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A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND
AS REVEALED IN THE PAPERS OF REPRESENTATIVE
SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Hebrew Letters and Ordination

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DIGEST

On March 29, 1936, Fritz Kuhn, newly elected Bundes-
fuehrer of the German-American Bund, addressed the first
convention of that organization in Buffalo, New York. Kuhn
explained to that group that the new organization's purpose
would be to re-awaken all loyal Germans to the greatness
of the "new" Germany. The Bund would attempt to effect a
new unity and spiritual awakening of German-Americans
around the Nazi core. German-Americans must "awake and
act," said Kuhn, for once a solid racial/political phalanx
was shaped, German-Americans would restore their good name
and take the offensive against Jews and Communists.

To further these aims, the Bund published a newspaper,
the Deutscher Weckruf. Camps were founded in various
localities to which Bund members could go to hear speakers
from the organization and view Nazi-style parades. The
Youth Group was organized to teach German-American young-
sters of the greatness of Adolf Hitler and the necessity
of carrying on his work in the United States.

While the Bund actively sought to increase its member-
ship as well as its influence, opponents of the organization
appeared. One of these was Congressman Samuel Dickstein.
As a Jew and a loyal American the Representative saw in
the Bund a genuine threat to the security of the United States.

Thus, Dickstein began what was to become one of the most active campaigns against the German-American Bund. In his attempt to collect the kind of evidence which would allow the government to prosecute the Bund leaders, the Congressman amassed a good number of documents, newspaper clippings, confidential reports on Bund activities, photographs, and letters sent from all parts of the country. After Dickstein's death in 1954 his papers were given to the Jewish American Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio. It is this collection which forms the basis for this thesis. It was this author's attempt to chronicle the rise and fall of the Bund and its leadership by use of the many documents available in the "Dickstein Papers." It should be noted that Dickstein's view of the Bund was in no way objective. He saw the organization as a menace to be dealt with swiftly and forcefully. Therefore, Dickstein only kept those documents which would further his campaign to rid this country of the German-American Bund once and for all. With this in mind, this author has attempted to point out where Dickstein's lack of objectivity stood in the way of good sense.

To Joyce,
My "woman of valor"

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INTRODUCTION

When Adolf Hitler set out to become dictator of Germany and then of Europe, and finally of the world, he began with a definite propaganda plan. This had for its immediate purpose the unification of Germany and the disorganization of the Western democracies. He partially accomplished his goal by skillful utilization of psychological processes and propaganda techniques.

He appealed primarily to the processes of frustration, displacement and anxiety. The Germans were frustrated in natural response to a series of disasters: loss of the war; inflation; and then, the impact of devastating depression. For the astute propagandist, frustrated people are natural targets. Hitler, perhaps the most competent propagandist of modern times, gave the German people new goals for which they could work--goals which to them seemed to provide a way out of their troubles. He set before them hopes and aspirations, in the seeking of which they could divert their frustrations by aggressive action. Shrewdly, to the masses, he gave an outlet for their aggressiveness: destroy the Jews.

In America, too, in the 1930's, there were frustrations and anxieties. There were industrialists who feared social upheaval as an outcome of the depression. There were church-

men and politicians, as well as less respectable agitators, who saw Hitler's techniques as a good way to achieve power and prestige. America, since 1929, had had its share of frustration caused by depression and unemployment; and America had had its share of anxiety, particularly on the part of the upper classes, who were concerned that the masses, encouraged by the New Deal, would go "socialistic." As a result of such anxieties on the part of some of the rich, there arose the desire to establish Hitler's Fuehrerprinzip, leadership principle, in the United States. The result, reasoned these people, would be to keep the unemployed in their places, keep labor docile and prevent strikes. They indicated they would emphasize in religion an authoritarianism to control education and labor and, at the same time, to transfer to the "leadership principle" the sanction of God.

For the most part, however, it was not respectable citizens who openly used the Hitler propaganda pattern in an attempt to bring Fascism to America.

With the exception of Father Charles E. Coughlin, most of the American propagandists operating the Hitler pattern were curious individuals with curious backgrounds. Some had records of crime; nearly all were neurotic. But their very neuroses could make them effective propagandists. Financial support came from the masses. It also came from some individual contributors, both wealthy and "respectable."¹

As many have pointed out, anti-Semitic and anti-revolutionary (e.g., Communist) ideology was not a new or a unique phenomenon. Far from being distinctly American, the ideology may appear in any country under certain conditions.

The America of 1933-1940 had several of these conditions: a severe depression and, in the opinion of some, a serious growth of revolutionary ideology. Some Americans honestly believed that a revolutionary movement had been growing in the United States, and were alarmed. This fear, coupled with economic deprivation, were essential motivating factors in the appearance of over 121 anti-revolutionary, anti-Semitic organizations during the years 1933-1940.

Anti-Semitism, in its political form, first appeared in the United States at the end of World War I. Previously, anti-Semitism had expressed itself primarily in terms of social discrimination. Between 1881 and the outbreak of World War I, some two million European Jews entered the country. Thus, when a major wave of anti-alien feeling arose in 1919, the Jewish population was large enough to make a sizeable target. The introduction of immigration quotas and the expressions of Aryan racial superiority were not the only ways by which anti-Semitism was expressed.

As part of the post-war "Red Scare" large quantities of anti-Semitic literature were circulated. This literature was indicative of the first effort in the United States to identify revolutionary ideology with the Jews. The Fellowship Forum and other groups widely distributed copies of the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion and similar propaganda. In May, 1920, Henry Ford began an anti-Semitic campaign in his Dearborn Independent. The Ku Klux Klan, which began to grow rapidly at this time was, of course, frankly anti-Semitic.

Most of the prejudice of this period may perhaps be

explained by the effects of the post-war depression, the rise of labor and aroused nationalism. Moreover, the power of the Bolsheviks in Russia made the bogey of revolution seem very realistic. And since the war had made minority groups suspect, it was not difficult to generate anti-Jewish feeling. Though the high point of prejudice was reached during 1920-1922, anti-Semitic sentiment continued for several years thereafter. In 1924, Ford revived his anti-Semitic campaign in the Dearborn Independent and kept it going for a year. But with the Klan's decline into insignificance by 1927, organized anti-Semitism virtually disappeared.

In 1933, anti-Semitism reappeared on the American scene--this time boldly and blatantly. The causal conditions were the depression, a slight growth of revolutionary sentiment, the initiation of the New Deal, and the successful rise to power of the rabidly anti-Semitic Nazis in Germany. The German-American Bund, playing upon the frustrations of German-Americans, as well as those of Americans in general, became one of the best known and most widely-publicized of the anti-revolutionary, anti-Semitic groups.

Little has been written about the German-American Bund, partially because America became involved in other things when the United States entered the Second World War, and partially because all Bund records were seized by the United States Department of Justice, with the outbreak of the war. Access to those records was restricted until only recently, making research difficult. The only definitive work on the

Bund is that of Leland Bell,² with shorter studies having been done by Donald Strong and Gustavus Myers.³

One of the most persistent opponents of the Bund during the years it was in existence was Representative Samuel Dickstein, of New York. The Congressman devoted much of his energy in an attempt to persuade the American people that the Bund was indeed a threat and should be stopped. Pursuing his goal, Dickstein attempted to collect evidence which could be used to prosecute the Bund leaders. This evidence was gathered in secret by the "Dickstein Bureau of Investigation" and other "agencies," as well as in public by the first Un-American Activities Committee, of which he was vice-chairman. The records of those investigations, as well as correspondence dealing with the Bund and other "un-American" groups, were kept by Dickstein long after the Bund ceased to be. After his death, these records were given to the American Jewish Archives, located on the campus of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. This study of the Bund is, in great part, a reflection of what Samuel Dickstein discovered concerning the Bund during his years as Congressman. His views, as reflected in his speeches and writings, were biased--perhaps because he was a Jew, or simply because he considered himself to be a "good American." In any event, the records and documents in the Dickstein Papers provide excellent insights into the workings of the Bund as well as the mind of the man who was to become, perhaps, the German-American Bund's most persistent enemy and, possibly, the most successful.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

On March 29, 1936, Fritz Kuhn, newly elected Bundes-fuehrer of the Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund, or German-American Bund, addressed the first convention of that organization in Buffalo, New York. Kuhn declared that his organization signified for the German-American community a new breakthrough to a higher and more mature attitude. This new attitude insisted that every person of German blood must be a friend of the new Germany, a Germany that inspired Germans everywhere with re-awakened loyalties and allegiances. Above all, it solidified racial links with "our ancestral race" and stimulated German-Americans to a new awareness of their uniquely German identity. Kuhn viewed the melting pot theory of America with contempt:

...America is not benefited by the dissolution of the honest, forthright, race conscious German element into a mongrel horde....¹

With this in mind, said Kuhn, the Bund would attempt to effect a new unity and spiritual awakening of German-Americans around the Nazi core. German-Americans must "awake and act," for once a solid racial political phalanx was shaped, German-Americans would restore their good name and take the offensive against Jews and communists, "the would-be destroyers

of our race consciousness."

A few months after Kuhn addressed the newly-formed Bund, alarm was voiced in the House of Representatives of the United States by a man who was, perhaps, to become the most persistent adversary of Kuhn and his fellow Nazi sympathizers. On January 26, 1937, Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York City (Democrat) spoke before the House and declared that something needed to be done at the outset to curb the activities of the German-American Bund:

We cannot sit here and let the Nazis ...come to our shores and create a disturbance and fear among our own people. This has to be a country of one people, one flag, one land. There is nothing that can be done until we throw the searchlight on them and send them back where they belong and punish these so-called Nazis who claim to be 110 percent Americans and yet contribute to the black robe or the white robe or to the Nazi party or any other "ism."²

The Bund was not the first pro-Nazi organization to come on to the American scene, nor was this the first time that Samuel Dickstein had spoken out against such organizations. He was born in 1885 in Vilna, Lithuania, son of Rabbi and Mrs. Israel Dickstein, and taken to the United States in 1887, where his family settled in New York's lower East Side. Mr. Dickstein attended City College and received his training in law at the New York Law School. He entered public service in 1911 with his appointment as a special attorney general for New York State. In 1917 he was elected as a member of the City's Board of Aldermen and as a member of the New York State Legislature in 1919, where he served until 1922. In that year he

was elected to the United States House of Representatives. Dickstein's first appointment was as a junior member of the Immigration and Naturalization Committee, and he later became its chairman.³

In the early 1930's reports came to Representative Dickstein that many Germans were in America without visas and that they had been sent as propagandists for what was to become Nazi Germany. At first, Dickstein treated the evidence lightly, for anti-Semitic feeling seemed to be at its lowest ebb since the dissolution of the Ku Klux Klan some years before. However, these feelings were to change, for with Hitler's coming to power in 1933, incident piled upon incident began to suggest that Nazi and other un-American movements in this country were becoming more active.

Un-Americanism in itself was not new to Dickstein and his committee and had been dealt with by the passage of various laws denying immigration to various "undesirables." The Congressman saw, however, that the evidence being gathered suggested that new approaches had to be explored to stem the tide of rising un-Americanism. Consequently, Dickstein appointed a sub-committee to study the problem. For nine months this sub-committee studied the propaganda reaching the United States. On the basis of information received, the sub-committee suggested that Dickstein move before the House of Representatives the appointment of a special committee to investigate and examine under oath any and all attempts to undermine or harm the Constitution of the United States.⁴

On March 20, 1934, House Resolution 198, authored by Congressman Dickstein, was called up by Congressman Cox and passed by the House. That resolution authorized the establishment of a committee of seven, to be appointed by the Speaker, to investigate subversive propaganda in the United States.⁵ On the floor of the House, Dickstein explained what the purpose of the new committee was to be, and what it hoped to prove. The Committee would seek to accomplish three primary objectives: first, ascertain the facts about methods of introduction into this country of destructive, subversive propaganda originating from foreign countries; second, ascertain facts about organizations in the United States which seemed to be cooperating to spread alien propaganda through their membership in this country; third, study and recommend to the House appropriate legislation which would correct existing problems and prevent the recurrence of similar problems in the future.⁶

On March 30, 1934, Representative Dickstein received a letter from the Speaker of the House, Henry T. Rainey, in which Mr. Dickstein was asked to accept the chairmanship of the new committee. On April 2, 1934, Dickstein wrote to Rainey suggesting that such an appointment might be seen as an attempt on the part of the Jews in the United States to "persecute" pro-Nazi organizations. Consequently, said Dickstein,

for conscientious, patriotic reasons
I feel compelled to respectfully decline the appointment.

My knowledge of conditions which
this special committee would find,
compels me to most respectfully ask

you to appoint as its chairman an outstanding member of this House, so that there can be no doubt that this is an American issue of primary importance.⁷

Representative John McCormick of Massachusetts was appointed chairman of the investigating committee, and Dickstein was designated as vice-chairman by the committee itself. Working with a budget of \$30,000, the committee conducted seven public hearings and twenty-four executive hearings. On February 15, 1935, a report was submitted to the House. The testimony taken by the special committee on un-American activities revealed that there were active pro-Nazi organizations at work in the United States.

The first of these organizations was founded in America with the name of "Teutonia, Inc.," in 1924. This organization published Amerika's Deutsche Post, which soon became the official organ of the Nazi Party, District U.S.A. In 1933, the German government, afraid of repercussions in the United States, dissolved "Teutonia, Inc." At the same time, a new organization was instituted, "The Friends of New Germany," which united several pro-Nazi groups and which openly admitted connections with the National Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschland, or Nazi Party, in the Third Reich.

Early in the history of "The Friends of New Germany," the leadership was assumed by Heinz Spanknoebel, an alien who had entered the United States claiming to be a clergyman. One of his first tasks was the publishing of a weekly newspaper, Das Neue Deutschland. In the banner of this paper appeared an

emblem showing an American eagle, the Stars and Stripes and, in a circle located in the middle of the emblem, "Friends of the New Germany" in German. This same emblem, with one exception, the insertion of a swastika, was worn by members of the organization.

Evidence presented to the un-American Activities Committee indicated that subsidies were obtained from the German government which were used to finance Das Neue Deutschland. In addition, the committee showed that certain German consuls in the United States helped pay for Nazi propaganda activities and that the services of German public relations experts were regularly used by "The Friends." German shipping lines regularly transported printed propaganda materials to the United States. These same lines transported American citizens back and forth between Germany and the United States without cost for the purpose of having them write and speak favorably of Germany. A German steamship company's records revealed that some of those passengers received free transportation at the request of the German Ambassador "in the interest of the state."

"The Friends of New Germany" conducted so-called "youth summer camps" at different locations at which the children were taught to recognize Hitler as their leader and to believe that the principles of the German government were superior to the principles of the government of the United States. At these camps the official language was German, the swastika was prominently displayed, and at morning and evening exercises the German flag was saluted in Nazi style.⁸

Letters sent to the committee from all over the United States indicated the extent to which the pro-Nazi organizations were at work in America. One letter indicated that students in the public schools in a Pacific coast city were given a pro-Hitler magazine to read as a class assignment. Other letters complained about certain professors in colleges and schools who were "preaching and teaching Hitlerism in their classes and in their lectures." Information was received that German consular officers were appearing and speaking at meetings where Hitler and his philosophy was openly praised.⁹

As the activities of "The Friends of New Germany" and other pro-Nazi groups became known, there were cries for action from newspapers, organizations and private citizens. The State Department sent official protests to the German government. Customs officials began boarding German ships in search of propaganda materials. One of the most active anti-Nazi campaigns was begun in 1934 by "The American League for Defense of Jewish Rights," which, in that year, changed its name to the "Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights." The president of that organization was Samuel Untermyer, with Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver serving as vice-president. In 1934 an effort was made to raise a fund of \$500,000 to carry on an effective campaign to boycott all German goods, ships and shipping. The "League," which had the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, attempted to raise the fund for various purposes:

1. In order to reach, inform, and organize the consuming public of this country against the purchase of German-made goods.

2. To contact thousands of importers in America, and urge them to use American-made goods and not to patronize German ships and railroads in the transportation of such merchandise as they may find it necessary to buy in foreign countries.

3. To circularize hundreds of thousands of physicians, druggists, and hospitals with pamphlets containing lists of American and other drugs that may be substituted for German products, and to advise merchants and industrialists where substitutes may be had.

4. To work in cooperation with established organizations having the same purpose in other parts of the world, and to set up barriers against the use of German goods in the world's markets.

5. To keep the American public fully informed concerning the seditious agitation that the Nazis are carrying on in this country through their imported agents and propagandists.¹⁰

As the protests intensified, Germany began to feel the need for some sort of action. Theodore Hoffman, president of the Steuban Society of America, complained to Hitler that rising anti-German feeling in the United States was due to the "Friends of New Germany." Berlin's immediate response was the recalling of offending consular officials. The result of this action was a temporary lessening of the German propaganda campaign. On December 27, 1935, Rudolf Hess signed a directive ordering all German nationals out of the "Friends." The result was the decrease of the influence of that organization until it practically ceased to exist.

Most likely, the "Friends of New Germany" would have quietly faded away if it were not for an ardent pro-Nazi member of the "Friends," Fritz Kuhn, who was dedicated to the

survival of a pro-German group in the United States. Consequently, in March, 1936, he brought together the remnants of the "Friends" and members of other splinter groups with the aim of forming a new organization, The German-American Bund (Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund). This new group inherited from the "Friends" Camp Siegfried and a weekly newspaper, Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter. Unlike the "Friends," only American citizens could hold leadership positions in the new organization, but Kuhn disregarded Rudolf Hess' directive of 1935 by creating the Citizens Protective League, which admitted German nationals.

The information available concerning Kuhn is sketchy, for the facts known about him are those he wished released. According to that information, he was born in Munich in 1895. Throughout the four years of World War I he served with the German Army and saw service on four different fronts--French, Italian, Serbian and Roumanian. After the war he studied chemistry in Munich and participated in the troubled politics of post-war Germany.¹¹

In 1923, Kuhn left Germany and went to Mexico. When asked why he left his homeland, he told a later session of the Dies Committee:

Because the revolution was going on; inflation was there. Every second man was out of work. I lost my job. I had a very good job with one of the greatest chemical concerns. We were thrown out by the French Army of Occupation. A colored regiment came in. A woman was not safe any more there. I had to take my wife away, because they attacked right and left.¹²

While in Mexico from 1923 until 1927, Kuhn worked as an

industrial chemist. He entered the United States in 1927 and obtained a position at the Ford hospital laboratory in Detroit. Several years later he was transferred to Ford's Rouge River plant in Dearborn. In 1933 he became an American citizen. Exactly when he became affiliated with the "Friends of New Germany" is not known, but the group's paper had declared that he joined the organization at its inception, which would mean June, 1933. For two years he was leader of the Detroit local; and from September, 1935, until December of that same year (when he was made national head of the organization), he was the leader of the Gau Mittelwest (the mid-West District). The procedure by which Kuhn rose to the national leadership is not entirely known, except for the fact that he was confirmed as the national leader at the 1936 convention of the "Friends."¹³

Newspaper interviews of Kuhn show that he was fond of such publicity. Interviews were given seated at his desk on which were three flags: in the center, the American flag, flanked by the Nazi and Bund flags. On the wall hung pictures of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler. The F.D.R. picture was positioned a few inches higher because, as Kuhn explained, "our loyalties are with the United States, first and always."¹⁴

In later years, Samuel Dickstein, as chairman of the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives, attempted to have Kuhn deported on the grounds that during World War I Kuhn was a German spy in the United States. The facts released by Dickstein indicate how little was really known about the national leader of the German-American Bund.

According to the Congressman, Kuhn went to Mexico in 1932, having fled to that country as a criminal, "having been guilty of a crime involving moral turpitude." In Mexico he presented himself to the American consul and made application to enter the United States under the German quota. According to Dickstein, there was evidence to show that Kuhn stole 3,000 or more Marks worth of merchandise in Germany and was convicted of this crime and sentenced to four months in prison.¹⁵ Dickstein attempted to prove, in addition, that Kuhn had been a spy during World War I. In various letters addressed to the War Department, the Congressman claimed that on August 27, 1917, Immigration Inspector Taylor arrested certain German subjects, alien enemies of the United States, who were aboard the steamer "El Sol." Among those arrested was one Ernest Fritz Kuhn, alias Fred Cohen. He was sent to Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, "though there is nothing definite to show that he was actually confined at that point."¹⁶ On July 9, 1938, Dickstein received a letter from the War Department which indicated that there was nothing to show that Ernest Fritz Kuhn was identical with the Fritz Kuhn engaged in Nazi activities.¹⁷ Consequently, Dickstein was forced to drop this line of attack and find other ways of fighting the man who perhaps became his most bitter enemy.

CHAPTER II

"ONCE A GERMAN, ALWAYS A GERMAN"

As the German-American Bund began to develop its program during the first year of its existence, certain themes could be discerned, the most important of which was a call for unity among all German-Americans. This call was usually presented in rather simple terms: neutrality was impossible--either one was for or against the Bund. The very slogans used were designed to convey a feeling of solidarity: "Forward German-Americans!" "We Have Just Begun!"¹

Playing upon this theme of unity, the Bund pointed to the reasons for German-American disunity during World War I. Between 1914 and 1918 the German-American community had inept and unaggressive leadership, a situation which could have been prevented by the alert union of all Germans in America. All German-Americans were called upon to remember with pride the accomplishments of heroic German-American ancestors: John Peter Zenger, General Nicholas Herkimer, and Carl Schurz, who has so gallantly fought for American freedoms.²

More frequently, however, Bund leaders spoke in terms of common racial and blood ties. Fritz Kuhn addressed representatives of the Pittsburgh German community on May 28, 1936. He suggested that what was needed was a "racial alliance. The Deutscher Weckruf, the Bund newspaper, noted that the programs

of the new Germany had created an interest in family histories and that German-Americans should be concerned with establishing their Aryan origins. For the price of one dollar an investigation would be made by

...the Carl Schurz Vereinigung, Victoria Strasse 7, Berlin, free of charge save only such costs as are required in the clerical labor of copying records and postage. Address Herr De Haas as above.³

The expression of friendship between German-Americans and Germany served to demonstrate the principle "once a German, always a German." Germans in Germany would see that Germans everywhere shared a common bond of unity, for "they all have the same German blood." Once the importance of common racial or blood identity was realized, all divisions in America would end.⁴

The Deutscher Weckruf became the Bund's most important propaganda tool. In looking through the pages of this weekly newspaper, one cannot help being struck by the almost complete lack of objective news reporting. The goal of the paper was, by its own admission, the enhancement of the growth and prestige of the National Socialist movement. There are many examples that can be given of this lack of objectivity. One in particular illustrates how the Bund newspaper reworked a news release from one of the major metropolitan newspapers. In this case the New York Times commented on the fact that the Roosevelt Administration had serious misgivings about the work of the Dies Committee. The Bund reworked that article so as to show that Roosevelt's fear was the discovery that communists had "infiltrated" the United States Government.

Why Administration leaders took the position they did toward the /Dies/ Committee has never been authoritatively explained. In some quarters it is suggested the reason was a suspicion that Mr. Dies planned to operate under the inspiration of Vice President Garner, a fellow Texan, in an effort to discredit leftists elements in the party. The Congressman denies this in toto.

Elsewhere the idea is advanced that the New Deal would have been antagonistic to such an inquiry under any one's direction because of fear that it might expose communistic--or, probably more exactly, socialistic--infiltrations into the Administration.

