Japan, which are seeking only to live at peace with the rest of the world.

“(o) President Roosevelt and Congress, through a surreptitious and illegal war program against the Axis Powers sold out the United States and forced the Axis Powers to wage war upon us.

“(p) President Roosevelt by his war-mongering policies is draining dry the resources of the United States to save Communist China, Imperialist Britain and Atheistic Russia from inevitable defeat.

“(q) Our program of giving American arms and equipment to foreign nations results in the United States military and naval forces being inadequately armed and equipped and in their being exposed to terrible slaughter.

“(r) The public officials of the United States are knaves who have deliberately concealed the truth that our unprepared boys, racked by disease and slaughtered like sheep, will be dumped in a million foreign graves to buy a valueless victory.

“(s) The whole war is the result of a Jew-sponsored money-making scheme to bleed the United States Treasury.

“(t) As the result of incompetence and corruption in public office, the United States is unprepared to wage war against the Axis Powers, who have the best equipped and most powerful military establishment in the world.

“(u) The present war is a dishonest war waged at the expense and measured in the blood and dollars of the people of the United States solely for the benefit of and to insure the continuance of world domination by ‘International Bankers,’ ‘International Capitalists,’ ‘Mongolian Jews,’ ‘Communists,’ and ‘International Jewry.’

“(v) The Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor was deliberately invited by the public officials of the United States, in order to involve the United States in a foreign war.

“(w) The war with Japan was deliberately provoked by the insane, unjust, aggressive and traitorous policies of officials of the United States.

“(x) An honorable and just peace could be brought about speedily were it not for the opposition of Communists, International Jewry, and war profiteers.”

Remember: Those are some of the thoughts expressed by most of the Hate Sheets described in Chapter 10. These are not the expressions of last year or last month. They are being repeated this week. *Today*, as you read this report. In spite of indictments and trials.

The case has gone to trial, but the Grand Jury we understand will continue its investigation. There are possibilities that other defendants will be added. Stewart of *Scribner's Commentator* was given a 90 day jail sentence for refusing to reveal to the jury where he got the \$36,000 cash in twenty dollar bills he used in starting the *Herald*, a vicious anti-preparedness sheet.

During the first weeks of the sedition trial, the lawyers for the defendants and the defendants themselves tried to inject into the court proceedings the same kind of disruptive tactics for which the defendants were being tried. There seemed to be an obvious and deliberate attempt to create an atmosphere of intense confusion. Every possible move was made to cause delay, mistrial or to obtain severances. Some of the defendants seemed amused and pleased by the confusion and the apparent breaking down of justice.

It is obvious that the defense was trying to sell the public through the newspapers that (a) the trial is a farce . . . just a big joke, (b) the defendants are just a bunch of crack-pots and insignificant paupers which the government is "persecuting." Many of the newspaper stories reflected this atmosphere of farce and crackpotism. Don't let yourself be fooled by the newspaper reports. The trial is *most serious*. Many of the defendants are decidedly not crack-pots. Remember that was the term used for describing Hitler's early efforts. Just a crack-pot! But he nearly succeeded in wrecking the world.

When you read claims that the sedition trial was instigated by (1) the Administration for political purposes or by (2) the Jews . . . go back into the pages of this report and you will have . . . the real facts.

* * * * *

"By the way," someone asks, "what happened to the Dies Committee after those early

days in 1940 when they were interested in the evidence against the German Railroads, the German Library of Information and American Fellowship Forum — but not against the German-American Board of Trade?"

That's a difficult question to answer. The German-American Board of Trade was not closed until several days after the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor—and then by the FBI. Dr. Degener, an outright Nazi agent, was shipped back to Germany "on exchange." Dies may not have wanted to become involved against "big business interests."

When the propaganda investigation began to tie-in with Congress, the Dies Committee avoided the whole subject. Dies being friendly with Fish, and a member of the inside club, could hardly do otherwise under the present gentleman's agreement to protect fellow members.

Dies was never alarmed about the America First Committee or *Scribner's Commentator*. His investigators hounded government clerks in a holy crusade to uncover "Reds." It became so bad in Washington that anyone suspected of being opposed to the Nazis was automatically classified as a "Red." Dies investigators had a field day uncovering dancers, poets, professors and crusaders against the Fascists. Dies reports furnished gratifying material for Joe Kamp's books—even though the facts in the reports and in the booklets were refuted by the Department of Justice.

The Dies Committee has muffed the ball . . . consistently since 1940. Now that Dies has announced his "retirement" from Congress, the so-called "un-American investigation" should be eliminated or reorganized under a competent Senatorial committee. Or left to the FBI. The Gestapo tactics of the Dies investigators were as disgraceful as the notorious Cox hearings on the F.C.C. When will Congress, as a whole, refuse to continue defending members of that body who use their "chairmanships" for personal grudges and super-duper sleuthing? Isn't it about time?

Americans everywhere applauded the resolution passed by the American Legion in Omaha, Nebraska, on September 23, 1943. The resolution charged that Fish, as well as other Congressmen, had abused Congressional free mailing privileges by allowing them to be used by "certain groups and individuals including George Sylvester Viereck and the America First Committee to disseminate propaganda inimical to the United States." The resolution included an appeal to the Attorney General to "take such action and steps as are necessary . . . to put an end to the abuse of the franking privilege . . . and to take court action, if necessary."

Fish in desperation, released a statement denying he had permitted his frank to be used to spread un-American propaganda:

"These charges," said Fish, "are completely and totally false and I denounced them as manufactured lies years ago. Neither the America First Committee nor Mr. Viereck ever asked to use my congressional frank to send out any speeches, nor did either write or suggest any speeches for me.

"I think everybody knows that I write my own speeches and that there is not a subversive or un-American thought in any speech I ever made in Congress or elsewhere or sent out over my congressional frank.

"I never met nor saw Mr. Leon de Aryan who is alleged to have sent out one or more of my speeches . . . entitled, 'Making the Peacetime Sedition Law Conform to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution,' dealing almost entirely with free speech and free press in time of peace, not affecting the situation once war has been declared."

Will the country, and Fish's constituents, continue to be deluded by these statements? The court records prove (see pages 33-35) that Fish's office was used as a clearing house for the franked propaganda of many Congressmen—not just Fish. It is true that Fish may not know de Aryan. He may not know Hudson. He may not know many of the small fry alleged seditionists who acted as "dealers" and distributors of the bulk franked mail ordered and shipped by Fish's office. If Fish

denies responsibility for what happened in his office, then he shouldn't have that office.

Fish has been consistently wrong. "No one in Japan really wants war with the United States," said Fish.

When Fish claims to constituents that the exposé of the franking scandal is "a campaign to smear me politically" he deliberately distorts the truth. No political opponent set up the propaganda mill in Fish's office. No political opponent put into Fish's mouth the weasel words about no danger from Japan. No political opponent forced Fish to introduce his friend and "great American" George Sylvester Viereck to his "poor clerk" secretary, George Hill. The real truth is that Fish has been protected by his political opponents who didn't want to be accused of using this disgraceful mess as a weapon for votes. Fish's "political opponents" (Republican and Democrat) lost the last election because they chose to be gentlemanly.

The American Legion Executive Committee granted Fish a personal hearing at which he demanded a retraction. The decision was to appoint a special committee to make an exhaustive study of the entire case and report later. A report, recently issued by a special California fact finding committee, was stronger—much stronger—than the original charges.

However, in spite of that report, the Legion executive committee, in May, 1944, whitewashed Fish and threw the original resolution over to next convention for final disposition. What next?

To keep up to date about *black mail* you must read and analyze your daily newspapers. But be warned: Many of the stories are confused . . . and slanted.

The "Peace Now" movement spread for a time like wildfire . . . competing with Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party for the favor and funds of the obstructionists. Behind the "Peace Now" movement were many of the same old faces, the same old slogans:

"America was betrayed into this war."

"Our leaders want to fight to avoid making a just peace."

Bessie Simon, spark-plug of the "Peace Now" crowd surrounded herself, perhaps unwittingly, with ex-Bundists, Nazi lovers, Jew-baiters and the crack-pot leaders of the "Mothers'" groups. Bessie, before the war, was associated with the Washington office of the America First Committee where *Washington Post* reporter Dillard Stokes found the bags of franked mail being burned. Remember? Handling some of the printing and multigraphing for "Peace Now" was the letter-shop and printing plant in New York operated by Beatrice Brown, former dynamo of "Women United." While the franking racket was being worked by George Hill from Ham Fish's office, Beatrice Brown's shop received the *largest quantities* of Congressional reprints for addressing and mailing. Check back to page 36 and see the record of the Lindbergh piece shipments under the J. C. Oliver frank.