Although the testimony heard by the committee was often unsubstantiated or discredited, it did show, shorn of its irrelevancies, an apparent spread of communistic sympathies and of Communist party activity in the country, largely through so-called "front" organizations; and an active Nazi movement which did not appear to be making such headway except among some German-Americans.⁵

The Deutscher Weckruf had a somewhat different view of events.

"This and That About the Dies Committee"

The happenings around the Dies Committee become more and more interesting, chiefly due to the fact that President Roosevelt is getting excited about this Congressional committee.

Many circles who first rejoiced about this investigation because they believe it was aimed only on the hated American German Bund now let off a real Indian-like howl, realizing that Dies also takes the activities of the Communistic movements and its friends in government and administration under his pocket lens.

The American Bund has known right along that they could not expect a just and impartial investigation from this committee.

It is deplorable that Mr. Dies has conducted the investigation not so as it should have been in order to set forth the patriotic character of the Bund. Instead, of all things, Mr. Dies thought it right to let

loose a speech before the defense committee of the "American Jewish Federation against Communism and Fascism," in which he emphatically repeated the fairy tales against the Bund to be sure of the fact of a tremendous applause.⁶

The Deutscher Weckruf openly admitted that its purpose was to publish propaganda and, at least in 1936, made no attempt to conceal the fact that articles were supplied by German newspapers and propaganda agencies, as well as the German news agency, Transocean Service. The Dies Committee would later point out that the German Embassy and the consulates acted as soliciting and collecting agencies for this Service, and that the Embassy and consulates also transmitted instructions and exercised direct control of the Transocean Agency's operating policy, which at all times was in conformity with the wishes of Berlin.⁷

The Deutscher Weckruf devoted a great deal of space to photographic coverage of Nazi meetings and demonstrations, German technical and military progress, and to Hitler's varied social and political activities. As would be expected, the majority of the paper's attention was focused on the accomplishments of Hitler and the Nazi regime. Hitler's Reich was seen as a representative of the democratic order, and not as a dictatorship. This could be demonstrated, said the Bund, by the fact that while dictatorships assumed control by brutal means, Hitler's victory was due to enthusiastic popular and democratic elections. Hitler, like Lincoln and Garfield, came from a poor and humble background. His popularity was a result of his devotion to the task of purging Germany of corruption

and Communism. For the Bund editors National Socialism represented a movement of regeneration, composed of simple workmen as well as men of dignity. Above all, Hitler stood for peace--his military strategists though in defensive, not offensive terms. On the domestic front, his genial but firm leadership had effected new unity among the German people, characterized by a spirit of confidence, order and discipline. For Kuhn and his fellow Bundists, Hitler's place was with such noble patriots as Washington, Napoleon and Mussolini.⁸

A favorite technique of the Bund editors was the use of favorable testimony. Former British Prime Minister Lloyd George was quoted as saying that he had never known a greater man than Hitler, nor had he seen a happier people than the Germans. Religious leaders testified that Hitler protected Christianity because the Communists were prevented from burning down churches. Statements were even lifted, out of context, from the New York Times and other papers and pieced together to form favorable tributes to Hitler. For example, in the February 6, 1936, issue of the Deutscher Weckruf, it quotes the Times as saying that Hitler had made fantastic improvements in the life of the German people and that the Fuehrer was the answer to Europe's continuing economic and social problems. A careful reading of the Times during the weeks preceding the Bund articles indicates that the most the Times had done was quote German officials, both in the United States and in Germany, a fact that the Bund editors had neglected to mention.

Another Bund technique was the presentation of serialized fictional testimonies of New Yorkers travelling in Germany, indicating the "authors'" shock at finding the country so different from American news reports. Accounts of goose-stepping, pogroms, shortages of food, preparations for war, religious persecutions and political oppression became, in the hands of Bund editors, "lying rot."⁹

In trying to convince the German-American community of the tremendous strides made by the "new" Germany, comparisons were often made with the United States. Specific faults in America were pointed to, with the urging that critics of Germany devote more of their attentions to their own society. The Deutscher Weckruf picked up on stories of American injustices: a New York court sentenced a 17 year old boy to the electric chair; there was an increase in child labor; New York police staged illegal raids on private residences to break up poker games. The Bund editors concluded that what America needed was a moral house cleaning, for an orgy of "boondoggling and racketeering destroyed America's sense of integrity and fair play." More often than not, however, the Bund directed its attention to the race question, America's sore spot. The editors of the Deutscher Weckruf suggested that critics of Germany's policies vis a vis the Jews should open their eyes and see such examples of American race policies as a recent Ohio Supreme Court ruling that retail store operators might refuse to sell to Negroes.¹⁰

In pamphlets, movies, books and speakers, the Bund

attempted to point to one idea: that the connecting link between the Bund's blunt espousal of Hitler and National Socialism was Pan-Germanism. All Germans outside the Reich were united in a racial community and were bound to the Fatherland by common blood. Germans everywhere were Germans first and citizenship of a particular country took second place to the demands of blood and race. Therefore, all Germans owed certain duties and obligations to the "new" Germany."¹¹

In desiring to be "as one" with Germans everywhere, the Bund listed three duties that German-Americans as Auslandsdeutsche, or Germans abroad, had to the restored Reich. First, to demonstrate that they had not forsaken all connection with the Fatherland. They must act first as cultural pioneers by preserving the German language, customs and traditions. Second, they would stand as economic pioneers who buy all types of German goods and services. Third, they would function as pioneer fighters against anti-German propaganda by correcting slanderous remarks made against Hitler and the German people.¹² To help achieve these tasks, the Bund openly established connections with the "Deutsches Ausland-Institute" in Stuttgart, Germany, one of the more important Nazi propaganda agencies concerned with Germans living outside the Reich.¹³

Events in Germany provided the Bund with opportunities to demonstrate to the American public the dazzling accomplishments of Hitler and the Third Reich. One such opportunity came about with the decision of the International Olympic Committee to hold the 1936 Summer Olympics in Munich, Germany.

In the spring of that year the Bund launched a vigorous campaign to attract its members and other German-Americans to Germany. Brochures and notices were sent out. The Deutscher Weckruf reported on training activities of American athletes while sneering at anti-Nazi critics who suggested a boycott of the games. In early June, 1936, the Deutscher Weckruf devoted a special issue to the coming Olympics and carried numerous advertisements from German tourist agencies and German-American businesses as well as articles by Americans, German officials and Bundists.

The Bund's decision to devote so much copy space to the Olympics was necessitated, in part, by the vigorous campaign to move the Games conducted by various organizations and individuals. The "Move the Olympics Committee" was quickly created and launched a campaign to have the Amateur Athletic Union refuse to participate in the Olympics.¹⁴ On December 5, 1935, the A.A.U. voted to continue with plans to participate in the Games. The "Organization Committee of American Goodwill Olympic Associations" began a fund-raising drive to raise \$300,000 to allow a rival set of Games to be held in the United States.¹⁵ For those opposed to American involvement in the Games in Germany, the issue became one of broken promises. In 1933 the decision was made by the International Olympic Committee to hold the Games in Germany. At that time objections were raised to this decision because of Germany's anti-Semitic policies. Because of the objections, Germany agreed that participating nations could bring Jews to the

Games, and, finally, that even German Jews could participate. After the decision was finally reached to hold the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany began to violate the pledge she had made. Adequate training facilities were denied Jews and adequate opportunities to compete were never given them. The response of the American Olympic Committee to the growing evidence of German bad faith was that the reports of German discrimination against German-Jewish athletes were grossly exaggerated.¹⁶

Brigadier General Charles H. Sherrill, one of three Americans who were members of the International Olympic Committee, issued a statement that "if the Jewish minority of 5,000,000 in the United States continued to stir up the rest of the 120,000,000 Americans there was serious danger of an anti-Semitic wave in our country," and that, after all, he had succeeded in getting a German-American Jew on the German fencing team.¹⁷ Congressman Dickstein responded to the statement by Sherrill in very strong terms:

If General Sherrill's statement is a sample as to what happens to a good old-fashioned American when he gets in contact with Hitler's "Kultur," we may well imagine what the effect of such contact would be on thousands of unspoiled American young men and women.

The great "achievement" of General Sherrill's having succeeded in having ...Jews invited to participate in the German team in the Olympic Games is remarkable for its utter uselessness and ridiculous folly. Does the General realize that the fact that it took him two years to accomplish this great result, is in itself an

indication of the utter lack of sportsmanship prevailing in Germany.¹⁸

Kuhn and the Bund editors gloated over what was ultimately to be the failure of the anti-Nazi boycott of the Olympics, stating that Americans saw through the lying propaganda of these "racketeers" and intended to visit Germany to see the Nazi Reich at close range.

They will be the guests of the most hospitable nation on the European continent and fair-minded American tourists...will return with new conceptions and with an abundance of pleasant thoughts about Germany.¹⁹

Kuhn sought to create more interest in a trip to Germany by announcing that the Bund would present Hitler with a gift of a leather-bound Golden Book of American Germandom which would contain signatures of Bund members who contributed at least fifty cents to the new Germany's winter relief fund.²⁰

It is interesting to note that the Bund editors spoke of a trip to Germany in terms that normally would be reserved for a religious pilgrimage. Once in the Homeland, German-Americans would experience the thrill of walking on sacred German soil and mingling with people of real German blood. On July 23, 1936, Kuhn and 200 Bund members left for Germany on the liner New York. In a letter to Bund members Kuhn noted that the purpose of the trip was to gain strength for the struggle in the United States by seeing and experiencing Hitler's Reich. The climax of the trip came on August 2 with a ten minute meeting between Hitler and Kuhn and a few other Bundists at the Reichschancellery in Berlin. For

Kuhn that was the experience of his life:

We stand before the Chancellor, the Fuehrer of Germany. He shakes hands with each of us, looks us straight in the eye, lays his hand on the shoulder of our Bund leader, and speaks to us of Germany that is restored....Kuhn mentions the coming visit to Munich and the Fuehrer immediately takes steps to insure a warm welcome for the Bund in the city where our movement had its beginning. The Fuehrer thanks us again for the...book of testimonials, and for the accompanying donation.²¹

The trip to the Olympic Games was a most significant event for the Bund. On the one hand, it now became possible, at least in the eyes of the Bund, to counter anti-German statements by pointing to the marvelous things they and other Americans had seen in Germany. In fact, it was assumed that the mere mention of the Olympic experience was enough to clear all American suspicions of the Third Reich once and for all. Photographic essays on the Olympics and Bund activities in Germany dominated the Deutscher Weckruf for several weeks. A large photo of Kuhn offering the Golden Book to Hitler was splashed over several issues. Kuhn gloated over the meeting with Hitler and often told Bund audiences that the Fuehrer had ordered him to "go back and continue your fight."²²

In a euphoric mood, the Bund and a few of the remaining New York German societies staged a "German Day Celebration" at Madison Square Garden on October 4, 1936, just four days after Kuhn returned from Germany. The "German Day Celebration" had, since the turn of the century, been a major event for the

German-American community, for it commemorated the founding of the first German colony in America at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683. This event had been controlled by the United German Societies, but in 1936 the Bund captured control of the event and the United German Societies drifted away. In spite of this break, the Bund, at least in 1936, paid tribute to the early German settlers, while adding a considerable amount of Nazism to the 1936 affair.

Having been advertised as an "unforgettable affair," 20,000 people gathered at Madison Square Garden to hear three speakers praise the accomplishments of Hitler and the magnificence of the 1936 Olympic Games. Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympics Committee, spoke of the need for a world-wide fight against Communism and commended Hitler for eliminating this influence in Germany. Dr. Karl Stroeling of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut thanked the American Sport Association for making it possible for German and American youth to become acquainted by means of the Olympic Games. Dr. Hans Luther, German Ambassador to the United States, expressed gratitude to the audience for its loyalty to Germany and trust in the Fuehrer. Finally, Kuhn spoke, comparing the meeting to the mass rallies in Germany. The 1936 German Day signified, said Kuhn, "an awakening, a breakthrough, perhaps a turning point."²³ And thus it was to be, for the year 1936 marked the beginning of the Bund's great growth and of its program of hate which would not be eliminated until five years later.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION

During 1936 and 1937 the Bund continued its growing influence among German-Americans. The Bundists looked upon themselves as combatants in a fighting organization eager for action against Jews and Communists. The Bund thought of itself as Kämpfendes Deutschland, or "Fighting Germandom," and, at first, made little attempt to disguise its Nazi character. Although it continually claimed that it was strictly an American organization, the Bund's structure, nature of subsidiary organizations, the parades, mass rallies and harangues left little doubt to its critics as to what the Bund thought its functions to be.

The Fuehrerprinzip

As with the German Nazi Party, the Fuehrerprinzip, or leadership principle, was at the core of the Bund's internal organization.¹ The Bundesfuehrer, or national leader, was given by the Fuehrerprinzip final authority and supremacy in every area of Bund activity. He could mediate grievances, appoint or remove all officers, dismiss and revoke the membership of any Bund member at any time. He convened the national conventions of the organization as well as the executive committee. He had full power of ownership and disposal over

Bund property, including funds, equipment, buildings and land holdings. He could fix dues and other financial assessments and he could organize, enlarge, divide or disband all local units. The only check against absolute dictatorial powers on the part of the Bundesfuehrer was the national convention, which could elect or depose him.²

The Leadership

Subject to the control of the Bundesfuehrer was a group of national officers, including the secretary, treasurer, press agent; functionaries serving subsidiary organizations; a national executive committee which constituted the primary advisory board for the national leader; departmental leaders and lesser fuehrers all the way down to the lowest block leader. Each of these leaders recognized the authority of the official immediately above him in the Bund hierarchy, and all saw their primary loyalty as being to the Bund as personified in the Bundesfuehrer. The method of communication chosen by the national leader demonstrates the adherence to the "leadership principle": he gave orders through written "Commands" which were to be faithfully fulfilled. Each local leader received a copy of the Command to transmit to his staff and the local members. A report was later filed with national headquarters verifying the local units' compliance with the Command. Prospective members completed an application form which acquainted them with the "leadership principle." Bund membership cards contained a pledge affirming that the holder acknowledged the "leadership principle" as fundamental to the organization.³

The literature of the Bund in the early years mentions the following officers: James Wheeler-Hill, national secretary and leader of the New York (Manhattan) local units; Walter Kappe, press agent, who returned to Germany in 1937 and was replaced by Severin Winterscheidt; G. Wilhelm Kunze, public relations director; Theodore Dinkelacker, youth director; Anna Richfeldt, women's executive director; Richard Mettin, national treasurer; Gustav Elmer, organization deputy; Willy Luedtke and Max Rapp, directors of the Bund's economic division, the Deutsche Konsum Verband (DKV); Carl Nicolay, leader of the Brooklyn, New York, unit and consultant to the women's division; Rudolf Markmann, leader of the Eastern district; George Froboese, leader of the Midwestern district; Herman Schwinn, leader of the Western district.

National Organization

There were three major departments: east, midwest and west. Each department, or Gau, was further divided into divisions corresponding to the American states. Further subdivisions brought the organization down to the smallest units on the city or county level. Each department leader, or Gauleiter, directed the local Bund units in his area and had a staff similar to that of the national leader.

A strictly pyramidal hierarchy, such as the Bund, is susceptible to effective control of activities at all levels of command. Its discipline extends to the local unit which is the primary focus of functioning or activity. According

to a list presented to the Dies Committee by Fritz Kuhn, there were forty local units in 1934; fifty-five in 1937; and seventy-one in 1939. The list of locals in 1939 was as follows:⁴

Eastern District (Gau Ost)

Albany (N.Y.)	Lancaster (Pa.)	Reading (Pa.)
Astoria (N.Y.)	Lindenhurst (N.Y.)	Rochester (N.Y.)
Baltimore (Md.)	Nassau County (N.Y.)	Rockland County (N.Y.)
Bergen County (N.J.)	New Britain (Conn.)	Schenectady (N.Y.)
Boston (Mass.)	New Haven (Conn.)	Sellersville (Pa.)
Bridgeport (Conn.)	New Rochelle (N.Y.)	South Brooklyn (N.Y.)†
Bronx (N.Y.)	New York (N.Y.)***	Stamford (Conn.)
Brooklyn (N.Y.)*	Newark (N.J.)	Staten Island (N.Y.)#
Buffalo (N.Y.)	Ossining (N.Y.)	Syracuse (N.Y.)
Glendale (N.Y.)	Passaic County (N.J.)	Troy (N.Y.)
Greenwich (Conn.)	Philadelphia (Pa.)	Utica (N.Y.)
Hartford (Conn.)	Pittsburgh (Pa.)	White Plains (N.Y.)
Hudson County (N.J.)	Poughkeepsie (N.Y.)	
Jamaica (N.Y.)**	Providence (R.I.)	

Mid-West District (Gau Mittelwest)

Chicago (Ill.)	Indianapolis (Ind.)	Sheboygan (Wis.)
Cincinnati (O.)	Kenosha (Wis.)	South Bend (Ind.)
Cleveland (O.)	Milwaukee (Wis.)	South Chicago (Ill.)
Dayton (O.)	Minneapolis (Minn.)	Taylor (Tex.)
Detroit (Mich.)	Omaha (Nebr.)	Toledo (O.)
Fort Wayne (Ind.)	St. Louis (Mo.)	
Gary (Ind.)	St. Paul (Minn.)	

Western District (Gau West)

Los Angeles (Calif.)	San Diego (Calif.)	Santa Barbara (Calif.)
Oakland (Calif.)	San Francisco (Calif.)	Seattle (Wash.)
Petaluma (Calif.)	San Gabriel Valley (Calif.)	Spokane (Wash.)
Portland (Ore.)		

* A borough of New York City.

** In the borough of Queens, New York City.

*** The borough of Manhattan, New York City.

† In the borough of Brooklyn, New York City.

A borough of New York City.

In late 1936 and early 1937, Kuhn issued several Commands which indicate the types of activities in which the locals were engaged. The membership of the Bund was expected to observe various German and American holidays. Two occasions in particular were emphasized: George Washington's Birthday in February and Hitler's Birthday in April. The former, instructed the Bund, could be celebrated with rallies which were either in English or German and, like Hitler's Birthday, was to be open to the public and fully covered by the American and German press. On July 4, Independence Day, the Bund locals were to hold joint celebrations with the American Legion. In addition to these American holidays, Kuhn's instructions mentioned other occasions as well. Attention was focused on such Nazi holidays as November 9, which was the commemoration of the Munich Putsch; National Labor Day on May 1; the Reich Anniversary celebration on January 30; the Anniversary of the death of Horst Wessel in February; and celebrations to benefit the German Winter Relief Fund.

The press of the period gives some indications of the types of activities the local units were involved with. In Los Angeles the local Bund unit owned its own building, the Deutsches Haus, which contained a rather complete book store which sold pro-Nazi and German publications. The Los Angeles Times and other California papers reported on various occasions that the local Bund unit had held rallies and had created burning Swastikas in the Hollywood Hills. The Bund local in St. Louis, over the objections of other German groups, displayed

Swastikas at picnics held in Gray's Grove. On October 30, 1937, the Brooklyn unit of the Bund held a parade in New York City at which Swastikas were displayed. On October 27, 1938, the same unit held a German Day which was labeled as "just a big family gathering" and which included a picnic, speeches, dance and "merriment."

On the local level, meetings were held in various places. Whereas the Los Angeles local unit owned its own building, in other areas meetings were conducted in private homes. Representative Dickstein's files contain the minutes of one of those meetings, as supplied to him by one of the "operatives" employed by him. This meeting was held in New Milford, New Jersey, on February 14, 1938, at the home of Mrs. Mead. The meeting was followed by an address from the first speaker, Mr. Mowbray White, who discussed the "Jewish Question." He indicated to those present that the Jew is an organized group in each nation, and there is only one way to uproot the Jew and to "put him from his pedestal--to expose the fact that communism is a Jewish movement."

They are working to run the world and to govern every country through communism. Now, friends, I believe that we have right on our side. We must proceed with fairness. We don't do as they do when they get control, riding in the saddle and riding people down. You can see that in New York since the Jew got control there. We will just do things fairly as they are doing them in Germany. I have watched and carefully studied every move made by Hitler and his government and I found they are doing just what a god-like group would do who would take control of a people to bring them back to a normal state of affairs.⁵

At a meeting of the Bronx, New York, unit on February 17, 1938, at which 350 people were in attendance, Carl Nicolay, leader of the Brooklyn unit, addressed the group. He indicated that the Jewish communists had torn down the American flag and had hoisted "the Hammer and Sickle on top of the White House." Jews are the laziest people because they don't work with their hands. He and the Bund aimed to make America safe for Americans. He said that while he is living "the Hammer and Sickle will never be placed next to the American flag. At least, not while the Nazis are here."⁶

As with any such organization, the Bund was very much concerned with the effect these activities were having on public opinion. Consequently, local Bund units were instructed to gather material from local newspapers and have it sent to national headquarters at 178 East 85th Street, New York City. Such material was to include articles about the Bund, German-Americans in the United States, Germany, Jews and Communists. These materials were to be sent in copies of eight, pasted on letter paper with the full name and date of the newspaper.⁷

Attention was focused on the status of German Nationals in the Bund. The local units were told to admit them into the organization as members of a Prospective Citizen's League. This League was administered directly by the Bund and preferred members who had taken out their first papers toward citizenship. Because of German objections to its nationals being involved with the Bund, Kuhn put restrictions on their activities by ordering that they not become involved in American politics and that they be excluded from leadership positions in the Bund.

The question of German nationals within the organization was to be a major source of criticism by enemies of the Bund, for they charged that a majority of the organization's membership consisted of "un-American aliens." The Bund consistently insisted that only American citizens could attain membership status, provided that the applicant accepted the "leadership principle" and be of Aryan stock, free of any Negro or Jewish blood. The Bund primarily sought to attract German-Americans, but welcomed what Bundists called all "like minded or sympathetic individuals" into the movement.⁸

Throughout its short career, the Bund kept a shroud of secrecy over the actual number of its members, and in later years, even burned records that would indicate what the membership was. Estimates by journalists and government officials varied, depending on what each was trying to accomplish by releasing those figures. Samuel Dickstein, in trying to show the extent to which the Bund had infiltrated American society, suggested to the House of Representatives in 1937 that the membership was 350,000 in forty states.⁹ In 1939, the Bund itself claimed a membership of 200,000,¹⁰ while in that same year the F.B.I. reported that the Bund had "between 6,600 and 8,300 members."¹¹ A recent study of Bund records indicates that at the peak of its influence, in 1937 and 1938, the Bund probably had 8,500 members with 5,000 or 6,000 anonymous sympathizers.¹²

Subsidiary Organizations

One of the subsidiary organizations of the Bund in which Kämpfendes Deutschland found its greatest expression was the Ordnungs Dienst (Order Service), or O.D. It served as the haven for the most dedicated and fanatical fighters in the movement. Fully uniformed with brown or steel-gray shirts, black caps, ties, trousers and shoes and armbands, the O.D. men mimicked storm troopers in Nazi Germany. The O.D. engaged in military drill exercises, including rifle practice, and marched and paraded at Bund gatherings where they acted as guards and flag bearers. The Bund had hoped to draw its future leadership from the ranks of this branch of the organization and thus specified highly disciplined and rigorously trained men. The O.D. man understood that in order to fully live up to the ideals set for him, his personal life came second to his obligations and sacrifices to the Bund. Even at the cost of his life, he was expected to defend his leaders and the Bund against internal and external acts of sedition, and guarantee that the Bund would continue to prevail as the uncompromising foe of Jewish Marxism. Above all, the O.D. member must be prepared to defend the storm troop flag with his life and view the rank of flag-bearer as the highest possible honor that he could attain.¹³

Various organizations, such as the American Jewish Congress, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the Joint Boycott Council had, since 1933, been conducting a fairly

successful boycott campaign which called for the boycott of all German goods imported into the United States after 1933. To combat this effort, the Bund organized the DKV, Deutsche Konsum Verband, often called the German-American Business League, which became the "fighting economic self-protective organization of American Germandom."