The battle of words continues in print, in the mails, on the floor of Congress. Senator Burton K. Wheeler demands a Senatorial Committee to investigate *Under Cover*. He is appointed Chairman of the investigating group. Congressman John Rankin rants against the Negroes and the Jews. Clare Hoffman rails against Walter Winchell and John Roy Carlson. Congressman Martin Dies charges that the best-seller *Under Cover* is part of a "plot" to smear him *and Congress*. Dies subpoenas Winchell's broadcast scripts . . . demands and gets time on the air to deny that his Committee has been inactive against the Fascists. Congressman Ham Fish and others support the Congressional attacks against those who try to expose the dangers of native and foreign fascism. Dies charges that an organized "smear bund is directing a dangerous movement to destroy representative Government." And then retires from the fight!

The Hate Sheets continue to use in print the words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs or articles fashioned for them by the willful group in Congress.

The *Times-Herald* in Washington and the *Chicago Tribune* run a series of articles by a "Frank Hughes" claiming (or exposing) that those who expose the disruptionists in Congress, those who prosecute the indicted alleged

seditionists are in turn an organized band of "smear artists." It all sounds strangely familiar . . . trying to place the blame on others. Hitler viewing ruined Warsaw, cried, "Look, what those filthy Poles made me do!"

A group of twenty-eight U. S. clergymen during March, 1944, issue an appeal to Christians to protest against the bombing of Germany.

Rabble-rouser Gerald L. K. Smith holds a St. Louis mass meeting of his America First Party . . . and recommends numerous candidates for President, including Senator Robert R. Reynolds and Charles Lindbergh. The "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" petitions the President to offer generous peace terms to Germany.

Carl Mote continues to issue his divisive *America Preferred* and announces he will run for the U. S. Senate. *Destiny Magazine*, the wheezy organ of the Anglo-Saxon Federation continues its attacks against "Democracy" and incidentally, against this reporter. Under the lash of public criticism *Destiny Magazine* has finally become open in its formerly subtly concealed anti-Semitism. Over on East 42nd Street, New York City, Frank Gannett's Committee on Constitutional Government (directed by former German cooperator Rumely) continues to mail huge masses of material not helpful to unity or the war effort. Money for the mailings seems plentiful. Rumely operates the largest mailing center in the country.

The war of words. Getting more violent. Words to make the war effort less effective.

Under our liberal laws . . . these things can happen and are happening.

But it is difficult to make people understand. So many refuse to believe that an organized disruptionist campaign still exists in this year of 1944. "Surely, you must be talking about past history . . . these things can't be happening NOW . . . today," they say.

During April, 1944, we made a survey for a "certain department" in Washington. We analyzed the editorial content of about forty of the suspect mailing pieces received during

this one month. We looked solely for items against rationing. The final report consisted of more than fifty typewritten pages of quotations . . . all in a similar style of thought . . . all trying to undermine the efforts of the Government to operate and promote sensible, necessary and war-winning rationing programs. Analyze these same bulletins, letters, pamphlets and news sheets on any other war project subject—conservation, transportation, salvage, anti-inflation, etc.—and you'll get similar results.

It is from these sources that the rumors spring up, grow and spread:

Our war bonds won't be worth *anything*!

Gasoline rationing isn't necessary!

The Government is wasting food. Get all you can!

No need for Victory Gardens . . . take it easy!

The war is being bungled!

We'll never be able to pay off the debt!

Communists control the government!

Anti-Semitism is just one of the dividing wedges. It is actually just a smoke screen to cover the attacks on all war winning projects. That is the purpose of *black mail*.

At any rate, you who have read this report on *black mail* should know what it is all about. You should be able to describe it to your friends and neighbors. It's a confusing subject. But don't be confused. See those maps again.

Perhaps it is just as well for Democracy that all of the delay on the so-called sedition cases happened. We've demonstrated that in a world torn with hate, we can be calm, cautious and considerate. But the slowness hurts. Senator Wheeler even used the delay (as quoted in the *Washington Times-Herald*) to scoff at the indictments and criticize the Department of Justice. Who caused the delay, Senator?

Even though this chapter can have no decisive ending . . . there should be a few unanswered questions in your mind. I'll try to answer them.

Do I believe in Freedom of the Press and Freedom of Speech? Most assuredly. Wheeler, Fish, Nye and all the rest of them have a right to talk their heads off. Bert McCormick has a right perhaps to print his tripe in the *Chicago Tribune* so long as he doesn't publish secret war plan maps. The people are the final judges; as was shown in the people's squelching of Wheeler's abortive attempt to delay the Army's strength.

"How can you justify your demands for suppression of the Hate Sheets with your respect for Freedom of the Press?" I am asked. Easily, my friends. Freedom—any of the freedoms—does not mean *license to misuse*. Freedom of religion doesn't mean license to abuse another religion. An individual is not justified in invoking freedom of speech for protection after shouting "FIRE" in a packed theatre . . . to cite the classic example quoted by former Justice Holmes.

The Nazi, Fascist, Nationalist, etc., ideologies represent a threat to Democracy. "They" organized a plan to disrupt. When the plan involves our Post Office, the franking privilege and the second class mailing privilege, it should be necessary and possible to do something about it. Perhaps we need a law like England's . . . a law in reverse. An emergency cooperation law. Instead of legislating that you **MUST NOT** do something, England says you must cooperate when the Empire is attacked. That's how England put away obstructionists. This country is at war. Every boy in the army answers to orders. Every citizen should do likewise. When the war is over, we can scrap as we damn well please.

I say that the Black Mail Hate Sheets obstruct the war effort. They are part of a scheme. Maybe that scheme did not originate with Hitler. Maybe that scheme began in 1902 or before. Maybe that scheme originated with the crack-pot Anglo-Saxon-Israel theory of "Jewish bastardy" or race superiority we told you about in the *Destiny* chapter.

Maybe we just need a more fighting majority. The minority yells loudest. We've all gotten too ladylike. We hate to tell the other fellow, "I don't believe it." We draw back into our shells . . . and remain quiet

. . . when we hear comments on the radio, at the club, or in casual conversations that do not jibe with sound purposes and loyal attitudes. We remain silent when we read of harmful pressures in local and state government and obstructions under bloc pressures in the Congress. We resent these remarks, resent the proposals—yet remain silent. Why? Democracy to be vital must be vocal; its voice must be heard daily, not just on the election day every two or every four years. Ask yourself—when did you last write your Congressman—your Senator? The other fellow did . . . the fellow whose ideas and purposes you do not like.

And then people ask me,

“Are you against Congress . . . you’ve fought so hard against members of it?”

NO. I have never written any *disrespect of Congress*. It is the symbol of Democracy. We are just lax in protecting our symbol. The majority of Congressmen are decent, average people . . . a representative cross section of American life. They are tied down by antiquated customs of “personal privilege.” The decent members have regrettably been outshouted (sometimes influenced), in times of stress by the loud-voiced minority.

When Congressmen Rankin, Fish, Hoffman, Dies and others insinuate that there is a dark and mysterious plot to defame and destroy *Congress*, view those charges with suspicion.

Try to find out what they mean. I’ll guarantee that you’ll have a difficult search. I’ve been engaged in this fight against disruptive influences for nearly five years. I have become acquainted with nearly every organization with similar purposes. I have known thousands of the men and women involved. I have attended numberless meetings or conferences on the subject. I have yet to hear *anyone* say that Congress should be abolished, throttled or discredited. The only close approach—was an unconcealed desire to remove from Congress those who had brought discredit to the large majority of it and to the institution itself.

Charges that there is a well planned “smear bund” are . . . a smoke screen to keep the real truth from finding the light.

What can you do to help? Your complete understanding of this *Black Mail* campaign should be of help in guiding the thinking of a bewildered nation.

Among the concrete things you can do:

- (a) Try to prevent intolerance . . . in yourself and others.
- (b) Try to *live* Democracy. No rules given here could teach you how. That must be within you. Your home must reflect Democracy . . . or you have lost it.
- (c) Know *your Congress* better. That is *your* Democracy. If the people knew their Congressman, visited him, talked with him, things wouldn’t happen like those that happened in Fish’s office. If you don’t like what your Congressman is doing or has done . . . go to work to fill the position with a better man or woman. That is your job . . . and *your obligation* to Democracy.