The German business world needs the great masses of the American Germans in order to survive in the fight for existence [sic], set against the Jewish underselling manipulations. It should be a matter of honor for every person of German blood and a matter of duty for every member of the Bund to buy only in D.K.V. stores.¹⁴

D.K.V. slogans indicate the primary concern of the organization: "Patronize Gentile Stores Only," "Buy German," "Aryan Buying Pays Aryan Men." Ultimately, it was the aim of the D.K.V. to promote trade between the United States and Germany and increase the sale of German-made products in America. To accomplish this, the organization engaged in an active publicity campaign. D.K.V. buttons were given out, lists were published of firms which sympathized with Roosevelt and the Jews; it issued guides listing businesses which joined the organization and offered discounts and trading stamps to customers. In October, 1938, the D.K.V. announced a Christmas fair to be held at the Grand Central Palace in New York. As a preview, an evening of entertainment and dancing would take place at Schwaben Hall in New York on November 10, 1938.¹⁵ As with most Bund organizations and activities there is no way of knowing whether the D.K.V. was successful in its aim to create a German buying public in the United States.

It is known that the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League considered the D.K.V. enough of a threat to intensify its boycott campaign.

A great deal of the Bund's energy was expended defending itself against an attack of Samuel Untermyer and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, of which he was president. This League was the primary sponsor of the boycott of German goods. At its 1938 national convention in New York City, the League adopted a strong resolution calling for a total boycott:

WHEREAS the tyrannical government of Nazi Germany has during the past five years followed a policy that threatens the destruction of world democracy;

WHEREAS that same policy is financially supported by the profits of foreign trade, and

WHEREAS portions of these profits are being returned to the United States to support the activities of Nazi propagandists and Nazi military camps, and

WHEREAS it has been proven throughout history that the economic boycott is stronger than armies,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention, as representatives of the membership of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights, reaffirms its position in placing a boycott upon all goods imported to the United States of America from the German Reich.¹⁶

The Bund editors referred to Untermyer as "the Jew General who commanded the non-Aryan and Anti-American League to Champion Jewish Business." His activities were un-American and the boycott was designed to impair the peaceful relations between two great nations and to offend Germans everywhere.¹⁷ The Bund insisted that the boycotters' persecution of law-

abiding German-Americans had failed, and that their illegal activities produced results directly opposed to what they had hoped for. The Jewish boycott only served to arouse German resentment and created an anti-Semitic situation in Germany. Any Jewish reports of success in the boycott attempt were lies because there was, said the Bund, an increase in tourist trade to Germany and in the new Germany's ability to capture new export outlets in Europe. In the end, the result of the boycott would be that a "spiteful minority" hindered American economic recovery, poisoned the atmosphere between two peace-loving nations, and created domestic turmoil by illegal picketing and restraints on trade.¹⁸

As part of its boycott attempt, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League asked its supporters to purchase a stamp and affix it to letters and packages. On January 15, 1937,

Fritz Kuhn wrote to General, demanding the use of these



James Farley, Postmaster government action to stop stamps:

Your attention is respectfully called to a crying abuse of the mailing privilege by a sticker on envelopes going through the United States mails....

Inasmuch as our government maintains friendly diplomatic relations with the government of Germany of which Hitler is the chosen head and no ground for serious misunderstandings exists between the two countries and the vast majority of the American people...is not concerned with the grievances of a minority group of our citizens...which presumes to utilize the mail service of our country for the purpose of inflaming groundless passions and hatred against the country of our

ancestors and relatives..., we protest strenuously and respectfully demand that your Department prohibit the practice of affixing stickers offensive to a large element of the tax-paying public to envelopes going through the United States mails.¹⁹

It is not known what Farley's response to Kuhn was, if there was a response, but it can be guessed that Farley indicated that no law was being broken by the use of the stickers because their use continued.

An interesting sidelight to this affair was an exchange between Kuhn and Congressman Dickstein. A copy of the letter to Postmaster General Farley was sent by Kuhn to Dickstein with a note suggesting that the Congressman might do better to investigate "these [The use of the stickers] un-American activities, than those with which you are wasting your time now."²⁰ Dickstein saw fit to answer Kuhn, and did so in a letter dated January 22, 1937. In it, Dickstein suggested that since Kuhn had seen fit to call attention to some "offensive" [Italics, Dickstein's] stickers, he would use the opportunity of the letter to set Kuhn straight on what could be considered the offensive actions of Germany. In a closing paragraph, Dickstein said:

We do not find it necessary to do away with the process of democratic government in order to achieve stability at home and respect abroad....If you are seeking to investigate un-American activities, I can only refer to your home compatriots who may wish to establish in this territory that same ruthless persecution which has been the order of the day in Hitler's Germany.²¹

On January 25, 1937, Kuhn wrote to Dickstein, stating that

I am speaking to you not as Mr. Dickstein, who being a Russian, naturally has the interests of Communistic Russia at heart, but as Mr. Dickstein, the representative of the American people in Congress. I refer to the present boycott being practiced in the United States, the principles of which are unconstitutional. An investigation concerning itself with this critical situation, it seems to me, is far more important.²²

The "Deutscher Weckruf"

The Deutscher Weckruf played an important role in Kampsfendes Deutschtum. Bundists called the paper "our battle press," arrayed against all subversive movements. The Bund claimed that, while sympathizing with Germany and the Nazi leadership, the paper itself had no relationship with the German government. Later evidence indicated that the German government helped subsidize the newspaper by advertising German railroad and steamship companies in amounts that rose to as much as \$800.00 a month.²³

The Bund editors insisted that their paper's policy represented the views of nine-tenths of all German-Americans who had no other voice in the American press. In June, 1936, the national Deutscher Weckruf, published in New York, was supplemented by three other papers: the Chicago Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, Philadelphia Weckruf und Beobachter, and the California Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter. These papers were almost identical with the New York publication, containing the same news and propaganda, but carrying advertisements that varied with the region. The annual subscription rate was \$3.00, and the combined circulation reached 10,000

copies in the summer of 1938. This effort to win new subscribers was supplemented by advertisements within the Deutscher Weckruf itself. According to the editors, the paper belonged in every German home; the German movement in the United States would rise or fall depending on the fortune of the Bund newspaper. In an effort to widen its reading audience, an English section was added in mid-1937.²⁴

Youth and Camping

One of the most important--and most controversial--divisions of the Bund was the youth group. In the early years of the Bund's existence, when its membership was increasing, it was assumed that the organization was destined to become a permanent fixture in American life. It was realized, however, that new recruits would not come from Germany, but would have to come from within the ranks of the Bund itself. For the Bund leadership, the organization's future salvation depended upon its ability to win young adherents from the German-American community, and it was with this goal in mind that considerable time and attention was devoted to the youth.

The members of the Youth Division were considered to be a most important link in the Bund's program of Kampfendes Deutschtum. Theodore Dinkelacker, National Youth Director, wrote of a dedicated Bund youth eager for combat and service to further the goals of American Germandom.

We must introduce new strength, ready to bear arms and be courageous--and this is our youth. Our youth is proud. They

are proud of being members of the only fighting organization in German America and they will always look down with scorn upon those who are afraid of battleOur youth loves battle. Usually they are the sons and daughters of old warriors. They will see to it that the fighting spirit of the German American Volksbund never dies.²⁵

The Bund Youth Division made no secret of the fact that it was modeled after the Hitler Youth, with all its trappings of Nazism and political indoctrination. Members were required to take lessons in German and received instructions on how to salute the Swastika correctly and learned to sing the "Horst Wessel Song" and other Nazi favorites. They wore uniforms which had on it the lightning bolt insignia representing the ability of Nordic youth to overcome all evil, and often during parades at the Bund camps, the boys carried the short dagger at the hip. They became familiar with the life histories of Nazi heroes and listened to Hitler's speeches by way of the short-wave radio.

The Youth Division published a monthly magazine called Jungesvolk, beginning in 1937. This publication, which was erratic in its publication schedule, carried photographs of Bund youth groups, stories of German heroes, correspondence between its members and their "pen pals" in Germany, and essays on teenage hobbies and sporting activities. Jungesvolk was directed to all members of the Bund Youth Division between the ages of eight and eighteen. Generally, the Division was subdivided into two age groups: boys and girls from eight to thirteen, and teenagers between fourteen and eighteen. At eighteen, the boys were eligible for membership

in the O.D., and girls in the Women's Division. Either sex could also join the main organization of the Bund. In 1937, local units having youth groups were: Hudson County and Newark, New Jersey; Astoria, Brooklyn, Bronx, Buffalo, Jamaica, Manhattan, Nassau City, Schenectady, South Brooklyn, Westchester County and Yonkers, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Youth Groups in the mid-western department included Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and in the western department, Los Angeles, California.²⁶

The camps owned by the Bund became an important part of the organization's youth program. The first camp was Willie and Macht Camp in Griggstown, New Jersey, organized in 1935 by the "Friends of New Germany."²⁷ According to Congressman Dickstein, the Bund eventually founded twenty-four camps, even though he could name only eleven of them: Camp Heindberg in Wisconsin; Camp Deutschorst in New Croyden, Pennsylvania; Camp Nordland at Andover, New Jersey; Willie und Macht, Griggstown, New Jersey; Camp Siegfried, at Yaphank, Long Island; Camp Von Steuben, Southbury, Connecticut; Camp Windhaus, Greene County, New York; Camp Effdende, Detroit, Michigan; Camp Deutsche Centrale Farm, Cleveland, Ohio; Camp Sutter, Los Angeles, California; Camp Golding, Oakland, California. In addition, Dickstein lists the following cities where camps were located, though he did not know their names: Spokane, Washington; Seattle, Washington; San Diego, California; Buffalo, New York; Schenectady, New York; Dayton, Ohio; Sheboygen, Wisconsin; South Bend, Indiana;

Milwaukee, Wisconsin; New Orleans, Louisiana; Houston, Texas; Miami, Florida; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.²⁸

Most of the camps had modest facilities with at least one permanent building which was used as a meeting place for Bund members on weekends, as well as for youth quarters in the summer. The above un-named sites usually had no permanent facilities. The two largest and most important camps were operated through subsidiary organizations: Camp Siegfried, located at Yaphank, Long Island, which was operated by the German-American Settlement League; and the German-American Auxiliary held the title to Camp Nordland at Andover, New Jersey. Fritz Kuhn headed both organizations. Each of these two camps had a restaurant, a meeting hall, parade and sports grounds, streets named after Nazi leaders, swimming facilities, bungalows often with Swastikas embedded in the masonry, and tents or cabins for youths attending summer camps.²⁹

The Bund advertised Camps Siegfried and Nordland as retreats where German-Americans would meet to find fellowship among "like-minded people," participate in health-restoring recreation, and enjoy good food and beverage at nominal prices. Admission to the camp grounds was ten cents; meals cost thirty-five cents and up; overnight accommodations were seventy-five cents. In general, the Bund leadership wrote in mystical terms about the rejuvenating experience people would gain by removing themselves from everyday political and economic insecurities to the camps.³⁰

Though the camps were described as a "life giving source

of new energies" for German-Americans, the Bund leadership also thought of the camps in more concrete terms: they were designated as pieces of German soil in America where the inculcation of National Socialism into German-Americans was the primary goal. All German-Americans must help develop the camps into model German settlements which would breathe the spirit of the new Germany and stand as centers of German-American politics.³¹

Though the camps were intended for the use of all Bund members, special attention was given to the youth. In the summer of 1937 an advertisement appeared in the Deutscher Weckruf announcing the July 5th re-opening of Camps Siegfried and Nordland. Boys and girls of "German parentage" eight years old and up were invited to attend, but if they were not members of the Youth Division they were obligated to join. The weekly rate was \$5.00, a rate kept "as low as possible to enable the poorer children as well to enjoy a camp stay while given food and lodging." The children were to be divided into "four absolutely independent self-governing camps": boys' camp for boys fourteen years old and up; boys' camp for boys ranging in age from eight to fourteen years; girls' camp for girls fourteen years old; girls' camp for girls between eight and fourteen years.³²

The typical day at camp was described in various Deutscher Weckruf stories. The bugle call awoke the children at 6:30 A.M. The teaching of German language, principles of National Socialism, along with swimming, hiking and physical exercises occupied most of the day. Before each meal, youth

groups gathered around the camp flagpole to salute the Bund and American flags. At night they formed circles around campfires to listen to short wave broadcasts from Germany, sing Hitler youth songs and relate the life stories of Nazi leaders.³³ Congressman Dickstein announced that he had definite proof that the boys and girls were trained according to Nazi principles and that they appeared regularly in Nazi uniforms.³⁴ Said Dickstein: "ask one of these boys where they were born and they will tell you: 'I was born in America, but I'm a German and I take orders from the Fuehrer.'"³⁵

Rallies and Conventions

One of the most effective ways the Bund had for demonstrating Kampfendes Deutschtum was the mass rally, usually held in New York City. On the national level, an average of three to four rallies a week were held in 1937, with attendance varying between fifty and five thousand people. These rallies were usually noisy, belligerent and joyous affairs. They included marching bands, fascist salutes, swastikas, stamping feet, rousing applause, thunderous "Sieg Heils" and the singing of Nazi songs. Speakers harangued their audiences about Jews and communists, anti-Nazi critics and the need for a united front to save Germandom and America.³⁶

Every year a national convention was held to bring the members of the Bund together, review policy, prepare new programs and elect a national leader. As the conventions drew near, local units were urged to hold a special meeting to elect delegates. One delegate per fifty members was to be

sent, with the local unit to bear the cost of travel. The convention of 1938 was typical, and it came at a time when the Bund had reached its peak in membership. The sessions were held at the New York Turnhall and at Camp Nordland. At the meetings various resolutions were adopted that are indicative of Bund ideology. Kuhn announced that a nine-point program was to be adopted. The Bund, he said, stands for the Constitution, the flag, and the lofty ideals of the United States "first and foremost." The Bund, according to the Bundesfuehrer, demanded "a socially just, white, gentile-ruled United States and gentile-controlled American labor unions free of Jewish/Moscow-directed domination." The organization demanded that no Jews should hold "positions of importance" in government, national defense forces and educational institutions, and would seek a "thorough cleaning of our most important medium of propaganda and entertainment, the Hollywood film industry." In addition, the program called for severance of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, the outlawing of the Communist Party in the United States, the prosecution of all known Communists "for high treason."³⁷

At the final convention session a resolution was adopted to petition Congress to take action against "an increase of Jewish control over American courts," charging that discrimination against Christians in favor of Jews had been exercised in the courts. The resolution said:

In order to return to the principles which animated the framers of our Constitution, none but true white Gentile Americans, incorruptible, free from allegiance to any international organizations, or nation,

should be elected as public officials. This particularly applies to Federal and state judges...and even men and women chosen for jury duty.

No hardships from such a measure will accrue the Jewish population of the United States, which exceeds 5,000,000, as Jewry has established in America an international government of its own, with its "Beth Dins," or courts of law, affording sufficient scope to Jewish lawyers and judges of Asiatic blood and psychology, for the exercise of the legal profession among their own people....

In order to eliminate such corruption, intimidation, and persecution, and most especially to maintain the public peace, we, the undersigned, do respectfully petition the Congress of the United States that there be enacted an amendment to the Constitution that none but white gentiles be elected or appointed to the municipal, state or Federal judiciary, or to any legislative office.³⁸

Press releases following the convention pointed to the Bund's aims for the coming year: "Ours will be the victory when our proud battle cry sounds offensively and defensively over the land: 'Free America!'" Free America meant Americans free from Jewish guardianship, free from Jewish incitement, free from Jewish domination in all areas of public life. "Our distinct watchword is: 'We are an American organization and nothing else. As an American organization we took up the fight against the Jew in defense of America. Free America!'"³⁹

CHAPTER IV

"JEWS, JEWS EVERYWHERE"

The German-American Bund lived in its own world, a world in which enemies were seen lurking everywhere, a world in which conspiracies were being hatched and played out to the ultimate destruction of all that was good and right. From this strange and forbidding world the Bund brought with it visions of a vast Jewish/Bolshevik conspiracy.

Throughout the pages of the Deutscher Weckruf, one finds statements asserting that Communism was the primary target of the Bund. This attack was intended to combat Communism wherever it was to be found--from the Soviet Union, to an alleged Communist teacher in the New York City Public School system. As in Germany, the Bund's almost irrational drive to eliminate all traces of Communism masked a virulent anti-Semitism. The two themes--Communism and anti-Semitism--went hand in hand, and a fight against Jewish Bolshevism became the supreme battle of the German-American Bund, a struggle which seemed to become more vicious as the years passed.

The Bund seemed to thrive on the evil plot. The Spanish Civil War became a Bolshevik invasion which was only part of an international conspiracy. To carry out their plans, the Jewish Bolsheviks had set up a secret communications network which was necessary to carry out frightful activities of

espionage, munitions manufacturing, narcotic smuggling and interference in international politics. A "sinister code" was taught to selected individuals which enabled them to wield enormous powers:

...the International Illuminati Net carries on a continuous world-wide grape vine of coded articles in the press....The code-carrying articles are readily recognized by the initiated but convey nothing to the average reader....So powerful...has this group become through this hidden means of communication that they challenge whole governments.¹

Special attention was given by the Bund editors to the great strides Hitler had made in eradicating the Jewish and Communist menace in Germany. Pages of the Deutscher Weckruf were filled with denunciations expressing an irrational loathing for Jews and what they had allegedly done to Germany, with a special effort made to exaggerate the prominence and influence of Jews in all areas of German life. Therefore, it was claimed that between 1918 and 1933 Jews dominated the government, monopolized the professions, controlled labor unions and subsidized the press and other agencies of public opinion formation. This Jewish influence explained for the Bund editors the cowardly foreign policies of the Weimar Republic as well as the corrupt public morals which had threatened to subvert the German folk culture and produced a degenerate art.²

For the Bund, the tragedy of post-World War I Germany could be explained by pointing to an alien race with an oriental ideology which had overrun the country and threatened

to destroy German culture. But, just when the Jews had almost enough to take over everything completely and a Communist revolution was imminent, a fighter--perhaps a messiah--arose from the masses. Hitler, in the nick of time, awakened the German people and mobilized their strength to cast out the alien overlords. He defeated Communism and relegated the Jews to a status appropriate to an inferior race.³

The Bund consistently claimed that it was an American organization out to protect Americans from the Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy. Consequently, the Bund magnified the Jewish-Communist peril in America to show that Jewish activities in the United States gave evidence of a world-wide plot. Bund editors argued that physical features alone proved that the Jews were involved in this plot:

It is easy to see who the real culprits are if one takes a close look at the faces of those who are leading the disturbance....They are all Jews.⁴

To accomplish their goal of complete dominance of American life, the Jews had gained control over all the important power centers of American society by means of a slow and subtle process of infiltration which had taken several decades to complete. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, America contained a homogeneous culture based on people of Nordic stock, but suddenly hordes of Jewish immigrants were admitted to the United States under all nationalistic labels. Once here, these Jews subverted and resisted the American heritage, undermined its Christian foundations, and gradually pushed their way into positions of

authority. The United States, the Bund warned, was "being ushered into the invisible Kingdom of Judah."⁵

In an attempt to illustrate Jewish dominance of American political life, the Bund editors made some charges which, unfortunately, were believed by people grasping for answers as to why life was so difficult in the 1930's. Thus, Bund readers were told that if one walked the streets of New York, the "Yiddish raging bluster of Jew, La Guardia" could be heard. In this case the word "Jew" was a racial epithet designating members of the Jewish community. In another sense, "Jew" became a typological epithet designating the enemy. Thus, the Bund leadership pointed out that over 15,000 Jews with visitors' permits were running through the streets and "taking the bread away from our citizens" because of "that Jew, Roosevelt." Thousands of Jews filled important positions in all areas of government and had connections with national and international crime syndicates. In New York City, especially, the Jews maintained their control over the political power structure by means of gangster rule. Every day, the Bund pointed out, the city newspapers were filled with horrible accounts of Jewish gang warfare, blackmail, suicides and murders.⁷

Because of Jewish control over mass media, the United States was engulfed in a sea of Communist propaganda. Jewish culture was being spread across the land by means of the Jewish-controlled motion picture industry. In a front-page article, entitled "Who's Who in Hollywood," the Deutscher Weckruf pointed out that there were no more than 250 stars who were "in the big money class" and of these a good pro-

portion were Jewish. A list was included in the article of actors and actresses who were Jews or married to Jews, giving the "real names" of some of America's most famous personalities: Jack Kubelsky, alias Jack Benny; Izzy Iskowitz, alias Eddie Cantor; Asa Yeleson, alias Al Jolson; Fannie Borach, alias Fannie Brice. Further, the article pointed out, the agency business was completely controlled by Jews and that it was impossible for a young woman to enter the motion picture industry except through one of the "Jew Motion Picture Agencies." Expressing the common theme of the Jew as pervert, the Bund pointed out that "it is sort of a 'first degree' /When a young woman wanted to get a job in the motion picture industry/ and from then on, her sex favour is her password."⁸ Another article in the same issue of the Deutscher Weckruf suggested that the producers, directors, writers and other technicians were all Jews and completely controlled the motion picture industry.⁹ And it was not only in the motion picture industry that Jews exerted their influence. The American entertainment world was, at least for the Bund, crowded with Jews whose jazz ballads and popular songs exemplified Marxian decadence and debased and corrupted the mind. Jewish writers produced propaganda literature which exploited morbid sex themes and aimed to undermine and destroy American patriotism.¹⁰

In the imagination of the Bund, the Jew turned up his nose at any type of manual labor and devoted his energies to winning important positions in the professions. In America, as in Germany, the Jews had succeeded in this task and had, thereby, demonstrated their characteristic trait: an insatiable

lust for power accompanied by a demand for total subjection from all who stood in their way. The inherited distaste for manual labor did not, however, prevent the Jews from forcing their will and whims on the labor unions. Indeed, the Jews and their captives, like William Green of the American Federation of Labor, held American working people in a state of bondage completely subservient to the wishes of the Red International.¹¹

The pages of the Deutscher Weckruf were full of examples of how the Jews had ignored existing laws and moral codes. Of course, said the paper, the Bund itself harbored no anti-Semitic feelings, but that it was that organization's duty to direct attention to the "haughty showiness" of Jews and their "brazen attempt to gain control of American institutions." Thus, Jews took advantage of the free schools to hold Communist meetings in school buildings. They indoctrinated school children with "insidious propaganda." Hundreds of Jewish business people in New York City defied New York State Sunday closing laws. Jews tried to rewrite American history by demanding that Haym Solomon be elevated to the status of a national hero. In addition, the Jews claimed that the American Constitution had Hebrew origins, but everyone knew that it actually rested on German foundations.¹²

What amazed the Bund was that Jews in America complained about "oppressed Jews." After all, said the Bund editors, Jewish encroachment into the life and ideals of American society could easily explain why Jews met with hostility:

culture-destroying Bolshevism." The organization's members were called upon to resist the enemy by a show of unity, for there were 25 million German-Americans to oppose only four million Jews. The Jews, in spite of their small numbers, were able to fill important positions because of their superior coordination and effort. But now was the time for German-Americans to act, for a new German unity under the direction of the Bund leadership could reverse this trend in time to prevent the entire nation from being run by a Jew. The Bund urged its membership to create "Christian committees" for the purpose of restricting the "poisonous influence" of Jews in American public schools. These committees would demand the right to examine all materials used in the schools and to place patriotic and moral books in school libraries.¹⁵

The Bund did not feel that it was alone in its fight against the threat of Bolshevism. There was admiration expressed for any "patriotic group" willing to join in the fight. Consequently, the Bund leadership requested the organization's members to show respect for and give publicity to other like-minded organizations. Literature was displayed at Bund meetings and advertised in the Deutscher Weckruf. The advertisements were for such publications as Pelley's Weekly, The American Gentile, Nation and Race, The Awakener, The Vigilante, The Revealer, and The Defender. Henry Ford's The Dearborn Independent, which wrote "revealing stories about the Jews" received a special Bund blessing. It was the Bund's feeling that such literature represented an honest reaction to

Jewish control over the American media and proved that, at last, American Aryans were awakening to the ever-present threat of the Jewish conspiracy.¹⁶

As the American public grew increasingly aware of the activities of these anti-Semitic groups there was a growing desire to move against them. When one of these organizations received what the Bund felt was an unjust criticism or faced legal difficulties, the organization rallied to support the oppressed anti-Semite. On June 11, 1936, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York, acting as Chief Magistrate, filed suit against Robert Edward Edmondson, Director of the Edmondson Economic Service,¹⁷ for libel against the Jewish people. The indictments accused him of criminal libels on the Jewish religion, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, and Miss Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor. The Bund and the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda came to Edmondson's defense. An appeal was published in Welt-Dienst, a German newspaper subsidized by the German Ministry of Propaganda, to Germans in the Third Reich to help finance the defense of Mr. Edmondson.¹⁸ The German-American Bund gave the Edmondson indictment front page coverage in the Deutscher Weckruf, held Edmondson defense rallies and published pleas of support from Edmondson's wife. In the eyes of the Bund, Edmondson had become a "martyr of freedom against Jewish tyranny."¹⁹

The national political campaign in 1936 afforded the Bund a golden opportunity to lash out against what it saw to be Jewish domination of American political life. Bund articles suggested that the Jews of America really did not want to see

Franklin Roosevelt elected, but would work for his re-election with the hope that they would be given another four years to promote the future candidacy of a fellow Jew, Governor Lehman of New York. Other articles concentrated on F.D.R.'s alleged anti-German attitude, asserting that an anti-German bias was an inherent feature of the Democratic Party.²⁰

In the fall of 1936 the Bund launched one of its most vicious anti-Semitic campaigns, a campaign that, at times, became no more than obscene ravings. Some of the Bund charges were so ridiculous as to defy logic: since Communists agitated the race question, a Roosevelt victory would mean that every Negro male would have a white woman and America would soon become a Black republic with a Negro president.²¹ The Bund greatly exaggerated the strength of the American Communist Party and insisted that it had grown tremendously under the Roosevelt Administration. Along with their allies in the American labor movement, the Communists actively campaigned for Roosevelt because they knew that under his administration a Communist take-over of America would not be stopped.

The personal attacks against Roosevelt in the pages of the Deutscher Weckruf contained the charge that his New Deal policies had brought America to the point of revolution. In four years Roosevelt had done nothing of a positive nature to alleviate revolutionary discontent. Occasionally the Bund would suggest the makings of a plot and charged that Roosevelt's own background had prevented him from dealing effectively with the depression while the Communists duped him into promoting catastrophic policies. F.D.R. cared little

for the poor, but rather was a fanatical rich man who had never known hunger or worked in his life. How could such a man, the Bund asked, be sensitive to the needs of the needy?

In its hate campaign the Bund drew attention to the many Jews who supported Roosevelt's bid for re-election. This apparently offered proof of Roosevelt's ties with powerful American Jews. These ties were evident in the famous "Brain Trust," a group of Jews who engaged in sinister plotting. By such plotting, the American government had become a Jewish dictatorship, with the Star of David used as the symbol of the Roosevelt Administration. In one issue of the Deutscher Weckruf, the Bund diagrammed the Roosevelt Administration by placing names of Roosevelt's Jewish or alleged Jewish advisors in each section of the six-pointed star. Felix Frankfurter was the "Dictator of the New Deal." He was described as very cleverly avoiding any responsible position and was satisfied "to place his former pupils, who are mostly Jews, in important positions." His appointees became a small army ready to serve him. Louis Brandeis was "the father of the New Deal." Bernard Baruch, or "Barney," was "the American Rathenau who held the post of unofficial president." He exercised vast power by his personal control of the stock exchange. The Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, was "an international banker," in whose hands rested the future of the dollar. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, a "half-Jewess," supported Communist-inspired strikes of the entire American labor movement. Clearly, then, the New Deal was "a Jew Deal" and their only hope was that the American people

would awaken to the danger in time.²²

For members of the Bund the logical question became, if Roosevelt is the enemy of German-Americans, who should we vote for? Consequently, the October 15, 1936, issue of the Deutscher Weckruf contained a statement by Fritz Kuhn announcing that the German-American Bund supported Alf Landon in his bid for the Presidency. For the Bund leadership, Kuhn's endorsement meant that, for the first time in American history, the entire German-American community would be voting as a solid, united bloc for a presidential candidate. Of course, making such a statement and having it come true are not the same thing. Consequently, the Bund conducted an active drive to swing the German-American vote to Landon. On October 29, 1936, the Bund published a complete list of the national, state, and local candidates it endorsed and called on all loyal German-Americans to vote for those candidates. In a Bund Command, Kuhn explained why the Bund favored Landon. His explanation was a strange one, in that it was a mixture of liberalism and right-wing bigotry. He implied that the election of Landon would not overturn the social and political accomplishments of the New Deal because victory would be by such a small margin that the opposition would possess enough strength to prevent a major revision. The Bund stated its reasons for favoring Mr. Landon:

There are two reasons which led us to favor election of Landon. One, with a Landon victory a sharper fight against Communism...might be expected. It can be counted on, and Landon has stated such in his speeches, that the Russian

influence will be fought. Second, the election of Landon is recommended from a German standpoint because it can absolutely be assumed that under his administration more favorable commercial relations with Germany would be effected.²³

In spite of the Bund's best efforts, Roosevelt won a resounding victory in November of 1936. The Bund immediately cried foul, claiming that Roosevelt had the largest campaign fund in American history and had given \$5 billion to the people as a bribe. His recognition of Russia had gained him the support of millions of radicals. The real cause of Landon's defeat, however, was due to the fact that millions of Republicans had bowed to the merciless pressure of the American-Jewish community.²⁴

Already convinced of Roosevelt's unworthiness as President, the Bund predicted utter destruction of the American system during Roosevelt's second term. The government would be taken out of the hands of the people. The only recourse was for direct steps to be taken to save the country which could be done by purging America of undesirable elements. But, the Bund saw little chance for this, claiming that Roosevelt's victory was a mandate for dictatorship and that Communist plans for America were closer to fulfillment than most Americans realized. A brief look at the American scene would convince anyone that this was true: rebellious dockworkers were paralyzing American trade. Communist leaders were seen carrying weapons. The election itself had been fought along class lines, and the workers exalted by the Roosevelt victory could be expected to make harsher demands of their employers.

As the Bund leaders looked at America of 1936, there was little for them to be happy about. But they did not despair, for there was much to be done. The victory of Roosevelt and his "Jew Deal" became the basis for a battle cry--a cry calling the members of the German-American Bund to war against the "vermin" who had gained control of American life. The battle would be rough, but it could be won.

CHAPTER V

"WE WILL WIN EVERY FIGHT"

The year 1937 was an important one for the Bund, for it gave the organization the opportunity to demonstrate that it was Kampfendes Deutschtum, Fighting Germandom. The battles beginning that year were the result of a series of attacks and investigations by private, state and federal agencies. In 1937 anti-Nazi feelings began to grow on the part of the American people. Many anti-Nazi organizations already existed, but in that year a number of organizations in the American labor, religious, intellectual and business communities issued anti-Nazi declarations. Congressmen, such as Samuel Dickstein, and other government officials spoke of the menace of the Third Reich. The Bund viewed any attack on Germany or Hitler as an attack on all German-Americans, and the organization began to strike back.

One of the first battles fought by the Bund was with American labor. Labor leaders such as William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis of the Congress of Industrial Organizations were consistently hostile toward National Socialism and continually denounced Hitler's government. The Bund singled out both Green and Lewis as objects of attack. Both men had become, the Bund asserted, puppets of the Jews. Their concern, said the Bund, for oppressed

laborers in Germany lacked sincerity and displayed ignorance because workers under National Socialism enjoyed good wages, steady employment, and time to pursue creative leisure-time activities. Invariably the Bund saw in American labor policies a plot to Sovietize America. Thus, sit-down strikes conducted by Michigan auto workers in 1937 constituted a struggle between Moscow agents and law-abiding authorities. American workers, said the Bund, had been duped by John L. Lewis and his Jewish-Communist friends into engaging in such acts of revolt. The C.I.O. stood as a gigantic organized fraud which not only claimed victories when strikes failed and stole funds from the membership, but also taught workers subversive doctrines and tactics. The Bund expressed alarm at the hands-off policy adopted by government officials. In the eyes of the Bund, President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins and Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan had expressed support for the striking workers against General Motors, the force representing law and order. The Bund leaders warned that unless the government moved quickly to restore order, control of the situation would be lost and a Communist dictatorship would replace the government of the United States.¹

American newspapers also came under attack by the Bund. The American press was becoming increasingly more critical of Hitler and Nazi Germany. The Bund, of course, did not like this trend and charged that American newspapers were falsifying news and permitting anti-German prejudice to penetrate their columns. The Bund accused the press of being misinformed and deliberately provocative by making tiny flaws or

innocent gestures appear ridiculous and malicious. Attacks were directed especially against specific newspapers. The New York Telegram printed "filth and decaying word garbage." It was a "hate sheet masquerading as a newspaper," and used every trick to sell newspapers. The New York Herald Tribune published hate stories about Germany and glowing accounts of events in Communist Russia. The New York Times was a British newspaper which championed Russian interests and interpreted events in Europe through the eyes of British left-wing journalists. Westbrook Pegler of the New York World Telegram was, to the Bund editors, "petty" or a "tittlebat titmouse" who, in moments of hysteria did "dirty work" for the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League. Dorothy Thompson of the New York Herald Tribune was accused of having an "anti-Nazi obsession." These and other American journalists, the Bund maintained, poisoned American minds by writing "news accounts which reeked with Germano-phobic hatred."²

As various government officials, whether local, state or national, began actively to criticize Hitler or Nazi Germany, the Bund took the offensive. On March 3, 1937, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York City spoke before the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. He suggested that a bust of Hitler would be appropriate in the chamber of horrors at the coming New York World's Fair.³ The Bund had on several occasions expressed a dislike for the Mayor because of his nationality and sympathy for the movement to boycott German goods.⁴ LaGuardia's statement of March 3 produced an immediate response from the Bund leadership. Kuhn sent telegrams protesting the

Mayor's statement to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull and Mayor LaGuardia. In New York City the Bund staged mass rallies at which speakers expressed strong anti-LaGuardia views. He was labeled a "ghetto born municipal executive," a "half Jewish lout" who showed his lowly origins by insulting a great leader of a nation that enjoyed peaceful relations with the United States. In the pages of the Deutscher Weckruf, the Bund editors continued the attack. LaGuardia was characterized as a parasite, something subhuman, a representative of a racially inferior people. The Bund suggested that the Talmud rather than a bust of Hitler should be displayed in a chamber of horrors as a symbol of the "awful and fearful machinations of the international Jewish conspiracy."

Secretary of State Hull sent a telegram to the German government expressing his regrets for LaGuardia's statement. At the same time, he stated that the American government might regret the statements of local officials, but it could not interfere in municipal affairs and would do nothing to infringe on the rights of free speech.⁵ On March 8 the Bund published a resolution condemning LaGuardia for creating "racial animosities," embarrassing the United States by shamefully insulting Hitler, and causing losses of millions of dollars to Americans by supporting an illegal boycott of German goods. The resolution concluded that such un-American activities helped increase anti-Semitic sentiment among the people of New York.⁶

One of the first organizations which succeeded in bringing Fritz Kuhn and the Bund to court was the German-American

League for Culture. The stated purpose of the League was to "preserve the cultural achievements of German art, science, music and literature; to support all efforts to re-establish freedom and culture to the German people; to combat subversive Nazi propaganda in the United States."⁷ The League's first legal action against the Bund was a charge made by Julius Hochfelder, the League's legal counsel, that the Bund violated New York State law which required membership organizations engaged in business to file statements of purpose with the New York Secretary of State. Since the Bund published a newspaper which could be considered a business, Hochfelder charged that it had not filed the required declaration of purpose. As the stated leader of the organization, Kuhn was haled into court. Kuhn accepted the summons presented to him, but denied that his organization had any connection with Germany, claimed that its essential purpose was to fight Communism in America and insisted that the Bund and its paper was on a sound legal footing. After six postponements the case against Kuhn was dismissed. The judge argued that the Bundesfuehrer's name appeared in the paper to indicate that he held the responsibility for its entire content. This offered proof that the Deutscher Weckruf was not being sold under false pretenses.⁸

Hochfelder and his German American League for Culture did not give up. In March, 1937, Hochfelder sought to have Kuhn's citizenship revoked on the ground that his naturalization was fraudulent in that he took the oath of allegiance in December, 1934, with "a mental reservation," and had since been serving the German Government. The case went to court

and was dismissed with the argument that only the government and not a private citizen could contest the citizenship of an individual.⁹

In January, 1937, Representative Samuel Dickstein spoke before the House and protested against the un-American activities of the Bund and other pro-Nazi organizations. He said to the House: "It seems we are just sitting back and, in the terms of the street, taking it on the chin."¹⁰ He called for the appointment of a committee to investigate such activity. House Resolution 88 was introduced by the Congressman, calling for "a well conducted investigation [which] will expose all those nefarious groups and throw the searchlight on all subversive groups."¹¹ Dickstein claimed that the Bund had 100,000 members, all in uniform, directed and dictated to by a foreign government.¹²

As a Russian Jew who had immigrated to the United States around the turn of the century, Dickstein's religion and former nationality seemingly offered to the Bund a concrete example of an international Jewish-Communist conspiracy. Perhaps the Bund had come to believe its own propaganda concerning the Jews and saw Dickstein, the Jew, as a real enemy. One senses in the Bund's attacks on Dickstein a genuine fear of the now-real Jewish enemy. The Bund editors pictured the Congressman as a mentally deranged individual, suffering from a Nazi persecution complex, or "Hitleritis." This meant that he allegedly had hallucinations or visions or imagined Nazi conspiracies which had no existence in reality.¹³

On February 11, 1937, the Deutscher Weckruf published an

exchange of letters that had been written concerning the attempt to prevent the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League from using special stamps on letters.¹⁴ In his letter to Kuhn, Dickstein reminded the Bundesfuehrer that in 1933 both Roosevelt and Hitler took office. Both found their respective countries suffering from unemployment, lack of business activities and a general depression. Hitler saw fit to suppress freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of public assembly and the right of the German people to govern themselves. Roosevelt, on the other hand, stated in his inaugural address that "democratic government has the innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once considered inevitable." The President, said Dickstein, did not find it necessary to do away with the process of democratic government in order to achieve stability at home and respect abroad. In his reply, Kuhn referred to Dickstein as a Russian Jew who "naturally has the interests of Communistic Russia at heart." The editorial accompanying the letters called Dickstein the "commissary-sergeant of the Boycott Army and...the poll-parrot of the confederated victims of the Hitleritis epidemic" and asserted that the "ghetto Congressman suffered from constipation of ideas."¹⁵

In March, 1937, Dickstein again called upon the House to create an investigative Committee. He told the House Rules Committee that 100 foreign spies were at work in the United States seeking to "forment [sic] a Fascist plot." He charged that Fritz Kuhn was the leader of a well-organized Nazi movement and that he had a "20 million fund at his disposal."

Dickstein displayed pictures of a secret meeting which he said was held in a hall in New York and at which uniformed men gave the Nazi salute. In addition, said the Congressman, the Bund had purchased Camp Upton on Long Island and would have one million people trained there before the end of the year.¹⁶

Kuhn responded to Dickstein's charges by denying them and calling for a showdown. He sent a telegram to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, in which he demanded that Congress investigate the goals of the Bund. Such an investigation, said Kuhn, would clear the air and end Dickstein's nonsensical charges. As always, the Bund saw a Jewish-Communist conspiracy behind Dickstein's attacks. The Bund claimed that working together, Dickstein, Hochfelder and other anti-Nazis tried to hide the Communist menace to America by attacking the Bund and Germany. The Bund urged Dickstein either to resign his position as Congressman and permit a "true American to represent the people, or break with the conspiracy, recognize the Communist danger and join forces with American patriotic organizations like the Bund to struggle against the Red Front.¹⁷

On April 8, 1937, Dickstein's proposal for the creation of a new House Un-American Activities Committee came up for debate. Opponents of the measure argued that the creation of such a committee would agitate anti-German feelings, threaten basic American freedoms, was in reality useless and might be only a reflection of the sponsor's desire to gain public attention. After a bitter debate, Dickstein's resolution was voted down by a large margin.¹⁸ As would be expected, the Bund looked upon this as a great victory, insisting that it

represented a victory over a clique of international agitators. Kuhn told the members of the Bund that it showed "that our work is not in vain," and again called for solidarity and determination in the fight to elevate the German-American community out of its second-class citizenship status.¹⁹

Representative Dickstein did not give up in his attempts to convince Congress that the Bund was indeed a real threat to the United States. The Congressman employed, at his own expense, a team of investigators that became known as the "Dickstein Bureau of Investigation." This "bureau" was headed by Richard Rollins, a thirty-four year old graduate of Syracuse University.²⁰ Also aiding in the investigation was the "Bureau of Investigation," the investigative branch of the Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress. Rollins' men, as well as the members of the AJC Bureau of Investigation, were given code names which appeared on all reports to Dickstein. For example, Sidney Ehrlich was "X-34," while Selma Schoen was "N-63."²¹ It was the job of the investigators to "infiltrate" the local Bund units and send reports of meetings and activities to Dickstein's office. Thus, the files of Dickstein include many "confidential reports" of unit meetings. An example is a report of a meeting of the Brooklyn unit of the Bund which was held on March 24, 1938, and at which 750 people were in attendance.

The speaker at this meeting was a Mrs. Murdock. She greeted her German-American audience as "my fellow Americans," and stated that she was glad that some group had awakened to the fact that it was necessary to "rid this nation of Communists."

She reported that she had heard a Russian Jewish Communist denouncing the American form of government: "He had a filthy, slopping American flag, smeared with dirt and it was probably stepped on." Mrs. Murdock had travelled to Germany the previous year and was surprised at the very fine conditions existing there. She said she had heard only of starvation and want, but under Hitler's regime "there is a great deal of constructive work being done. And, Germany is producing as much ammunition as any other nation." Mrs. Murdock closed her report with a "startling revelation:"

Although it has never been told before, after the war France stationed colored troops in Germany. As a result of this, there are now black and tan children in some sections of the country. Many young girls have taken their lives rather than bear children. When Hitler came into power he had such people sterilized. Nonetheless, it will require forty or fifty years to eliminate such beings.²²

In June, 1937, Representative Martin Dies of Texas introduced a resolution calling for the investigation of subversive activities. In support of this measure, Dickstein introduced into the Congressional Record several lists of alleged spies employed by the Third Reich and operating in the United States. Included on the list were Fritz Kuhn and other Bundists.²³ The Congressman also attacked the Bund camps as secret Nazi centers where foreign agents trained to overthrow the American government. Dickstein suggested that it was quite a coincidence that Camp Nordland was located close to the Marine barracks, the Hercules Ammunition Works, and the Atlas Powder Manufacturing Co.²⁴ In the Deutscher Weckruf, Fritz Kuhn issued the usual denials: the Bund fought against Communism,

stood as an American patriotic organization composed of American citizens and had no connection with the German government. The Bund camps were not Nazi training centers, but picnic and recreational areas.²⁵

In August, 1937, Kuhn mobilized the Bund and launched a biting and comprehensive attack on Congressman Dickstein. A Command was issued which informed local leaders that the New York Representative's insulting remarks directed against the organization had forced the Bund to take the offensive against him. National headquarters prepared to send letters to high government officials informing them of the organization's loyalty to America. The unit leaders were to perform the same task on the local level by writing to various state legislators, mayors, local officials; state, county and city judges; newspapers; and important men in the community. Kuhn sent a telegram to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John A. Bankhead, expressing indignation at Dickstein's statements and welcoming a federal investigation of the Bund. Kuhn also directed an open letter to Congress which questioned Dickstein's sanity and categorically denied the Representative's charges against the Bund. A special "fighting fund" was created to finance the costs of the campaign against Dickstein. All members and sympathizers were invited to send contributions to national headquarters, with each donor having his name engraved on a special plaque.²⁶

On August 12, 1937, the Deutscher Weckruf bore the headline, "Dickstein: the Imbecile Fabricator of Phantasms" /Sic/! The article complained that for four years "the systematic

endeavor of this Jew in Congress has been to shower the public with lies against the German government as well as against the now American German Bund."²⁷ On August 10, 1937, Kuhn sent a printed open letter to members of Congress and other prominent public officials:

I take this means as the only way left open to me to denounce each and every one of the charges of this man Dickstein as barefaced lies, invented for the purpose of misleading American public opinion....I charge Dickstein, an immigrant from Russia of Jewish stock, with fomenting un-American activities as the spokesman in Congress for the Untermeyer-Rabbi Wise Boycott Racket, which has practically destroyed the opportunity of American planters and farmers to sell their products to Germany....