If you don’t like what Hamilton Fish or Senator Wheeler, or etc., are doing . . . write them hot letters. If you think the Department of Justice should be more aggressive in eliminating *disruptors* (high and low) . . . write letters. Get your friends to write. Make Democracy VOCAL.

The story of *Black Mail* must be . . . continued. It will continue until you and your neighbors help to wipe it out. Hill, Viereck and other minor officials of Disruption, Incorporated, have been caught. The distributors are struggling to evade the net. The “Board of Directors,” the “President,” the “Chairman of the Board” *are yet to be found* . . . and silenced. The *black mail* of disruption is still with us. Someone is the guiding genius.

Is It Hitler?

I think not. If the war could be over before you read this report, the scourges of Fascism, Nazism, Nationalism, Intolerance would still be with us.

Who is paying for today's BLACK MAIL?

Is German money used? Money loses its identity . . . easily. German money became American money long ago. The processing took place before the war started. Through cartel agreements and credits German funds remained in the hands of American citizens friendly to the Nazi regime.

Government and private investigators know that:

- (a) one of the most important Nazi propaganda agents (expelled from this country after December 7, 1941) transferred his "business interests" to an executive officer of one of our largest national institutions. There are probably many other similar cases;
- (b) some American-citizen members of the closed Nazi-controlled German-American Board of Trade have funds at their disposal . . . to place on any cause which might hurt or delay the war effort. (Or which might let the Germans "off for another time"—now that the handwriting is on the wall.)

There is plenty of money for *black mail*—but it can't be labelled as "German money." It has lost its identity. It flows and is absorbed into the stream of the vast sums of purely native Fascist money which will finance any group or organization which appears to be:

- (a) for a negotiated Peace
- (b) anti-Semitic
- (c) anti-war regulations
- (d) anti-Administration (no matter what administration, the disruptors would be agin' it)
- (e) anti-Negro, anti-British, anti-Communist, anti-etc.

In every important city in the country there are solemn self-effacing, Nazi-pledged business men—keeping in touch with each other—quietly joining every movement which attacks the President, ridicules the war effort or defames the faiths of Democracy.

One of the backers of a foremost "Mothers'" group is a prominent self-confessed Nazi . . . but his name is never mentioned on the "Mothers" literature or at their meetings. In Detroit, the president of a small manufacturing plant offered to help finance "Peace Now" . . . once he knew his name would be safely concealed.

A prominent man in Cleveland, Ohio, replanted his fifty acre farm in worthless pine bragging to Nazi-minded friends "not a square inch of my ground will help this war." Strangely, from Cleveland reports reach us that certain American citizens (professing "a liking of the Nazis") offer to pay the difference between the subscription cost of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*—if the reader will give up the progressive and reputable but lower cost *Plain Dealer*.

Subscriptions to the *Times-Herald* (Washington) have been made "available" to people in Boston provided that they "prove inability to pay but are working along the right lines."

A southern manufacturer with connections in Detroit is one of the largest non-publicized financial angels of the Anglo-Saxon Federation in Haverhill, Massachusetts. Support for Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party flows into his Detroit offices in seemingly unending streams—from the men and women who will jump at the chance to finance any "anti" movement.

Over on East 42nd Street, New York, a peculiar Committee expands its well heeled activities with a widely publicized budget quota for 1944 amounting to more than a half million dollars. It advertises its budget requirements as falling into the following six classes of "contributions":

- (a) 40,000 of \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10 . . . \$120,000
- (b) 2,000 of \$11 to \$25 50,000
- (c) 1,200 of \$26 to \$50 40,000
- (d) 1,000 of \$51 to \$100 60,000
- (e) 300 of \$101 to \$500 50,000
- (f) 50 of \$501 to \$1000 30,000

Total \$350,000

Added to the above total is a pamphlet and booklet sales goal (during 1944) of \$200,000 . . . with anticipated mailings running into the millions. This Committee operates cautiously behind the smoke screens of:

- (a) demands for less taxation, for "free enterprise," for no subsidies or price control
- (b) warnings about the Negro problem and the New Deal.