I here make the categorical statement that all camps of the German American Bund are for the recreation of the children of German American parents and their elders and are absolutely without ulterior political significance; that the alleged military drills consist of exercises for bodily development of the younger people; that the national flag of Germany--the swastika-- is never flown without the Stars and Stripes; that the American anthem is played on all large public occasions and that where uniforms are worn, they simply designate persons in authority or those who render service in answering questions, keeping order, etc., in gatherings numbering thousands of men, women and children.²⁸

In March, 1937, Bund local units in New York were sent handbills announcing:

Come and hear our answer to Dickstein and the Jewish rabble rousers on Tuesday, March 30, 1937, at the New York Turnhall.²⁹

A constant complaint of Dickstein's had been the use to which the Bund camps had been put. Throughout the summer and fall of 1937, thousands of people were attracted to Camps

Siegfried and Nordland. An increasing number of organizations and individuals began to echo Dickstein's warnings. Occasionally the complaints were trivial: visitors to the camps walked about in scanty attire; they created traffic jams in the local communities or stole fruit and flowers from the farms. By and large, however, the protests reflected genuine concerns and a desire to rid the country of what began to be seen as a growing menace. In mid-July, 1937, before Camp Nordland was to open officially for the summer, the directors of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League sent a telegram to United States Attorney General Cummins, as well as various Congressmen, asking for an immediate investigation and the closing of the camps.³⁰ Opposition to the camps mounted after reports of the Nordland opening on July 18 appeared in the press. Pictures were published which showed the uniformed O.D. marching through the swastika-decorated camp, with spectators giving the Nazi salute.³¹ On July 21, Representative William M. Citron asked the F.B.I. to "investigate at once" the so-called "Nazi military training camps."³² Commanders of local New Jersey units of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars called for the immediate dissolution of the Bund. They also demanded that Congress determine the source of funds and objectives of the Bund. Other veteran groups sent protests to President Roosevelt condemning the camps' activities, especially the practice of displaying the swastika.³³

The Bund responded to the increasing criticism by threatening to sell the camps to Negroes, while Kuhn again invited an investigation, claiming that the Bund had nothing to hide

and that newspapers gave false reports which only served to stir up hatred against German-Americans.³⁴

Almost as if in response to Kuhn's call for an investigation of the Bund, Attorney General Cummings announced on August 18, 1937, that he had asked the F.B.I. to investigate Nazi military training camps throughout the nation to see if they violated any federal laws.³⁵ On September 10, J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the F.B.I., indicated that that organization expected to make an extended report on the "Nazi matter."³⁶ Kuhn responded to the investigations with a statement welcoming the action, but again raised the cry of discrimination against German-American citizens. While Kuhn publicly assumed a boastful stance, he sent careful instruction to local leaders regarding the correct response to official investigators. He said a statement explaining the objectives of the Bund had been sent to the Attorney General and instructed unit leaders to inform the membership that only the leadership could issue statements to the press. Since the Secret Service agents had been instructed to gather information by listening to Bundists, members were told that they must not hold irresponsible conversations with strangers. The Bundesfuehrer also provided standard answers regarding subsidiary organizations: the O.D. was not an armed military group but fulfilled two purposes. It preserved order at meetings by guarding against Communist attacks, and it stood ready in the event of an emergency to place itself at the disposal of the government. The camps were not military training centers, but places of recreation where young people could leave the city streets to enjoy

sports activities and where older people could assemble to picnic and share common views.³⁷

The opposition to the Bund did not cease with the news that the Justice Department was going to investigate the organization. On September 9, 1937, the Chicago Daily News published an article in which it claimed that the Bund was planning to seize control of the government "when the Communist revolution starts." The paper said its information came from three reporters and investigators who worked for many months to learn the secret of the Bund.³⁸ A convention of New Jersey war veterans adopted a resolution condemning the Bund camps as "hotbeds of Nazi propaganda," and opposing the establishment of societies whose main allegiance went to a foreign government. Dickstein continued his attacks in Congress by demanding an investigation and published in the Congressional Record a list of anti-Semitic pamphlets and books which apparently were intended to stir up German-Americans. At the New York convention of the Jewish War Veterans, speakers from the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League urged that all American veteran and religious organizations join together to press for legislation outlawing the Bund. The convention closed with the adoption of a resolution calling for support for the boycott and legislation to control foreign propaganda.³⁹

In November, 1937, Judge J. Wallace Leyden of Hackensack, New Jersey, told a group of German-Americans in a court of naturalization that as far as he was concerned, membership

in the Bund was sufficient grounds for denying citizenship.⁴⁰ Fritz Kuhn took Leyden's remarks very seriously and published an open letter to the judge in which Kuhn charged Leyden with discriminating against Germans. He insisted that the Bund had a duty to defend everything German against defamation. He held that the Bund formed part of a great American patriotic movement which sought to preserve a clean, independent United states arrayed against Communism, boycott rackets and all other subversive internationalism. Kuhn demanded that the Federal Government support him in an effort to clear the Bund's good name from the insulting charges of Judge Leyden. A few days after Leyden's statement, the Bund held a rally at Hackensack, New Jersey. James Wheeler-Hill, National Bund Secretary, raged against the "Kosher Press." This un-American and hostile press spread anti-German propaganda and poisoned the minds of decent American citizens like Judge Leyden.⁴¹

The criticisms of concerned government officials, as well as private officials, did not seem to have the desired effect, at least not as far as the Bund was concerned. In 1938, the organization reached the height of its power and influence. Recruitment drives brought in new members; the number of local units increased; and the American press gave wide coverage to Bund activities.

However, all was not well, for both German and American authorities had become concerned, and in 1938 opposition to the Bund intensified. Fighting and rioting often accompanied the organization's activities. Hitler's moves in Europe further directed anger of anti-Nazi organizations toward the

Bund and its subsidiary organizations. These criticisms, however, did not seem to deter the Bund, for the organization's arrogant bigotry seemed to become more and more blustering. Bundists looked to the future and continued to believe that they were passing through a time of testing. If they persevered, a final victory would be theirs.

In January, 1938, the Justice Department issued a one-thousand page report which contained the results of the F.B.I. investigation of the Bund. The agents, the report said, found no violations of Federal laws and that no evidence was uncovered to warrant criminal action. J. Edgar Hoover said that "departments" of the Bund were found throughout the country, but that members apparently confined their activities largely to parading in gray and black uniforms displaying the swastika and use of the Nazi salute.⁴² Congressman Dickstein, at whose urgings the investigation was begun, was not pleased with the report issued by the Justice Department. He claimed that his own investigations had compiled "voluminous reports showing the treacherous inner workings of the Nazis here and should warrant Congress to vote the power of subpoena to my committee [The Immigration Committee] and to G-men."⁴³

The Bund gloated over the F.B.I. report and regarded it as a turning point in the history of their organization. Now the American people would know that the Bund was not a subversive society, and if Dickstein and all his "sons of Zion" raised the cry of Nazi again they would be laughed into political obscurity.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that, apparently, the Justice Department's mentioning of the swastika carried by

Bund members made the Bund leadership uncomfortable. Consequently, Kuhn announced to local leaders that a new Bund flag was available and could be obtained from national headquarters for the price of \$10.00. This new flag emphasized the letters "A.V.", signifying Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund, and had a swastika placed in an inconspicuous position. It would replace the flag of Germany and would be carried by the O.D. in all marches, in halls and on the streets. The swastika, however, would still be used along with the American flag to decorate halls and camps.⁴⁵

Discouraged by the F.B.I. report, loud shouts and emotional oratory increasingly characterized anti-Nazi activity, and occasionally violent incidents occurred. Labor organizations of Reading, Pennsylvania, warned that they would fight a Bund attempt to establish a camp in their area. A bomb exploded outside a building in Philadelphia where the local Bund unit held business sessions. American veteran groups in New Milford, New Jersey, threatened to use force and spill blood to evict Bundists from public meeting halls. A riot squad intervened to stop a fight between American Legion members and Bundists in Buffalo, New York.⁴⁶

These incidents were minor when viewed singly, but collectively they indicated a rising tide of American anti-Nazi sentiment. For a number of months, diplomatic circles in Washington and Berlin expressed a growing concern and anxiety over the activities of the Bund. William E. Dodd, the American Ambassador to Berlin, charged in Berlin that the Bund was a Nazi organization linked to German agencies. His

successor, Hugh Wilson, was more discreet and directed complaints to the German Foreign Ministry. Hans Dieckhoff, the German Ambassador in Washington, also viewed the Bund with concern and sent reports to Berlin stressing the damage caused to German-American relations by the "stupid and noisy activities of the Bund." He urged that all connections between the Bund and Reich agencies be cut and further suggested that the Foreign Office announce that all German nationals must withdraw from the Bund. Dieckhoff's reports resulted in an announcement by Berlin on March 1, 1938, prohibiting German nationals from membership in the German-American Bund and the Prospective Citizens League.⁴⁷

The Bund tried to minimize the importance of Berlin's decree by asserting that they took orders from no one. They claimed to welcome the decision because it simply offered more proof to critics that the Bund had no connections with the German government. Yet, the Bund leadership must have been concerned with Berlin's decree, for in March, 1938, Fritz Kuhn went to Germany to appeal the decision. In a conversation with Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler's adjutant, Kuhn claimed that the Berlin ruling would mean the end of the Bund. Wiedemann was unmoved, however, and told Kuhn that the decision was final. Hitler's adjutant also informed the Bundesfuehrer that his bumbling imitations of the Party in America had strained German-American relations.⁴⁸

The March first decree was, perhaps, a bad omen for the Bund, but Germany's actions in Europe and the resulting reactions created the most immediate danger for the organization.

Deeply disturbed by the German invasion of Austria, Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey suggested calling out the State Militia to close down the Bund camps. At Trenton, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, riots occurred when G. Wilhelm Kunze attempted to speak before Bund meetings. At each location hundreds of anti-Nazis, protesting Germany's actions, booed Kunze off the stage, forcing him to leave the halls by the side entrance under police guard. On April 3, 1938, a federation of German-American clubs met in New Jersey to plan ways to win the cooperation of veteran, civic and religious groups, in an effort to combat the Bund. A few days later, the Justice Department announced that it had asked the F.B.I. again to investigate the Bund. At Lindenhurst, Long Island, the American Legion Post and the Knights of Columbus passed resolutions condemning the German-American Bund for anti-Christian activities and requesting that action be taken to prevent Bund parades or the acquisition of land for a Long Island headquarters. On April 11, 1938, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League brought together representatives from twenty-three trade unions, as well as Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups, at a meeting at the Astor Hotel in New York City. The delegates voted to create a national movement to battle the "organized menace of Nazism in the United States," and sent out invitations to unions, churches and civic groups to attend an anti-Nazi convention in New York City on May 15.⁴⁹

During the spring of 1938, the Bund seemed to be able to out-do its opponents in its activities. On April 20, 1938, 3500 people gathered at the Yorkville Casino in New York City

to celebrate Hitler's forty-ninth birthday. Before the meeting, a large group of pickets gathered in front of the hall, while a group of American Legion members were able to get inside. As the first speaker praised the recent German seizure of Austria as "a birthday gift by Chancellor Hitler to Germany," a man rose in the audience and shouted: "Is this an American or German meeting?" As the audience began shouting, "Throw him out," fighting broke out in the hall between men of the O.D. and the American Legion members. The riot resulted in injury to seven men and roused indignant protests from anti-Nazi groups. Representative Dickstein and the German-American League for Culture demanded an investigation of the "Nazi element in America." The Bund blamed Dickstein and the Jews for the disturbance, claiming that Jewish hoodlums disguised as Legionnaires had attempted to break up a peaceful gathering.⁵⁰

While anti-Nazi groups were still steaming over the Yorkville Casino riot, another violent incident occurred. On April 22, 1938, four men walked into the office of Dr. Charles Weiss, editor of an anti-Nazi magazine called Uncle Sam. After refusing to kiss the Nazi flag, he was beaten into unconsciousness and swastikas were cut into his arm and back.⁵¹ The four men were never identified, but the anti-Nazis accused them of being Bund members. J. H. Steel, the Executive Secretary of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, issued a statement charging that the beating of Weiss was done by "Bund thugs," and that League members would apply for gun permits if the Federal Government did not take some sort of action against the Bund. The Bund responded by suggesting that the beating might have

been self-inflicted, since Weiss probably had a "martyr complex."⁵²

In April, 1938, Fritz Kuhn returned from Germany and issued a statement concerning the Weiss incident. He said:

We have yet to hear of a Nazi who would
permit a Jew to kiss the Swastika even
if he wanted to. Hail Aryan American
Nationalism!⁵³

This statement was part of a larger one that contained an interesting omission. The Bundesfuehrer made no reference to the organization's role in defending Germany (which was most likely due to the cool reception he had received in Berlin). Instead, his remarks were concerned with the Bund's American goals with an emphasis placed on race, tinged heavily with anti-Semitism.

There was, however, a slight change which distinguished the Bund's anti-Semitism of 1936 from that of 1938. In the earlier year the Bund's anti-Semitism had a sharp focus. It was used primarily to direct attention to the alleged causes of general problems in American society. In 1938, however, the Bund expressed the view that all of their troubles stemmed from the work of the Jews. The Jew had become the Bund's personal opponents and were subject to tirades that became more personal, biting and vulgar.⁵⁴

As the Bund intensified its attacks on Jews and anti-Nazis, critics of the organization likewise increased their attacks. Representative Dickstein spoke out against Kuhn's group over the radio, urging local communities to ban Bund gatherings. He indicated that he and his investigators would present "sensational revelations" to an investigating committee which he hoped Congress would soon create.⁵⁵ Representative

Hamilton Fish of New York introduced a bill in the House providing for measures to curb private armies, a euphemism for the O.D.

On May 5, 1938, six directors of the German-American Settlement League, operator of Camp Siegfried, were arrested on charges of violating the civil rights law of New York, which required oath-bound organizations to submit a membership roster to the Secretary of State. The six men were released on \$1000 bond each pending a jury trial. To the Bund leaders, this legal action was another example of "more Red-Jewish hate breeding." A Bund statement insisted that Bund members did not take an oath, and no one had any right to a membership list. In the mind of the Bund, this case was similar to many others: a Jew, driven by hate, brought charges against innocent Bund members. The newspapers then were accused of blowing up the story and, despite the eventual dismissal of the defendants, the Jew-owned newspapers deliberately avoided mentioning the outcome. Kuhn sent telegrams to Attorney-General Cummings and Speaker of the House Bankhead, requesting an investigation of the "pseudo patriots attacking us."⁵⁶

On May 10, 1938, the House Rules Committee endorsed a resolution of Representative Martin Dies (Democrat, Texas), which would create a seven-man House Committee to determine the extent, character and objectives of "un-American propaganda activities in the United States." The testimony of Representative Dickstein before the Rules Committee seemed to have convinced its members that such an investigation was

necessary. Dickstein testified that the Bund was financed by Germany. He added that the Nazis had sent a million "war draft blanks," forms asking German nationals to register for the German draft, to men of German blood in the United States, and that "twenty big industries in this country have contributed to the Nazi cause because they have interests in Germany." The Congressman warned that unless something was done, there would be rioting and bloodshed. Perhaps having become obsessed to the point of losing his perspective, Dickstein insisted that the Bund had a membership of over 460,000 people.⁵⁷ Approved by the Rules Committee, the Dies Bill was reported to the House, and on May 26, debate began. At one point in the two-hour debate, Dies said that he had evidence of shocking activities taking place in Bund camps, claiming that a Bund speaker had called for the assassination of the President. After repeated attempts to create a committee to investigate the Bund, the Dies measure passed and, on June 6, 1938, appointments to the committee were made. Thus, a renewed un-American Activities Committee was ready to begin an investigation of the Bund, but without Dickstein as a member.⁵⁸

On May 7, 1937, a committee called the "Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Administration and Enforcement of the Law" was created by the New York State Legislature, with State Senator John J. McNaboe as Chairman. The Committee was given \$20,000 with which to investigate "every matter and thing whatsoever connected therewith or relating thereto including the entire administration of criminal justice in this state and each and every law relating or pertaining thereto or

connected therewith."⁵⁹ On June 22, 1938, the Committee opened hearings on the Bund in New York City. Responding to a subpoena, Kuhn wrote to McNaboe indicating that he and other Bund officials would be happy to appear before the Committee to explain the "patriotic aims and purposes" of the Bund. Before the Committee, Kuhn declared that Jews were the leaders of the Communist movement in the United States. Senator McNaboe protested that the Bundesfuehrer should admit that there were "at least some good Jews in the United States." Kuhn responded:

I will tell you how it is, Senator. If a mosquito is on your arm, you don't stop to ask if it is a good mosquito or a bad mosquito. You just brush it off.⁶⁰

At one point in the proceedings, the Senator read Hitler's definition of the swastika as the symbol of the Aryan struggle for supremacy "which must be always and ever anti-Semitic." McNaboe then asked Kuhn if indeed he did not feel that the Jews in America were a stumbling block in the way of Aryan supremacy. Kuhn replied:

We do not say anything against the Jews. We simply choose our own company. In our organization there are only Americans, and we do not consider the Jew as an American. We do not consider the Jew as a man.⁶¹

On June 24, 1938, Dickstein sent a letter to the McNaboe Committee in which he expressed his disappointment as to the way the investigation was being conducted, stating that "the proceedings before the McNaboe Committee have thus far been conducted in a most inefficient manner and did not bring out any of the pertinent facts which the public had a right to hear in an investigation of this type." Dickstein complained

that no preparation had been done and that by making all evidence public the Committee had succeeded in making heroes out of the officers of the Bund.⁶² The Congressman felt that this attitude on the part of the Bund was demonstrated by a telegram he received from Fritz Kuhn, dated June 24, 1938:

My sincerest condolence to your political funeral; am also sorry you are not on the Dies Committee because I lost the opportunity to finish you in the first round.⁶³

Dickstein suggested to the Committee that the proceedings be adjourned for a few weeks and that he be allowed to act as counsel: "Let us combine forces and permit me to conduct this investigation of these Bunders in the State of New York."⁶⁴

On June 30, Kuhn again appeared before the McNaboe Committee. This time Dickstein attended and presented photographs of alleged secret Bund meetings and suggested that Kuhn might have been a German spy in World War I. In spite of these charges, the hearings again produced insignificant results. McNaboe ended the hearings by referring to all American Communist and Nazi groups as "rackets" and drew parallels between the Bund and the American Communist Party.⁶⁵ Kuhn reacted strongly to McNaboe's comparison:

I charge him [McNaboe] with culpable unfairness because each of the specifications enumerated by him in regard to penetration into the American educational system, into shipping and general industries, he knows to be notorious activities chargeable to the Communists and not to the Bund, since the Bund is as notoriously opposed to Communistic activities as Mr. McNaboe.⁶⁶

In spite of Kuhn's insistence that the Bund represented Americanism and not Nazism, the opposition continued to grow. In response to this growing criticism, the Bundesfuehrer

appealed for funds to help defray legal expenses and vowed that every court case would be fought with all the resources of the Bund. The organization soon got its chance. In early July, 1938, the six officials of the German-American Settlement League (who had been released earlier on \$1000 bonds) went on trial at Riverhead, Long Island. The prosecution hoped to prove that the Bund represented an oath-bound organization. If this could be shown, the defendants faced possible imprisonment and fines for violating a New York State law holding all oath-bound societies responsible for filing a membership list with the Secretary of State. The prosecution based its case on the testimony of Willy Brandt, an ex-Nazi and Bundist. Brandt told the court that he had joined the S.A. in Germany in 1930, immigrated to the United States a few years later and joined the Bund in May, 1938. Upon accepting membership in the Bund, Brandt said that he had to take an oath of loyalty to Adolf Hitler and the Bund leaders. The defense brought twenty-five people to the witness stand, most of them American-born rank and file members of the Bund, who testified that no oath was required. James Wheeler-Hill, national Bund Secretary, testified that Brandt had been denied admission to the Bund. In spite of these twenty-five witnesses, Brandt's contradictory testimony seemed outweighed by the arrogant and obnoxious way in which the Bund witnesses testified. They proudly flaunted their anti-Semitism, with one witness proclaiming that all Jews were criminals and Communists, while another charged that Jews had haunted him all his life, forcing him to move from one job to another. When cross-examined by the pro-

secuting attorney, several Bundists ignored his questions and shouted that the Nazi salute would in the near future become the American greeting. After four days of testimony, the jury took less than fifteen minutes to deliver a verdict of guilty. The judge gave the maximum penalty, with the League fined \$10,000 and each defendant, \$500. In addition, he imposed a one-year jail sentence on the six, but suspended all except that of Ernst Mueller, President of the League.⁶⁶ This so-called Siegfried Case attracted considerable publicity. Editorials and reports in newspapers and national magazines condemned the Bund as a Nazi group and expressed little sympathy for the defendants.⁶⁷

As would be expected, the outcome of the Siegfried trial was, in the eyes of the Bund, a "crying miscarriage of justice" and the defendants became martyrs. Kuhn announced at a public rally that the Bund would appeal the case to a higher court. He asked the audience to contribute to a special appeal fund. Business at Camp Siegfried continued as usual the weekend after the trial, with about 2000 people gathering to picnic and watch parades. The outing was marred only by the dropping of 25,000 anti-Nazi leaflets on the camp from an airplane chartered by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.⁶⁸

If the Siegfried case had any effect on the Bund, it was not immediately apparent. However, one change should be detected. During the summer of 1938, the organization increased its attacks on the Roosevelt Administration. Its organizational structure, exaggerated anti-Semitism, boisterous rallies and admiration for Nazi Germany remained. However, in hoping to

alter the Bund's public image as a Nazi organization, the leadership adopted an American program. However, the new program was just as racist as the old one, and did little more than alienate rather than attract American public support.

In 1938 the Bund published one of its most scurrilous pamphlets, entitled What Price Federal Reserve? Read the Protocols of /The/ Elders of Zion and Understand the New Deal.⁶⁹ The pamphlet attempted to prove that the prophecies expressed by the Elders bore an exact resemblance to the events occurring in the United States. Jews controlled all the agencies of the government and in doing so had brought the United States closer to ruin. The activities of these "vampires" and "subhuman parasites" formed part of a world-wide conspiracy:

The malignant, lethal Federal Reserve with its regiment of Jews to protect it, may well be the inciting cause of such a wave of anti-Talmudism as to entail the expulsion of the entire parasitic swarm, as has been the case in Germany.⁷⁰

Fritz Kuhn authored a pamphlet entitled Fritz Kuhn Challenges Rabbi Wise, which was a reprint of an open letter published in the Deutscher Weckruf. Kuhn told Rabbi Wise that the Jews had bullied and intimidated the Gentile population of Russia and Germany and had thus become a "great power," holding "745 offices out of a total of 913" in Russia alone. In each country in which they had lived, the Jews had portrayed themselves as champions of democracy in order to cover their sinister schemes and plots. In America, however, the Jews had

failed. Jewish contamination of Christian Aryan American life had aroused the wrath of the hundred million white Gentile Americans who would soon cast off the alien yoke.⁷¹

During the late summer and early fall of 1938, the Dies Committee heard testimony related to the Bund and its activities. The testimony of the witnesses received wide publicity in the press, which served further to convince the American public that the Bund was a Nazi organization. Witnesses stated that the Bund had mapped plans to sabotage American industry, operated a spy network, received orders and propaganda from German officials, and was preparing to overthrow the American government. One witness charged that Kuhn had made a secret pact of cooperation with German Ambassador Hans Dieckhoff.⁷²

Following the testimony of a connection between Kuhn and Dr. Hans Dieckhoff, the Ambassador called at the State Department to deny such connections. He made a statement which claimed that

the German government has always taken the point of view that the Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund is to be considered an American affair. There has never existed any open or secret "understanding" between the Bund and the German Embassy or the German Consulates.⁷³

As the Dies hearings progressed, a great deal of criticism was voiced concerning the hearings which, in the end, seemed to serve the Bund's cause. Paul Anderson, Washington correspondent for the St. Louis Star-Times, said in a radio broadcast:

Some of the most fantastic yarns ever heard outside an insane asylum are gravely accepted by the Committee without the faintest effort

to discover whether the witnesses are credible or responsible....At no time is there anything which could be called cross-examination.⁷⁴

In October, 1938, President Roosevelt expressed his concerns, which were widely circulated by the Bund:

I was very much disturbed. I was disturbed, not because of the absurdly false charges made by a coterie of disgruntled Republican officeholders against a profoundly religious, able and law-abiding Governor /Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan who had been characterized by the Committee as being "guilty of treasonable activities in dealing with the Michigan sit-down strike⁷, but because a Congressional Committee charged with the responsibility of investigating un-American activities should have permitted itself to be used in a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election. At this hearing the Dies Committee made to effort to get at the truth, either by calling for facts to support mere personal opinion, or by allowing facts and personal opinion on either side.⁷⁵

On October 31, The New York Times published a poll of the eighteen reporters covering the Dies hearings, which showed that eleven of the reporters agreed with F.D.R. that the hearings were unfair.⁷⁶ Representative Dickstein, who had so actively supported the creation of the Dies Committee, commented on the Committee in a speech before Congress. He suggested that the Committee should

new close to the line of being respectful to our public men, the officials of our government and our President. It certainly does not enhance the reputation of the Committee, nor does it result in having the Committee held in esteem if it attacks the officials of our home government. We surely do not want "to give aid and comfort to the enemy" by attacking our public officials.⁷⁷

In the minds of many, the Dies hearings produced nothing new in the way of testimony, and the Bund simply repeated

earlier denials. However, the coincidental timing of the hearings with the international crisis over Czechoslovakia had the effect of sharpening anti-Bund sentiment.

Bund editors had concentrated on one theme prior to the Munich Conference in late September, 1938. They claimed that the Sudeten Germans lived under oppressive conditions and the absorption of the Sudetenland into the Reich offered the only reasonable solution to their problems. The situation was compared to the American annexation of Texas when a foreign government murdered, terrorized and discriminated against Americans. America had acted wisely and forcibly annexed Texas to protect its citizens. Hitler hoped to solve a similar situation in Czechoslovakia by peaceful negotiations, but Jews controlling the press agencies tried to fool readers into believing that Germany acted as an aggressor. In reality, Hitler was "the miracle man of the century" who in a few hours at Munich had returned the Sudetenland to its ancestral home and reduced Czechoslovakia--the outpost of Russian Bolshevism in Central Europe.⁷⁸

The Roosevelt Administration did not exactly share the Bund's elation over the events in Europe. The Administration became increasingly skeptical about the Munich accord, and the general public began to believe that Hitler had almost brought Europe to the brink of war. Their anger was transferred to the Bund. They picketed Bund meetings with placards that demanded: "Stop Hitler's Aggression," and "Return the Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia." On October 2, 1938, a crowd of about 5000 gathered in front of a hall where Kuhn intended

to speak. Upon seeing the Bundesfuehrer, the crowd yelled, "Kill him," "Run him out of town," and showered the building with bricks. A few days later, more than 2000 people milled outside a Bund meeting hall in Syracuse, New York. Despite a heavy police guard, the crowd smashed windows and slashed tires of cars belonging to Bund members. In Chicago Bundists fought anti-Nazis carrying placards with the slogan "Save Czechoslovakia for democracy."⁷⁹

With its usual myopic misperception, the Bund did not relate these reactions to the Czech affair, but placed the blame on the Dies Committee. According to the Bund the false testimony of witnesses and the incendiary remarks of the Committee members inflamed public opinion and encouraged mob violence. Not seeming to sense the rising opposition to its programs, the Bund went blindly ahead with a new Americanization program which it had adopted at its 1938 convention. Consequently, on September 29, 1938, the Bund newspaper came out under a new title, Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter and the Free American. Kuhn urged a renewed effort to attract Americans to the movement through personal contacts and by distributing the Bund newspaper, pamphlets and leaflets. The Bund increased publication of pamphlets, stating the aims and purposes of the organization. These pamphlets carried advertisements which welcomed all "patriotic Americans" to Bund meetings and membership. The slogan "Free America" became the new theme and emphasized a program which called for opposition to racial intermixture between Aryan and non-Aryan. Rallies of the Bund were now called "pro-American meetings."⁸⁰

On November 7, 1938, Herschel Grynzpan, a Polish Jew, shot and fatally wounded Ernst von Rath, the German Embassy's Third Secretary, in Paris. This event precipitated the infamous "crystal night pogroms" during which the Nazis attacked Jewish life and property in Germany. Americans responded with shock and revulsion. President Roosevelt said he did not believe such things could happen in the twentieth century. Hans Dieckhoff described the American reaction and said even the most ardent anti-Semite had divorced himself from the pogroms.⁸¹

The Ambassador seems to have overlooked the Bund, whose editors made no apologies for the Nazi cruelties. They compared them to attacks of anti-Nazis on their own meetings and laughed at American leaders and journalists who denounced the pogroms. A double standard existed, said the Bund; Americans wept over indignities inflicted on Jews in Germany, yet said nothing about Communist terror in Spain and Russia or the persecution of Germans in the Sudetenland, Poland and Lithuania. In addition, the Bundists argued that every world crisis had been the result of assassinations of prominent individuals by Jews. This time the German government made the "international parasites" pay for their crimes by striking at all Jewish Communists in Germany.⁸²

A growing anti-Nazi sentiment arose amongst German-Americans. In addition, during the weeks following the Nazi pogrom, various cities became the scenes of violent outbursts between Bundists and anti-Nazi demonstrators. Under pressure from local anti-Nazi organizations, Bund meetings were cancelled in Nassau County, New York. At Newark, New Jersey, the home of

a local Bund leader was stoned. The New York City Borough of Queens began an investigation to determine if speeches given at Bund rallies defending Hitler's persecution of Jews constituted grounds for prosecution on charges of inciting to riot. Throughout November, 1938, witnesses before the Dies Committee continued to assail the Bund as a Nazi spy and propaganda agency. The restaurant at Camp Siegfried lost its beer and wine license and, faced with increasing pressure, the the German-American Settlement League announced in December that the camp would sell its commercial buildings and the picnic area. Readers of the Deutscher Weckruf began to cancel their subscriptions.⁸³

The Bund seemed to be caught in a web of ever-increasing criticism, but it could only respond with more anti-Jewish tirades. Bund editors claimed that the uproar over events in Germany and attacks on the Bund only served to illustrate American Jewry's power. By exploiting these events, the Jewish-Communist "parasites," headed by such men as Bernard Baruch, hoped to create a Jewish dictatorship in America and drag the United States into war with Germany. Such dangers, said the Bund leaders, only strengthened their resolve to fight harder and hope that Americans would wake up soon and join in the Bund's fight to "Free America."⁸⁴

CHAPTER VI

THE END

On March 4, 1938, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York reversed the Siegfried case decision which had led to the conviction of the German-American Settlement League and six Bund members for violating a state civil rights law. The New York Supreme Court reversed the lower court's verdict on grounds of insufficient evidence and lack of proper jurisdiction. The Bund was ecstatic over this victory and decided to celebrate with "a monster demonstration for true Americanism." The rally would be held on February 20, 1939, in honor of George Washington's Birthday, at Madison Square Garden.¹ This event, the most publicized of all of the Bund's activities, marked the beginning of the end of the German-American Bund. In the mind of the American public, the Madison Square Garden affair would confirm the impression that the Bund was a Nazi organization which spread hate and disseminated authoritarian doctrines. Already tired of other displays of Bund arrogance and Hitler's moves in Europe, the public demanded action. The end result of such demands would be Kuhn's conviction on charges of embezzling Bund funds, and the end of the Bund itself.²

An extensive publicity campaign for the Washington Birthday celebration began in mid-November, 1938. Full-page news-

paper ads proclaimed:

Is America the coming Jewish Empire?
Hear amazing facts that cannot be
challenged on Monday, February 20,
1939, 8:00 p.m. at Madison Square
Garden....General admission, 40¢,
reserved seats 75¢ and \$1.00.

Leaflets addressed to "All American Patriots" pointed to growing opposition of the Bund in spite of the fact, said the Bund, that the organization was the only really effective means of fighting subversive forces in America. Since the Bund was unable to use the "Jewish controlled press," it had to use other means of awakening America. Thus, more and more "monster demonstrations" would be held. Letters of invitation were sent to numerous Congressmen and Senators, American veteran groups, right-wing leaders, prominent local officials and civic organizations in New York City. Representative Martin Dies, Senator Robert Reynolds and New York State Senator John McNaboe were asked to attend as official guests of honor at the Madison Square Garden event. Instructions to local Bund units in the New York metropolitan area urged all loyal members to sell tickets and speak to everyone about the affair.

The Bund's attempts to plan an "unforgettable experience" brought together many opposition groups in an effort to stop the rally. Letters were sent to Mayor LaGuardia demanding cancellation of the event. LaGuardia, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union, defended the Bund's right of assembly and free speech. The Bund itself insisted that it had the right to honor a great American since, like Washington, the

Bund had always fought for truth. In order to attract a widely diversified audience, the official program for the celebration stressed the Bund's dedication to Americanism. The slogan "Free America" appeared frequently in advertisements and short articles. Ads emphasized the Bund's opposition to all "isms" including Nazism and, of course, Zionism. It was pointed out that the Bund's imitation of the Nazi salute was really a universal salute of Aryans everywhere and, unlike the clenched fist greeting of Communists which was allegedly derived from an old Jewish custom, the Bund salute symbolized peace. A brief statement on the O.D. noted that its members carried no weapons and merely protected Bund gatherings from unruly lawless elements.³

At 6:00 p.m. on February 20, the side streets around Madison Square Garden were filled with thousands of curious observers, who were watched by over 2000 police, the greatest single contingent in the history of the Department. Demonstrations, fist fights and scuffles between demonstrators and police, as well as numerous telephoned bomb threats, provided a tense atmosphere as 20,000 ticket holders filed into their seats. At 8:00 p.m., just as the rally was beginning, 200 war veterans marched behind a huge American flag and were met by mounted police. The veterans began their own outdoor meeting, as did a dozen other groups.

Inside the Garden, 3,000 O.D. men acted as ushers while a Bund band played marching songs. Banners with slogans, "Wake Up America--Smash Jewish Communism," "One Million Bund Members by 1940," "Stop Jewish Domination of Christian America," along

with American and Bund flags, decorated the Garden. A thirty-foot picture of George Washington hung behind the speaker's rostrum.

After the massing of colors and singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," James Wheeler-Hill received loud cheers when he opened the rally with "My fellow Christian Americans." He pleaded for a nation "free from class hatred and political discrimination." He said that "We are utterly and completely disregarding the great political testament of George Washington today." He denounced the New Deal "for attacks on other nations and irresponsible attacks on Hitler and the German nation by dictatorial and narrow-minded bigots." Hill called upon all German-Americans to dedicate themselves to "restoring America to the true Americans." George Froboese of Milwaukee denounced "Jewish preachings of class warfare" and "the Jew, Karl Marx Mordecai." Rudolf Markmann, Eastern Department Leader, began his speech with the Hitler salute. He said that the Bund had never claimed to be Nazis, "because we know that Nazism is something reserved for Germany and has no place in this country." Fritz Kuhn ended the rally with the longest speech. He told Aryan Christians to wake up and battle against the threat of Jewish domination over America. Again, by using emotion-charged phrases such as "slimy conspirators" and "Jewish camarilla," Kuhn rambled through a strange discussion of American history, citing examples of alleged Jewish perfidy during the American Revolution, Civil War and World War I. He argued that Jewish attacks on Bundists and other American patriots like Father Coughlin only succeeded in encouraging Americans to sympathise

with the Bund's fight. Kuhn concluded by calling upon all Aryan Americans to join with the Bund to help free America.

The rally was generally peaceful, except for two incidents. At 10:00 p.m., while Wilhelm Kunze was speaking on the blessings of Aryanism, Dorothy Thompson, newspaper columnist and wife of Sinclair Lewis, arrived in evening clothes. As she arrived at her seat, she burst into a loud heckling laugh at Kunze's remarks. She was escorted from the hall by O.D. men and New York police. The other incident occurred as Fritz Kuhn was declaring that America was dominated by Jews and that "Americanism should be returned to the Christians who founded it." A young man, Isidore Greenbaum, suddenly scrambled up the five foot platform, dived between the legs of two O.D. men and rushed at Kuhn. A dozen of the O.D. men leaped on him and began to kick and pummel Greenbaum as he shouted "Down with Hitler." He was eventually rescued by police, taken to night court and released after paying a fine for disturbing the peace.⁴

The editorial reactions to the Bund gathering revealed an almost unanimous condemnation of the Bund's display of Nazi hate propaganda. The point was made, however, that a ban of the meeting would have violated fundamental American civil liberties. One editorial noted:

It has been argued that because of the intensity of the opposition and the consequent risk of bloodshed, the meeting should have been suppressed..../As for/ the threat of violence by outsiders, stirred to opposition by what is said at the meeting, if a community surrenders the right of free speech before such

threats and risks, the right [of free speech] becomes valueless and milling crowds are administering the law....⁵

New York City civic and anti-Nazi organizations issued protests against the Bund meeting. American Legion officials sent letters to the United States Attorney General which demanded that members of the O.D. be prosecuted for wearing the uniform of a foreign power and requested a Federal enquiry to determine if the Bund had conspired to violate the civil rights of minority groups. A few days after the Bund rally, a group of German-Americans held a counter-George Washington Birthday celebration to show that not all German-Americans agreed with the Bund. A New York Times editorial expressed the hope that New Yorkers had been startled by the Bund rally and would call for an investigation of Bund finances. Newsreels of the Bund meeting were withdrawn from theaters because of violent audience reaction.⁶

On March 3, 1939, 3000 people gathered at a rally in Carnegie Hall. The event was sponsored by the Council Against Intolerance in America. In his speech, Mayor LaGuardia referred to the Bund meeting as an "exhibition of international cooties," and said he believed in exposing cooties to the sunlight instead of keeping them bottled up. A message from Governor Lehman was read to the audience, which said that "no form of dictatorship can make headway in the United States providing we, as a nation, militantly safeguard those civil, religious, and personal liberties guaranteed to us by our form of government." Other speakers included James Marshall, Chairman of the New York City Board of Education; Allah Haywood,

C.I.O. Regional Director in New York; Dorothy Thompson; George Meany, President of the New York State Federation of Labor; John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.⁷

The Bund interpreted the Madison Square Garden rally as a great success which had demonstrated "unprecedented enthusiasm for Christian patriotic Americanism." Bund editors magnified the disturbance caused by Greenbaum into an assassination attempt on the life of Fritz Kuhn. In their eyes, the Greenbaum incident provided another example of the workings of the world-wide Jewish conspiracy which had followed, by only a few weeks, the assassination of Van Rath in Paris. However, the fists of the brave O.D. men had foiled the attempt of this Jewish gunman to murder Fritz Kuhn. Bundists argued that the Jews had not realized that the Bund had become an important factor in American public life. The Carnegie Hall rally was condemned as a Communist gathering, a display of the fanaticism of Negroes, Jews and Communists.⁸

In Germany, the newspapers reported the Greenbaum affair and cited it as just one more example of "Jewish terror in New York." Dr. Heinrich Borachers, the German Consul in New York, sent an accurate account of the Madison Square Garden rally to the German government. He noted that the Bund had used some discretion in avoiding the display of swastikas, but also pointed out such events, and this rally in particular, hurt German-American relations. Americans, he said, had come to believe that the Bund was a Nazi-endorsed organization whose goal was the destruction of America by "the Trojan horse

method." Borachers cautioned his superiors to avoid patronizing Kuhn's group.⁹

Herr Borachers' evaluation of the mood of the American people was borne out by the response to the Washington's Birthday rally. What this uproar demonstrated was the inability of the Bund to deal with rising anti-Nazi sentiment in the United States. At its national convention in 1938, the Bund membership had adopted various resolutions, the aims of which were to make the Bund "more American." This was to be accomplished by dropping obvious Nazi symbols and slogans and by adopting what the Bund believed to be an American program and an American slogan. The reaction to the 1939 Madison Square Garden rally demonstrated that in reality the Bund had not changed very much, at least not enough to win the support of large numbers of Americans. The Nazi salute, the intensely virulent anti-Semitism, and the glorification of Hitler and National Socialism persisted. And it was the inability on the part of Bund leaders, particularly Fritz Kuhn, to recognize the depths of American resentment toward their movement which paved the way to their doom.¹⁰

What proved to be most damaging to the Bund's image was its continued support of Hitler's aggressions in Europe. When the Fuehrer broke the Munich Settlement and annihilated the Czech state during the week of March 10-16, 1939, the Bund editors quickly supported that move. They wrote that Germany had once again saved Europe from Bolshevism; Czech insolence and barbarity toward the Third Reich had forced Hitler's intervention; and Czechoslovakia had no cohesion; thus, Hitler

rightfully destroyed it. The Bund leadership failed to see that such views ran counter to growing anti-Nazi and anti-German sentiment. In October, 1937, an opinion survey showed that 62% of Americans polled held a neutral attitude toward Germany. After the Munich conference, 56% approved a boycott of German goods. The Nazi pogrom of November 10, 1938, raised that figure to 61%, and after Hitler's annexation of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939, the number reached 65%. On March 25, 1939, Mayor LaGuardia led 20,000 people through the streets of Manhattan in a "stop Hitler parade" sponsored by the American Council to Combat Nazi Invasion. The demonstration was a protest against Hitler's move into Czechoslovakia.

Mass demonstrations against the Bund served as a background for a New York City investigation of the Bund to determine if the organization had avoided payment of business and sales taxes. This investigation was begun by New York Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands. Sub-poenas called for Bund records to help trace the sales of propaganda materials, uniforms, flags, emblems and decorations. Herlands and City Treasurer Amerindo Portfolio questioned Fritz Kuhn and all leading officials of the Bund and its subsidiary organizations. The Commissioner acted with discretion and refused to comment on the progress of the investigation, stating it would proceed as a matter of "routine." The Bund interpreted Herlands' investigation in the usual manner: the Jewish-controlled city administration, serving the interests of terrorists, gangsters and Communists, was persecuting a law-abiding element. During this investigation, Kuhn faced

additional legal difficulties: Joseph Lonardo, a Queens attorney who represented the Bund in its difficulties concerning Camp Siegfried, sued the Bund leader for failing to pay legal fees. At the same time, former magistrate Joseph Goldstern charged Kuhn with criminal libel, claiming he was held up to ridicule by an article in the Bund newspaper. Further annoyance was caused the Bund when, on March 25 and 27, 1939, Kuhn and Kunze appeared before an attorney and a research director of the Dies Committee at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. Cross-examined about testimony taken before the Dies Committee and published in January, 1939, the two Bund leaders repudiated the entire testimony and spent two days denying every accusation that the Bund was a Nazi agency.¹¹

The Bund responded to these legal challenges with some law suits of its own. The New York Daily News reported a scuffle between veterans and Bundists in Union City, New Jersey. In that report, the Bund members were called Nazis. The Bund threatened a libel suit unless the paper published a retraction of the article. The German-American Bund Auxiliary, Inc., operator of Camp Nordland, brought a libel suit against the Newark Ledger for printing reports that the camp trained Nazi recruits, that women had been attacked by Bundists and that youth leaders engaged in sexual perversions on the Nordland premises. Fritz Kuhn threatened a libel suit against the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League for distributing a pamphlet entitled "Wanted: Adolf Hitler for Kidnapping," in which the Bundesfuehrer was called an agent and spy for the German

government. When the New York World Telegram and the New York Jewish News published the League's pamphlet with a commentary, Kuhn sent lawsuit threats to these papers. In late 1939, Warner Brothers Pictures released a film entitled "Confessions of a Nazi Spy." Kuhn filed a \$5 million damage suit against the producers, charging that they had portrayed an organization similar to the Bund as a Nazi spy agency. Bund editors called the film a "Jewish hate" production which defamed their organization.

Fritz Kuhn's attempts to call the attention of the American people to the Bund by the use of law suits did not have the desired effect. America was waking up to the Bund, but certainly not in the way wished for by Kuhn. Indignant protests were being translated into vigorous organizational activity, concrete legislation and legal action, with the most intense activity occurring in New York and California. Bills aimed at curbing the Bund's O.D. and anti-Semitism were introduced in the legislatures of both states. A measure banning military parades and drills except by authorized groups became law in California. More German-American organizations repudiated the Bund while a growing number of communities forbade Bund activities in their vicinities. In the House of Representatives, Jennings Randolph of West Virginia introduced a bill calling for dissolution of the Bund and deportation of its alien members. In Los Angeles, Herman Schwinn was fighting to maintain his American citizenship. For several months Schwinn had dragged out a complaint brought by the Federal district attorney asking for cancellation of his citizenship on

grounds of fraud.¹²

In May, 1939, Mayor LaGuardia of New York and District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of the same city worked together to compile evidence that would enable them to prosecute Fritz Kuhn. On May 2, 1939, agents of the District Attorney's office visited the Bund's national headquarters with a subpoena and seized documents relating to four of the organization's corporations. Dewey announced that upon reviewing the seized documents he had found evidence of the disappearance of funds from the corporations and believed that his investigation would lead to prosecution of the president of each corporation, Fritz Kuhn, on a charge of grand larceny. Shortly after this announcement, LaGuardia received a report of the investigation conducted by New York Commissioner of Investigation, William B. Herlands, and announced that it listed over forty violations of city tax laws. LaGuardia also sent a message to Cordell Hull, asking him to withhold Kuhn's passport. He took this action after learning that Carl Nicolay, an important Bund witness for the Herlands investigation, had suddenly sailed for Germany. On May 25, 1939, the New York County Grand Jury indicted Fritz Kuhn on a charge of stealing \$14,548 from Bund funds. The proceeds of the Madison Square Garden rally of February 20 were included in the indictment. The Bundesfuhrer pleaded not guilty to the charges and was released on \$5,000 bail.¹³

The indictment of Kuhn was met with anger on the part of the Bund editors. They characterized Dewey's legal action as an example of "Jew York democracy in action." Without a search

warrant, Dewey's "thugs" had staged a raid on national headquarters, seized papers and property and stole money. Aided by Communists on his staff, Dewey was moving against the Bund in order to win Jewish support in his bid for the Presidency. On June 1, 1939, Fritz Kuhn published a statement absolving himself of guilt and attacking Dewey for unlawfully breaking and entering Bund premises. Kuhn claimed that he had never taken a nickel of the Bund's money and could easily account for all funds turned over to him. Dewey's illegal action represented "an act of desperation instigated by Communists who worried about the Bund's successful campaigns of public enlightenment." The Bundesfuehrer had no intentions of running away. Instead he would fight for his rights against subversive elements until a free America would again be realized.¹⁴

While the Bund attempted to rally its members in support of Kuhn, other matters diverted some of its attention away from the legal battles with Dewey. A legal problem arose when, on July 4, 1939, Bundists at Camp Nordland ignored a New Jersey law, passed on June 26, which barred the Nazi salute and prohibited the wearing of uniforms similar to those of a foreign country. At the Nordland Independence Day celebration, O.D. members paraded in full uniform while other Bundists thrust out their right arms in Nazi fashion. The next day, State Assemblyman R. Graham Huntington, sponsor of the anti-uniform law, issued a complaint to State Alcoholic Control Commissioner D. Frederick Burnett, who had the power to revoke the Nordland liquor license if any state law was violated. After receiving Huntington's complaint, Burnett ordered August Klapprott,

manager of Nordland, to appear before a board of inquiry in his offices at Newark, New Jersey, on July 6, 1939. Klapprott brought several Bund witnesses, including G. Wilhelm Kunze, to the hearing. Kunze declared that the apparel of the O.D. originated with the Bund in America and in no way resembled a German uniform. Another Bund member argued that the Bund salute originated with American Indians long before Hitler made a similar greeting popular in Germany. Commissioner Burnett did not seem to be overly impressed with the Bund's arguments and revoked the Nordland liquor license. The Bund immediately appealed the decision and after a second hearing and several weeks of delay, the Commissioner emphatically denied the appeal. Burnett cited several reasons for his decision and claimed that any one provided ample grounds for revoking a license. The Bund not only violated the anti-uniform law on July 4, but sponsored extremely distasteful activities on the Nordland grounds. Pamphlets were circulated which incited race and religious hatred; the Nazi flag flew above an American one; dictators were glorified and democracies derided; speakers advocated punching anyone in the nose who insulted Hitler and asked that all Jews be deported. The Bund blamed Communists for Burnett's "Jew-inspired decision." Bund editors charged that the Commissioner, who hated everything German, simply bowed to the influence of these disreputable persons.¹⁵