Behind the scenes, and among the contributors are former supporters of the America First Committee, former fellow workers in the pre-war propaganda mill. It is a big operation. It will probably become *bigger*. The executive manager, money raiser and propaganda strategist, was in trouble with the U. S. Government during the last war for "trading with the (German) enemy."

Following American tradition, we should have a right to ask "who is doing the talking?" or "why are they talking?"

The money, the men, the motives . . . for Black Mail . . . all part of an intricate and confusing pattern. No one, seemingly, can point the legal finger to the dominant figure or figures . . . or to the one source of financial support, if one such source exists.

The Government is nearly hopelessly handcuffed by our lenient laws. We haven't been prepared for this new kind of psychological warfare . . . a warfare which influences or involves many innocent but easily prejudiced Americans.

Perhaps we'll find a way out yet. Perhaps the boys who received that "Letter To Three Sons" back in June, 1940, along with their buddies, will find the answer for us. Perhaps they will find and secure real peace . . . from bullets and words.

But in the months right ahead . . . Black Mail will be a stronger and more terrifying enemy. Much of it will travel *under the guise* of normal political dispute. We must all learn to identify and distinguish between (1) truth, (2) normal dispute, (3) intolerant prejudice, and (4) planned disruption. If we do not . . . our boys will not win what they are fighting for.

Because some people, some place . . . are running a campaign to destroy Democracy. Our destiny is better than that. Our boys and girls deserve a better future. Fight against this *black mail*. If we do not . . . we'll not know the sweetness of Freedom, until we have lost it.

Let's stop the report here . . . *but* . . .
continue the fight against *Black Mail*.



What they are saying about **BLACK MAIL**

WALTER WINCHELL

Newspaper and Radio Commentator, says:

Lucky the publisher who gets Henry Hoke's newest sizzler. The title is "Black MAIL." It is a documented story of the abuse and misuse of the congressional franking privilege by a small group of isolationists in both Houses—in their fight to prevent our country from properly preparing for the inevitable war with Hitler, et al. It uncovers the participation by many well known enemy agents and American "patriots."

PETER EDSON

Feature Columnist for NEA, says:

Your success—and it is a success—is that you make the background for the sedition trials going on in Washington so devilishly clear. A lot of people are inclined to believe that these trials are now unnecessary. The thought seems to be, "why worry about a lot of crackpots?" What you seem to have done and what you did to me was to emphasize how necessary it is to know about crackpots. While you expose the pre-war crackpots, your last chapter brings home the point that if these individuals are allowed to roam at large, they will be the post-war crackpots, and a darn sight more dangerous in the future than they were before Pearl Harbor. More power to your pen.

JOHN ROY CARLSON

Author of "Under Cover," says:

"Black MAIL" is the story of many Park Avenue assassins of Democracy—of men in high places who have played Hitler's game. It is a hard-hitting, clean-hitting book against some of the "brains" behind the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizer type of mobsters. It is a sobering truth to those who

dismiss the fascists as "mere crackpots." "Black MAIL" is must reading for those who want to think for themselves—and not as dictated by incipient native fuehrers.

DR. L. M. BIRKHEAD

Director Friends of Democracy, says:

This book pulls everything together and shows the definite propaganda pattern as it existed in 1933, and still exists today. "Black MAIL" brings the propaganda pattern right down to your own community. Henry Hoke has written a message for every American citizen.

JOHANNES STEEL

Radio Commentator, says:

"Black MAIL," by Henry Hoke, is by all odds one of the most important political books of the year.

It is as exciting as a detective thriller and as real as tomorrow's headlines.

It is the story of an American patriot and businessman who almost inadvertently slips into the role of a counter spy against one of the most insidious German propaganda and espionage agencies operating through the direct mail advertising business.

Completely authentic, complete with documentary evidence, it tells the shocking story of the use German agents and propagandists made of the American mails.

It is absolutely must reading for anyone who is interested in the future of America and the defeat of Fascism at home as well as abroad.

DREW PEARSON

Columnist and Radio Commentator, says:

Congratulations on doing such an important, stimulating and fascinating job for your country.

Tell YOUR FRIENDS about Black Mail

Price \$1.00