In August, 1939, Fritz Kuhn received a subpoena to appear before the Dies Committee in Washington. For several months Bundists had been watching the Committee's work and their comments depended upon the types of testimony taken. Anything

which adversely reflected on the Bund was denounced, but the testimony of American anti-Semites was hailed as "revealing" and received front page coverage in the Deutscher Weckruf. On August 16 and 17, Kuhn made a dramatic appearance before the Committee. Early in the proceedings he banged his fist on the table, called a statement by Representative Starness of Alabama a lie, and only the intervention of police prevented a fight. Kuhn's behavior remained boisterous for the entire two days of testimony. He shouted at Committee members, boldly admitted that the Bund was anti-Semitic and continually barked that he wanted a lawyer. Kuhn's testimony revealed nothing new about him or the Bund. However, on the next day after he had returned to New York, Helen Vooros, a 19-year-old former member of the Bund Youth Movement, gave testimony which incensed the Bund. Kuhn had insisted that the Bund was a patriotic movement with virtually no interest in Germany. Miss Vooros contradicted the Bundesfuehrer and described her experiences in Germany, where she had taken a six week training course sponsored by the Bund. The former youth member indicated that she had received indoctrination in the philosophy of National Socialism, anti-Semitism and fascism. She was told that President Roosevelt had Jewish blood, that all German girls should not fear having illegitimate children since it was their duty to propagate the German race. Miss Vooros related a number of other items which caught the attention of the press: any Bundist in trouble with American authorities could easily escape without a passport by simply boarding a German liner; immoral practices

occurred in Bund camps and on her trip to Europe; Kuhn was regarded in Germany as Hitler's agent in America; German spies and propagandists worked through the Bund.¹⁶

As expected, the Bund editors took Miss Vooros to task and indicated that she was a well-rehearsed and Jewish-sponsored witness. Kuhn sent a telegram to Dies demanding that he be called to Washington immediately to refute the testimony of Miss Vooros. He said that a ten-minute cross-examination would clear the Bund of the charges she had made. The Bund Youth Magazine carried an article entitled "We Hang Our Heads in Shame," which expressed sadness and revulsion over the Vooros testimony. A former comrade had turned traitor and blackened the work of the movement with "vile insinuations" and "filthy slander." She betrayed trusts and promises and had a brief moment in the spotlight of world attention, but for the rest of her life all German-Americans would view her with contempt and loathing.¹⁷

For Helen Vooros, the international situation in August, 1939, must have been a blessing in disguise, for events in Europe drew the Bund's attention away from her. Bund editors interpreted the growing crisis in Europe by reworking one standard theme: international Jews were scheming to involve all western nations in a war with Germany. Shortly after Germany invaded Poland in early September, 1939, the Bund published a statement signed by Kuhn, Kunze, Froboese and Schwinn. The Bund leaders interpreted the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, expressed their views on American neutrality and outlined the Bund's position on the war in Europe. The

Non-Aggression Pact demonstrated Germany's ability to outwit Jewish conspirators. International Jewish plotting had caused the war by manipulating the British government in an effort to encircle Germany. But the plot failed in Russia with the dismissal of Litvinov; an alert Germany came to terms with Russia, not the Jewish Marxist-Communist International, and "knocked the Jewish-British encirclement plan into a cocked hat." Bund leaders called for observance of a strict American neutrality and curtailment of all pro-British propaganda through the mass media. They charged that "discredited, lying British atrocity propaganda" had led to a squandering of American lives and dollars in 1917 and 1918. In conclusion, the four Bund leaders announced that the organization "expresses its sympathy for Germany in the present European conflict." This did not signify disloyalty to the United States because the Bund would continue to fight for a Gentile America free of all atheistic Jewish Marxist elements.¹⁸

Along with this statement concerning the Bund's views of the international situation, Kuhn also issued a directive to the organization which called for strict adherence to new instructions. These included a modification of the O.D. uniform: grey shirt, black tie, trousers and shoes, no swastika or Sam Brown belt. Members should refer to this dress as "a common type of clothing" rather than a uniform. Since the swastika in any form had been forbidden from being displayed in New Jersey and aroused anxiety in other states, Kuhn asked local units to participate in the creation of a new symbol for the movement. Above all, Kuhn instructed local units to exercise

some restraint during the "present war crisis." No public meetings were to be held in areas where anti-Nazi sentiment was strong. Members were not to conduct themselves provocatively. When public meetings were held, certain themes were to be emphasized. Local units were to make handbills stressing these themes: absolute neutrality; war against the Jewish profiteering war-mongers; keep America out of the present war; reference to the non-payment of the war debts of the last war.¹⁹

Kuhn's call for self-restraint did not seem to apply to the Bundesfuehrer himself when faced with mounting legal pressures. In late September, 1939, District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey brought pressure on the Bund when he demanded that Kuhn's bail be raised to \$50,000 on the indictment of May 25. Unable to raise this amount immediately, Kuhn spent several days in jail. Dewey claimed that this action was necessary because Kuhn had plans for leaving the court's jurisdiction when his trial opened in a few weeks. On October 7, Kuhn was released on \$50,000 bail and on the next day he spoke before a celebration at Camp Nordland. He predicted that he would be cleared of all charges and thanked all who gave contributions and loans for his bail. Quickly the Bund took the offensive by opening an attack on Dewey that was vicious even for the organization. Bundists identified Dewey's action against Kuhn with Communist secret police procedures and referred to Dewey as a political slave of "the hate-blinded desperate international Jews." Handbills containing anti-Semitic references were used to solicit funds for Kuhn's defense. They carried a message which claimed that Dewey and Jews of "New

York trembled in fear of Kuhn's power over the American people. Therefore these creatures sought to eliminate Kuhn by using any means."²⁰

In mid-October, 1939, Kuhn faced additional difficulties when he was called again to appear before the Dies Committee. Kuhn's testimony of August, 1939, had been contradicted so many times that the Committee decided to recall him before proceeding with a possible contempt indictment. One committee member, Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, was especially critical of the Bund, and Fritz Kuhn sent to Dies a sworn statement which called for the removal of Thomas from the Committee. Kuhn argued that the true name of the Representative from New Jersey was John Parnell Feeney, who had managed the bond department of a large international brokerage house. This brokerage house was involved in selling bonds to Germany until Hitler came to power and abruptly curtailed the business. According to Kuhn, loss of this sale in bonds, from which "Feeney alias Thomas" drew a lucrative commission, created in the Representative a fanatical hatred of Germans and Germany. This hate caused him to strike at the Bund and work toward involving the United States in a war with Germany. On October 17 Kuhn sent another request to Dies asking that the subpoena be adjourned indefinitely because he had been ordered to remain in New York State and would forfeit \$50,000 if he appeared in Washington. On October 19, Kuhn sat before the Dies Committee and claimed that the Bund would continue to fight Communism in America. He admitted ordering circulation of leaflets which demanded maintenance of the arms embargo and noted that he had

modified the O.D. uniforms to overcome criticism. Kuhn's five-hour testimony lacked cohesion and most of the questions from Committee members reflected their concern with the Bund's status in the present war situation. This concern prompted G. Wilhelm Kunze to ask the German Charge d'Affairs in Washington, Dr. Hans Thomsen, to repudiate publicly any charge of the Bund's acting as an agency of the German government. Thomsen fulfilled Kunze's request in a letter, later published in the Deutscher Weckruf, which stated that absolutely no German authority maintained relations with the Bund.²¹

On November 9, 1939, Fritz Kuhn's trial opened in New York City. Two days later, Kunze sent a Command to local units which emphasized the Bund's financial plight. He candidly admitted that "the continued existence of the movement depends upon an increase in our supply of money."²² The court proceedings of Kuhn's trial lasted twenty days. Peter L. F. Sabbatino, Kuhn's attorney, attempted to prove that the basic organizational pattern of the Bund, the Fuehrerprinzip, or absolute right of leadership, gave the Bundesfuehrer total freedom over the organization's funds and, therefore, he could not be charged with larceny. The chief prosecutor, Assistant District Attorney Herman J. McCarthy, challenged Sabbatino's interpretation of the Fuehrerprinzip, claiming that it did not give Kuhn such wide authority. When Sabbatino produced the resolution adopted at the 1939 Bund convention, McCarthy noted that it was made after Kuhn came under indictment. A further snag in the defense attorney's argument occurred during the testimony of Bundist Gustav J. Elmer. Elmer confessed that Kuhn could spend

the Bund's funds on anything he wished except women. Subsequent testimony revealed that Kuhn had actually spent significant amounts of Bund money on women. Kuhn had spent \$717 to move the furniture of a Mrs. Florence Camp about the country and, at a New York hotel, he paid a \$60 doctor bill for a Mrs. Virginia Cogswell, a former Miss America. The intimate nature of the relationship between Kuhn and Mrs. Camp was revealed with the reading of Kuhn's telegrams and letters to her. Closing lines read: "great love and kisses. All my thoughts with you, love you, my everything. Fritz." Accountants from the District Attorney's office exposed the fact that thousands of dollars were not put into the Bund's bank account as Kuhn had claimed. Lawyers employed by Kuhn in the past testified that he owed them several thousand dollars for their legal services to the Bund. The inference was that Kuhn had used the money collected for the Siegfried case and promised to lawyers for his own personal pleasure. While constantly pointing to the Fuehrerprinzip in his effort to clear Kuhn, Sabbatino used another line of reasoning. He charged that Dewey and his associates had political and anti-Bund motives for prosecuting him. The defense attorney called Dewey to the stand, where he admitted that he held no personal grudge against Kuhn but viewed him and the Bund with contempt. Sabbatino said that Dewey's prejudice indicated that a political persecution plot against Kuhn existed in the District Attorney's office. The defense did succeed in eliminating five of the original twelve indictments for lack of sufficient evidence. In the end, the case rested on Kuhn's alleged misuse of \$1217

of Bund funds. This included money he had advanced to Mrs. Camp and his theft of a \$500 legal payment. On November 29, the judge instructed the jury to decide if the Fuehrerprinzip had any validity on the Camp relationship. On the lawyer's fee, conflicting testimony confused the issue. Kuhn indicated that he paid the fee while the lawyer in question said he had received no payment. But the prosecution presented documents which apparently showed that Kuhn had forged a \$500 entry in a Bund accounting book. The judge told the jurors that if they viewed this as evidence to conceal larceny, Kuhn should be judged guilty of forgery. After eight and a half hours of deliberation, the jury found Kuhn guilty of both larceny and forgery. On December 5 he left New York for Sing Sing Prison to begin a $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 year prison sentence.²³

Following Kuhn's conviction, the Bund presented a unified front, at least publicly. Bund editors stressed Kuhn's innocence and asserted that he was a victim of a Jewish plot. Kuhn became a "prisoner of war" but the organization stood solidly behind him and he remained national leader. On December 11, 1939, the acting Bundesfuehrer, G. Wilhelm Kunze, issued a statement to the press and all Bund members. He praised Kuhn's management of the organization's funds, pointed to his unanimous re-election at every national convention and argued that the leadership principle gave Kuhn full authority over Bund finances. Kunze charged that the "so-called conviction of Fritz Kuhn" represented a travesty of justice and that the Bund's loyalty to him remained firm. A few days later, Kunze sent a Christmas greeting to Kuhn, assuring him

that any member would trade places with him were it possible. He pledged his "unshaken loyalty" to the Bundesfuehrer and hoped that this message would offer some comfort. A New Year's proclamation by the Bund referred to Kuhn's conviction as a "crucifixion" which gave encouragement to the movement's enemies but in no way disrupted the organization. In fact, the membership looked forward to the new year with determination to continue the fight for an independent Christian America and a "free Kuhn."

The public statements of the national Bund leadership indicated an organization that was solidly behind its incarcerated leader. In secret, however, things were much different. On December 6, 1939, the day after Kuhn went to prison, the Executive Committee of the Bund held a special meeting at national headquarters. G. Wilhelm Kunze presided over a small gathering which included August Klapprott, Willy Luedtke, Gustav Elmer, Hermann Schwinn and James Wheeler-Hill. This meeting produced several important resolutions: Fritz Kuhn was deposed from office and expelled from membership in the German-American Bund; G. Wilhelm Kunze officially became national leader; Wilbur Keegan received authority to canvass the entire Bund in order to determine if the membership wished to appeal Kuhn's case; the Committee decided that a repetition of Kuhn's "dishonorable and disgraceful" acts would be avoided by requiring the signatures of three Executive Committee members before funds could be withdrawn from the Bund's bank account; and Kuhn's bail money was to be returned to the donors. Other resolutions showed that the Committee recognized a need

to moderate Bund tactics. Kunze ordered all members to refrain from publishing or making inflammatory remarks which might convey a message of hostility toward a race or religion. He forbade members to hold meetings where prohibited by law and ordered strict obedience to state laws which placed restrictions on wearing uniforms. Finally, after accepting the resignation of James Wheeler-Hill as National Secretary, the Committee appointed Willy Luedtke to the position.²⁴

The Executive Committee's decision to repudiate Kuhn was never revealed to the organization, at least, not formally. Instead, Kunze concentrated on tightening the structure and security of the Bund. Kuhn's trial had shown the organization that the leadership principle had not been clearly defined in the Bund Constitution. Consequently, Kunze instructed all local units either to destroy or to send to national headquarters all copies of that document. At the same time, the new Bundesfuehrer affirmed that the Fuehrerprinzip was to be rigidly observed and every Bund Command faithfully executed. Obviously concerned with mounting adverse public opinion, Kunze instructed local leaders to offer no information to journalists. With the exception of officers, Bund members were forbidden to send letters to any agencies or to make remarks about political events. A member who violated this order was to be expelled from the Bund. Bundists should cooperate with other organizations having similar aims, but could not join another group unless national headquarters granted written permission. Criticism could be further checked, said Kunze, by staging more singing and athletic events and fewer

political meetings. However, George Washington's birthday as well as Hitler's birthday were to be celebrated, privately if necessary, by each unit. Kunze pleaded with unit leaders to become more dedicated to the cause of Bund unity. A tight bond between units and national headquarters would assure the organization's stability throughout this period when every Bund leader faced possible prison sentences.²⁵

In February, 1940, Kunze sent a Command to all local units in which he announced that effective that date, the old Bund Constitution was no longer in force. Instead, he issued a 77-page document which set forth rules and regulations for officers and members of the organization. In this document, Kunze placed great emphasis on the powers of the national leader. The Fuehrerprinzip formed the core of the Bund and every member must realize that the national leader represented the supreme law and rendered final decisions on every matter concerning the movement. A tone of extreme fanaticism pervaded the document. While boasting that the Bund was composed of people dedicated to National Socialism and an Aryan-governed United States, Kunze ordered that a photograph of the movement's philosophical mentor, Adolf Hitler, be displayed in every unit's meeting-room. He insisted that the Bund gave every German-American the opportunity to rise out of his oppressed condition where he would otherwise become a "menial of inferior lords, scorned and spit on." Bundists fought unselfishly for the honor of their people and as long as the "Jewish spirit of materialism" did not creep into the movement they would ultimately purify and rejuvenate

the race.²⁶

This new statement of aims indicated a change, at least outwardly, in Bund ideology. Kunze seemed to be directing the movement away from the program adopted by the membership at the 1938 National Convention. Anti-Semitism was played down; the concern to woo Americans into the organization was de-emphasized; anti-Communism lacked the fervor of earlier years. As the Bund found itself working in an increasingly hostile environment, Kunze began stressing the need to merely survive. He seemed to sense that the Bund would collapse if the United States went to war against Germany. Hence, Kunze, as well as other German-Americans who had suffered persecutions during World War I, emphasized a militant isolationist stance and a strong defense of all German-Americans.

Kunze's first chance to demonstrate the Bund's new approach came at the George Washington celebration of 1940. This affair was in marked contrast to the stormy celebration of 1939. The Bund advertised the rally as a protest against "warmongering British propaganda." In his address, Kunze pointed to the sufferings German-Americans experienced between 1914 and 1919 which resulted from the activities of the British propagandists. He noted that the same subversive propagandists operated in the America of 1940 and pledged that his organization would fight all anti-German "Anglo-Saxon chicanery."

Bund editors ridiculed fifth column scares, comparing them to anti-German and Know-Nothing campaigns. They charged that British propagandists, Anglophiles and international warmongers had successfully fostered this "feminine hysteria."

These plotters comprised the most formidable fifth column, as they were conspiring to re-incorporate the United States into the British Empire. But the United States was not a British nation and Kunze's editorials urged Americans to read the Free American (the renamed Deutscher Weckruf), which would expose the lies of all German-haters.

Kunze was especially peeved by new attempts to limit the activities of the Bund. New appropriation acts passed by Congress barred Bundists from the Work Project Administration.. The Alien Registration Act was an attempt to identify aliens who were a threat to United States security. Kunze announced that the Alien Registration Act affected no Bund members. But members of the Prospective Citizen's League would have to register. In answering question fifteen on the application, they were instructed not to mention either the Bund or the Prospective Citizens League. This question asked the applicant to indicate if he belonged to any organization devoted to furthering the interests of a foreign government. The LaFollette bill particularly irked Kunze, and in letters to Speaker of the House William B. Bankhead, Representatives Hamilton Fisch, John C. Schaefer and Mary T. Norton, he called it a discriminatory measure which if passed would infringe on the constitutional rights of patriotic German-American citizens.²⁷

While defending the Bund against hostile legislation and conducting an anti-British campaign, Kunze and the Bund were very much on the defensive elsewhere. In a series of brief Commands, Kunze informed the organization that its financial situation was extremely precarious. Fritz Kuhn's trial had

cost the Bund \$13,000, and members seemed unwilling to contribute money to replace the funds that had been spent. After ordering that half of the cash on hand in each unit be sent to national headquarters and assessing a minimum contribution of one dollar per member, Kunze pleaded for additional money.

But money formed only part of the Bund's difficulties. In March, 1940, the Chicago city government began an investigation of local Bund affairs. In addition, Herman Schwinn's naturalization case appeared lost, and expelled local leaders in Brooklyn and the Bronx had stolen Bund money and property. In Michigan someone tossed a bomb at the Effende camp building near Detroit. August Klapprott expressed concern over the Bund's inability to stage anti-fifth column rallies in New York City because of hostile demonstrators and last-minute cancellation of meeting hall permits. But probably the most distressing news was the Executive Committee's decision to abandon Camp Siegfried.²⁸

The Bund's condition was revealed at the Annual National Convention, which opened in Chicago on August 31, 1940. A mere thirty-eight delegates attended the secret two day affair. Most of them reported that "insane persecutions" had caused many members to drop out of the organization and that some units were still torn between pro- and anti-Kuhn factions. Klapprott gave an especially depressing report as to the Bund's condition in the East: the Brooklyn unit refused to recognize him as department leader and Kunze as national leader. Fearing harassment from anti-Nazi groups, members of several units would not attend meetings. Units were able to draw modest

crowds only for singing and cultural events. The Yorkville Casino, the scene of many boisterous rallies, was no longer available for political purposes. Only at Camp Nordland was the Bund free to meet and hold large gatherings.²⁹

By September, 1940, the Roosevelt Administration had given up all pretense of neutrality in the European war. British pilots trained in Florida; damaged British warships were repaired in American ports; and on September 3, 1940, came the announcement of the destroyer-base deal. In addition, Congress had approved nearly \$18 billion for preparedness activities and in September passed the first peacetime draft law in American history. A provision of the conscription law excluded Bund members from employment in war industries. Public opinion polls showed that over 60% of Americans approved of the President's preparedness program and the destroyer-base deal. The majority of Americans seemed to favor all-out aid to Britain even at the risk of war.

Bund editors called upon German-Americans to strike at Roosevelt's anti-German policies with their votes in November. The Bund adopted the slogan, "Don't throw your vote away but don't vote for Roosevelt." As the campaign intensified, the Bund's cry that a Roosevelt victory meant war became shriller, and editors of the Free American took pride in the fact that German-Americans would vote in a solid bloc against Roosevelt.

As the Bund pressed its campaign against Roosevelt, the more immediate problem of fighting off hostile attacks drew its attention. Throughout the fall of 1940, American anxiety over fifth column activities intensified, with much of the

concern focused on the Bund. Local officials near Camp Nordland kept lists of car licenses of people visiting the Camp and sent them to the F.B.I. In mid-September, an explosion at the Hercules Powder Plant in New Jersey suggested sabotage, and F.B.I. agents questioned Bund members at Nordland. A New Jersey sheriff raided Nordland with the hope of finding hidden arms and ammunition presumably taken from the Hercules Company. On October 1, Representative Dies opened hearings on the Bund in Newark. Kunze testified that his organization's only role was the protection of German-Americans against persecution. Other witnesses indicated that many Bund members and sympathizers, as well as visitors to Nordland, worked in industries having government defense contracts. A former O.D. member, Richard Werner, charged that the Bund had once planned a Nazi uprising. On October 17, 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Voorhis Act, which broadened the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of June, 1940. It required registration with the Justice Department of all organizations whose aim was the overthrow of a government by violence and whose political activities were subject to foreign control. Representative Jerry Voorhis hoped that the measure would force the registration of the American Communist Party and the German-American Bund. During November and December, American newspapers and magazines carried large numbers of articles dealing with alleged subversive activities on the part of the Bund. In late December, 1940, the Bund's Chicago headquarters was raided in search of evidence to support an Illinois tax suit against the organization. Among documents discovered in the

raid was a list of Bundists serving in the American military, and this led to an F.B.I. investigation.³⁰

These pressures being exerted on the Bund caused some changes in the Bund organization. The Bundesfuehrer announced that Herman Schwinn had lost his American citizenship on a technicality and therefore was forced to withdraw from the movement. George Froboese, who recently became Deputy Bundesfuehrer, would supervise the Western department. Kunze informed all units that mail from New York headquarters would be sent from different localities and return addresses other than Bund headquarters would appear on the envelopes. He called for contributions to help pay the legal expenses of Bundists indicted for violating a New Jersey race hatred law. Concerned about the continued survival of the Free America, Kunze demanded that members devote more time to the task of finding new subscribers and selling shares in the A. V. Publishing Company. Questions about citizenship rights should be directed to national headquarters, and any unit intending to lease a home, building or other meeting facility must send the rent contract to the Bund's attorney for study and approval.³¹

Throughout 1941 the Bund took part in the intense foreign policy debate between interventionists and isolationists. While calling for American neutrality, the Bund continued to glorify Hitler's conquests in Europe. The war was seen as a battle of freedom for the German people and National Socialism. However, glorious and sensational these conquests seemed to be, circumstances at home forced the Bund to devote its attention

to the seemingly more mundane task of surviving as an organization. Fritz Kuhn's attorney, Peter Sabatino, had initiated a law suit against Kunze and the Bund for failing to pay for legal services in the Kuhn trial. The Nordland case, charging several Bundists with violating a race hatred law, as well as the Chicago tax case, remained in abeyance. A suit to determine who owned the title of a Brooklyn meeting hall was being prepared for trial. This case resulted from a pro-Kuhn group's refusal to relinquish Bund property to Kunze. Harry Diebel, operator of the Aryan Book Store in Los Angeles, had lost his citizenship on grounds that promoting pro-Nazi literature was not fitting for an American citizen.

On top of these legal difficulties came others. A California Un-American Activities Committee began an investigation of the Bund; Florida enacted a statute outlawing the organization; a Dies Committee report made public in May gave a complete indictment of the Bund as a Nazi agency. In its report to Congress, the Dies Committee took credit for practically eliminating the Bund:

When we began our work, the German-American Bund had a hundred thousand followers who were pledged to its fuehrer, Fritz Kuhn. The very first exposure which our committee undertook in the summer of 1938 was that of the German-American Bund. The first volume of our hearings opens with a hundred pages of detailed testimony of the un-American and subversive character of the Bund.

During the past week the committee published a translation of the official, confidential manual of the Storm Troopers of the German-American Bund. That document proves conclusively that the German-American Bund is an organization which is highly militarized, and which requires absolute loyalty on the part of its members.

Today Fritz Kuhn is in Sing Sing prison and the German-American Bund has been thoroughly discredited. James Wheeler-Hill, former secretary-treasurer of the Bund, is also in prison. Our exposures have provided thousands of innocent people with adequate protection against the false claims of the bund. Its drastically reduced membership and following may now be held to consist only of those whose loyalty is to Hitler.³²

On May 30, 1941, New Jersey Attorney General David T. Wilentz ordered local enforcement officers to close Camp Nordland. A few days later, Governor Charles Edison signed a bill, passed unanimously by the New Jersey legislature, revoking the charter and incorporation of the German-American Bund Auxiliary, the owner of Camp Nordland. When the Auxiliary tried to evade the law by transferring its title to 217 individuals, known collectively as the Nordland Home Owners Association, the camp was seized and placed under custody of the State of New Jersey. On June 16, President Roosevelt included Bund funds in a general freezing order. A few weeks later, a New York legislative committee began an investigation to determine the Bund's influence in public schools, and federal tax liens were filed against the Bund and August Klapprott.³³

The Bund's last national convention opened in Chicago on August 30, 1941. Kunze reported that the organization could no longer hold open meetings, and many units had changed their names to singing and gymnastic societies. The O.D. had become an athletic organization. The Bundesfuehrer advised the delegates to stop using the fascist salute and avoid using uniform and flag displays. The plight of the Bund appeared

hopeless, yet on the last day of the convention, the delegates affirmed a series of boastful resolutions. They pointed to their love and devotion to the American republic, repeated the claim that the Bund had no connections with any foreign government, protested against discriminations, intrigues and persecutions directed at them, declared their "undying opposition" to Communism, and denounced the Roosevelt Administration for aiding Great Britain and the Soviet Union.³⁴

In early November Kunze fled to Mexico. Immediately the Bund Executive Committee met in special session formally to depose Kunze and to appoint George Froboese acting national leader. A directive informed unit leaders that Kunze had been dismissed on grounds of incompetence. In the final Bund Command, George Froboese announced that the Bund's goal to foster sympathy for the new Germany remained unchanged. He affirmed the absolute righteousness of the Bund's cause. Kunze may have lost faith in the movement's future and in the history of the Bund's struggle.³⁵

On the day after Pearl Harbor, the Executive Committee of the German-American Bund unanimously adopted a motion to disband the Bund at some early date. Three days later, on December 11, 1941, the United States declared war on the Axis powers and Treasury Department agents moved into the Bund's national headquarters and seized all records. Thus, after more than five years from that first convention in Buffalo, New York, the German-American Bund was no more.³⁶

EPILOGUE

The Federal government began an immediate roundup of leading Bund officials. Kunze was picked up in Mexico and returned to the United States. He received a fifteen-year prison sentence for engaging in subversive activities. George Froboese and a few lesser known Bundists committed suicide. Twenty-four officers of the Bund, including Kunze, Klapprott and Keegan, were convicted of conspiracy to violate the 1940 Selective Service Act. Kunze along with Herman Schwinn, August Klapprott and Hans Diebel were defendants at the famous sedition case, United States vs. Williams. Some Bundists had their naturalized citizenship revoked and spent a few months in detention camps. Fritz Kuhn lost his citizenship and was deported to Germany after 1945. Most Bund members, however, were not unduly harassed.

NOTES

Introduction

- 1 Donald S. Strong, Organized Anti-Semitism in America (Washington, D.C.; American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), p. iii.
- 2 Leland V. Bell, "Anatomy of a Hate Movement: The German American Bund, 1936 - 1941 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of West Virginia, 1968).
- 3 Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960).

Chapter I

- 1 Fritz Kuhn, Awake and Act (New York: Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, 1936), p. 3.
- 2 United States, Congress, House, "Speech of Hon. Samuel Dickstein," 1st Sess., January 26, 1937.
- 3 Mr. Dickstein served in the House for twenty-two years until 1945, when he was elected as a Supreme Court Justice of the State of New York. He remained in that position until his death on April 22, 1954, at the age of 69.
- 4 Dorothy Waring, American Defender (New York: Robert Speller, Inc., 1935), pp. 120-123.
- 5 That resolution was as follows:
Resolved, that the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven Members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of Nazi propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.
(United States, Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities: Preliminary Committee Report, 73rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1935).

- 6 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., March 20, 1934, p. 5058.
- 7 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, 76th Cong., 2nd Sess., August 19, 1937, p. 11957.
- 8 United States, Congress, House, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Historical Sketch on Origin and Extent of Nazi Activities in the United States, Confidential Committee Print, 72nd Congress, 1933; United States, Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities: Preliminary Committee Report, 73rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1935; United States, Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., February 15, 1935.
- 9 Typed statement, no date, Dickstein Papers, American Jewish Archives (Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio), box 477, folder #62.
- 10 Letter from Samuel Untermyer to Samuel Dickstein, January 12, 1934, Dickstein Papers, box 502, folder #32.
- 11 United States, Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities (the "Dies Committee"), Investigation of American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Part VI, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, p. 3712. This report will be referred to as the Dies Committee report.
- 12 Dies Committee Report, p. 3786.
- 13 Strong, 25.
- 14 The Daily Mirror, October 7, 1938, p. 1.
- 15 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., May 9, 1939, p. 7460.
- 16 Typed memorandum, March 19, 1937, Dickstein Papers, box 489, folder #39.
- 17 Letter from Colonel E.R.W. McCabe, Assistant Chief of Staff, War Department, to Samuel Dickstein, July 9, 1938, Dickstein Papers, box 489, folder #39.

Chapter II

- 1 Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, December 30, 1935, p. 1; February 13, 1936, p. 7; February 20, 1936, p. 7. The Bund newspaper will hereafter be referred to as Deutscher Weckruf.

- 2 Deutscher Weckruf, May 21, 1936, p. 5; June 4, 1936, p. 1; June 18, 1936, p. 5; Dickstein Papers, box 479, folder #28.
- 3 Deutscher Weckruf, May 7, 1936, p. 2; Dickstein Papers, box 479, folder #28.
- 4 Deutscher Weckruf, December 5, 1935, p. 12; February 20, 1936, p. 4, in Dickstein Papers, box 479, folder #28.
- 5 New York Times, February 12, 1939, p. 1.
- 6 Deutscher Weckruf, November 3, 1938, p. 1.
- 7 United States, Congress, House, Report: Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 5.
- 8 Deutscher Weckruf, June 13, 1936, p. 6; November 5, 1936, p. 2; November 26, 1936, p. 1.
- 9 Deutscher Weckruf, February 6, 1936, p. 3; March 19, 1936, p. 5; March 26, 1936, p. 6; April 2, 1936, p. 7; June 13, 1936, p. 7.
- 10 Deutscher Weckruf, December 30, 1935, p. 5; February 6, 1936, p. 4; September 17, 1936, p. 12; November 5, 1936, p. 2.
- 11 Ralph F. Bischoff, Nazi Conquest Through German Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), pp. 24-39.
- 12 Deutscher Weckruf, October 1, 1936, p. 20.
- 13 Deutscher Weckruf, August 27, 1936, Section II, p. 1.
- 14 Letter from Samuel K. Maccabee, Chairman, "Move the Olympics Committee," to Samuel Dickstein, November 15, 1935, box 496, folder #9.
- 15 Letter from Samuel K. Maccabee, Chairman, "Organization of American Good-will Olympic Association," to Samuel Dickstein, December 13, 1935, box 496, folder #9.
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- 17 New York Herald, n.d., p. 1, Dickstein Papers, box 496, folder #9.
- 18 Typed speech, no date, by Samuel Dickstein, in Dickstein Papers, box 496, folder #9.
- 19 Deutscher Weckruf, June 13, 1936, Section II, p. 4.

- 20 Deutscher Weckruf, June 18, 1936, p. 2.
- 21 Leland V. Bell, "Anatomy of a Hate Movement: The German American Bund, 1936-1941," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of West Virginia, 1968), p. 30.
- 22 Deutscher Weckruf, December 3, 1936, p. 10.
- 23 Deutscher Weckruf, October 1, 1936, p. 1; August 13, 1936, p. 1; October 8, 1936, pp. 1-2.

Chapter III

- 1 Strong, 26.
- 2 Constitution of the German-American Bund, in United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, Appendix, 74th Cong. 1st Sess., 1938, pp. 3988-3989. See Appendix of this thesis for a copy of this Constitution.
- 3 Dies Committee Report, 1549-1583; Strong, 26-27; Bell, 67-68. See Appendix of this thesis for pledge taken by all Bund members.
- 4 Strong, 31. See map in Appendix of this thesis.
- 5 Bell, 70.
- 6 Typed minutes of meeting of Bergen County unit, held in New Milford, New Jersey, February 14, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 493, folder #73.
- 7 Typed minutes of meeting of Bronx unit, February 17, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 493, folder #73.
- 8 Bell, 72-73.
- 9 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, Appendix, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., July 27, 1937, p. 9972.
- 10 The Jewish Herald (Providence, Rhode Island), March 19, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #33.
- 11 New York Herald Tribune, April 14, 1939, in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #33.
- 12 Bell, 73.
- 13 Dies Committee Report, 1443-1444, 1446-1448, 1463-1469, 1584-1620.
- 14 Deutscher Weckruf, October 27, 1938.
- 15 Deutscher Weckruf, October 27, 1938.

- 16 News release from Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, n.d., in Dickstein Papers, box 495, folder #173.
- 17 Deutscher Weckruf, October 1, 1936, p. 4; December 10, 1936, p. 2; January 28, 1937, p. 5; March 11, 1937, p. 6; June 10, 1937, p. 1.
- 18 Deutscher Weckruf, January 9, 1936, p. 4.
- 19 Copy of letter sent to Postmaster-General James A. Farley by Fritz Kuhn, January 14, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 487, folder #43A.
- 20 Letter to Congressman Dickstein from Fritz Kuhn, January 14, 1937, box 487, folder #43A.
- 21 Letter to Fritz Kuhn from Samuel Dickstein, January 22, 1937, box 487, folder #43A.
- 22 Letter to Samuel Dickstein from Fritz Kuhn, January 25, 1937, box 487, folder #43A.
- 23 United States, Department of Justice, German American Bund, Outline of Evidence, September 17, 1942.
- 24 Strong, 34-35; Deutscher Weckruf, October 22, 1936, p. 4; December 24, 1936, p. 4.
- 25 Bell, 80.
- 26 List of youth groups and camps for boys and girls, in Dickstein Papers, box 486, folder #47.
- 27 Typed memorandum, in Dickstein Papers, box 486, folder #47.
- 28 Handwritten list of Bund camps, in Dickstein Papers, box 494, folder #96.
- 29 Department of Justice, The German American Bund, 41-42.
- 30 Deutscher Weckruf, February 11, 1937, p. 6.
- 31 Deutscher Weckruf, February 11, 1937, p. 6.
- 32 Deutscher Weckruf, July, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 493, folder #38.
- 33 Deutscher Weckruf, November 26, 1936, p. 11; August 12, 1937, p. 6.
- 34 See picture in Appendix.
- 35 Typed report, "Children's Camps," n.d., in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #46.

- 36 Deutscher Weckruf, February 18, 1937, pp. 1-4; New York Times, February 13, 1937, p. 5.
- 37 New York Times, September 5, 1938, p. 1.
- 38 New York Herald Tribune, September 6, 1938, p. 7.
- 39 Deutscher Weckruf, September 8, 1938, p. 1.

Chapter IV

- 1 Deutscher Weckruf, September 23, 1937, p. 4.
- 2 Deutscher Weckruf, October 29, 1936, p. 10.
- 3 Deutscher Weckruf, August 27, 1936; February 18, 1937, p. 3; Bell, 41.
- 4 Deutscher Weckruf, August 20, 1936, p. 1.
- 5 Deutscher Weckruf, April 30, 1936, p. 2; August 27, 1936, p. 6; October 28, 1937, p. 4.
- 6 Deutscher Weckruf, November 24, 1938, p. 1.
- 7 Deutscher Weckruf, December 12, 1935, p. 1; February 6, 1936, p. 1; February 13, 1936, p. 1; May 28, 1936, p. 5.
- 8 Deutscher Weckruf, September 15, 1938, p. 2.
- 9 Deutscher Weckruf, September 15, 1938, p. 2.
- 10 Deutscher Weckruf, December 12, 1935, p. 4; February 27, 1936, p. 4; March 5, 1936, p. 5; April 16, 1936, p. 1; April 30, 1936, p. 2; August 12, 1936, p. 4; October 1, 1936, p. 15.
- 11 Deutscher Weckruf, July 15, 1936, p. 6; August 20, 1936, p. 4; September 3, 1936, pp. 1, 4; November 26, 1936, p. 3.
- 12 Deutscher Weckruf, January 23, 1936, p. 4; February 6, 1936, p. 1; April 16, 1936, p. 1; October 29, 1936, p. 7; June 17, 1937, p. 2; July 22, 1937, p. 4; October 28, 1937, p. 4.
- 13 Deutscher Weckruf, April 30, 1936, p. 2.
- 14 Deutscher Weckruf, July 7, 1938, p. 1.
- 15 Deutscher Weckruf, February 27, 1936, p. 1; August 27, 1936, p. 1.
- 16 Deutscher Weckruf, February 13, 1936, p. 8; September 3, 1936, p. 2; March 11, 1937, p. 2.

- 17 Robert Edward Edmondson made a name for himself as a free-lance writer and distributor of anti-Semitic literature. Edmondson asserted that in his first year of operation, he distributed over a million pieces of literature, pamphlets, and weekly letters. Assuming that his figures were accurate, Edmondson's average weekly circulation over the first two years was approximately 50,000. In 1937, Edmondson began to distribute pamphlets frequently. Among these were his own The Jewish System Indicted, Anti-Semitic Causes of Today, and Women of America, Rescue the Republic. Though primarily a writer, Edmondson now and then made use of the public platform as a channel of propaganda. On several occasions, he addressed German-American Bund groups. (Strong, 79-82.)
- 18 News release from the American Jewish Congress, October 28, 1937, box 473, folder #42.
- 19 Deutscher Weckruf, June 18, 1936, p. 1. The plaintiffs in the Edmondson case dropped the case when they decided that a charge of libel against the Jewish people was a weak basis for legal action. The Bund, of course, regarded this decision as a great victory for American justice.
- 20 Deutscher Weckruf, March 12, 1936, p. 4; June 18, 1936, p. 5; July 9, 1936, p. 4; July 16, 1936, p. 1; July 23, 1936, p. 1.
- 21 Bell, 53.
- 22 Deutscher Weckruf, September 10, 1936; September 24, 1936, p. 1; October 8, 1936, pp. 4, 6; December 15, 1938, p. 1.
- 23 Bund Command Number 2, October 29, 1936, pp. 2-3, in Bell, 61.
- 24 Deutscher Weckruf, November 5, 1936, p. 1; November 12, 1936, pp. 1-2.

Chapter V

- 1 Deutscher Weckruf, January 14, 1937, pp. 2, 4; February 4, 1937, pp. 4, 10; March 4, 1937, p. 2; April 15, 1937, pp. 1-2; July 29, 1937, p. 3; August 19, 1937, p. 3.
- 2 Deutscher Weckruf, January 28, 1937, p. 14; February 11, 1937, p. 9; March 11, 1937, p. 2; April 22, 1937, p. 2; May 13, 1937, p. 3.
- 3 American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Congress Bulletin (New York: American Jewish Congress, March, 1937).
- 4 LaGuardia was a vice-president of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

- 5 Bell, 103.
- 6 Deutscher Weckruf, March 11, 1937, pp. 1-2, 4; March 18, 1937, pp. 3, 8; New York Times, March 4, 1937, p. 25; March 9, 1937, p. 4.
- 7 German American League for Culture, American Searchlight, January 20, 1937, p. 5, in Dickstein Papers, box 483, folder #25.
- 8 New York Times, March 16, 1937, p. 3; March 17, 1937, p. 27; March 23, 1937, p. 4; April 2, 1937, p. 11; April 17, 1937, p. 8; May 15, 1937, p. 3; October 30, 1937, p. 9; Deutscher Weckruf, May 20, 1937, p. 1; May 27, 1937, p. 2; November 4, 1937, pp. 1-3.
- 9 The New York American, March 22, 1937, p. 1; New York Times, August 6, 1937, p. 1; Letters to Samuel Dickstein from Julius Hockfelder, March 17, 1937; August 7, 1937; October 27, 1937; December 18, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 486, folder #48; Letter to the Adjutant-General, Governor's Island, New York, from Julius Hockfelder, March 12, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 486, folder #48.
- 10 United States, Government Printing Office, Speech of Hon. Samuel Dickstein of New York in the House of Representatives, March 15, 1937, p. 6.
- 11 Radio address of Samuel Dickstein on March 29, 1937, reprinted in United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., March 30, 1937, p. 3745.
- 12 United States, Government Printing Office, Speech of Hon. Samuel Dickstein..., March 15, 1937, p. 9.
- 13 Deutscher Weckruf, February 4, 1937, p. 9.
- 14 See page 35 .
- 15 Deutscher Weckruf, February 11, 1937, p. 9.
- 16 New York Times, March 12, 1937, p. 15; New York Journal, March 11, 1937, p. 10; New York Evening Telegram, March 11, 1937, p. 2.
- 17 Deutscher Weckruf, March 18, 1937, p. 1; March 25, 1937, pp. 1-5; April 8, 1937, p. 1.
- 18 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 2nd Sess., April 8, 1937.
- 19 Deutscher Weckruf, April 15, 1937, pp. 1-3.
- 20 Personal vitae of Richard Collins, in Dickstein Papers, box 497, folder #45.

- 21 List of members of investigating team, February 15, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 497, folder #45.
- 22 "Confidential report of Bureau of Investigation, Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress," March 24, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 498, folder #22.
- 23 United States, Congress, House, Congressional Record, Appendix, 76th Congress, 2nd Sess., July 27, 1937, p. 9972.
- 24 Congressional Record, Appendix, July 27, 1937, p. 9971; New York Times, July 22, 1937, p. 27; July 28, 1937, p. 4; July 30, 1937, p. 4; August 4, 1937, p. 20.
- 25 Deutscher Weckruf, July 22, 1937, p. 3; July 29, 1937, pp. 1-2.
- 26 Deutscher Weckruf, August 12, 1937, pp. 1-3; August 19, 1937, pp. 1, 3-4; August 26, 1937, pp. 3-4.
- 27 Deutscher Weckruf, August 12, 1937, p. 1.
- 28 Letter from Fritz Kuhn to Samuel Dickstein, August 10, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 489, folder #43.
- 29 Handbill, in Dickstein Papers, box 489, folder #43.
- 30 Copy of telegram from Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Attorney-General Cummings, July, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 476, folder #6.
- 31 New York Herald Tribune, July 19, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 476, folder #6.
- 32 New York Times, July 23, 1937, p. 10.
- 33 Newark Evening News, July 20, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 476, folder #6.
- 34 Deutscher Weckruf, July 29, 1937, p. 3; August 5, 1937, pp. 1, 3-4, 7; August 19, 1937, pp. 1-2, 4.
- 35 New York World-Telegram, August 18, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 479, folder #17.
- 36 New York Times, September 10, 1937.
- 37 Deutscher Weckruf, September 2, 1937, p. 3.
- 38 New York Times, September 10, 1937, p. 8.
- 39 New York Times, September 11, 1937, p. 9; September 20, 1937, p. 1; September 23, 1937, p. 13; September 27, 1937, p. 25.

- 40 Speech by Samuel Dickstein, n.d., in Dickstein Papers, box 500.
- 41 New York Times, November 20, 1937, p. 20; November 24, 1937, p. 3.
- 42 New York Times, January 14, 1938, p. 4.
- 43 Newspaper article without name of paper or date, in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #33.
- 44 Deutscher Weckruf, January 20, 1938, pp. 1-2.
- 45 Bell, 130.
- 46 New York Times, February 8, 1938, p. 9; February 13, 1938, p. 7; February 14, 1938, p. 18; February 21, 1938, p. 5.
- 47 New York Times, March 1, 1938, p. 1, 6; Bell, 133.
- 48 Alton Frye, Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933-1941 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 87.
- 49 New York Times, March 26, 1938, p. 6; April 4, 1938, p. 12; April 8, 1938, p. 8; April 9, 1938, p. 9.
- 50 New York Times, April 21, 1938, p. 1, 11; April 22, 1938, p. 12.
- 51 Statement of Dr. C. S. Weiss taken at his bedside by Richard Collins, May 5, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 504, folder #16.
- 52 New York Times, April 23, 1938, p. 1; April 24, 1938, p. 36.
- 53 Deutscher Weckruf, May 5, 1938, p. 1.
- 54 Bell, 143.
- 55 cf. Dickstein's speeches, in Dickstein Papers, box 500.
- 56 New York Times, April 28, 1938, p. 8; May 6, 1938, p. 1; May 8, 1938, p. 41; May 10, 1938, p. 13; May 18, 1938, p. 4; The Brooklyn Eagle, May 6, 1938, p. 1; Deutscher Weckruf, May 12, 1938, pp. 1-2.
- 57 New York Herald Tribune, May 11, 1938; The Washington Post, May 11, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #43.
- 58 August Raymond Ogden, The Dies Committee (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1945), pp. 43-47.
- 59 Resolution for the creation of "Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Administration and Enforcement of the Law" of the State of New York, May 7, 1937, in Dickstein Papers, box 492, folder #26.

- 60 New York Times, June 24, 1938, p. 4.
- 61 New York Times, June 24, 1938, p. 4.
- 62 Copy of a letter to Hon. Irwin Steingut, McNaboe Investigating Committee, from Samuel Dickstein, June 24, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 409, folder #43.
- 63 Telegram to Samuel Dickstein from Fritz Kuhn, in Dickstein Papers, box 409, folder #43.
- 64 Letter to Steingut from Dickstein, in Dickstein Papers, box 409, folder #43.
- 65 New York Times, July 1, 1938, p. 8; July 2, 1938, p. 28.
- 66 New York Times, July 7, 1938, p. 3; July 8, 1938, p. 18; July 12, 1938, p. 12; July 13, 1938, pp. 1, 16.
- 67 New York Times, July 14, 1938, p. 20; "The Yahoos of Yaphank," Nation, CXLVII (July 23, 1938), p. 81; "Uncle Sam's Nazis," Newsweek, XII (July 18, 1938), p. 11; "Heiling Muttled," Newsweek, XII (July 25, 1938), p. 13.
- 68 New York Times, July 13, 1938, p. 16; July 18, 1938, p. 30; Deutscher Weckruf, July 21, 1938, p. 1.
- 69 See Appendix.
- 70 N. W. Rogers, What Price Federal Reserve? Read the Protocols of Elders of Zion and Understand the New Deal (New York: Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, 1938), p. 7.
- 71 Deutscher Weckruf, July 7, 1938, p. 1.
- 72 New York Times, August 13, 1938, pp. 1, 6; August 19, 1938, pp. 1, 4; September 30, 1938, p. 9; October 1, 1938, p. 36; Ogden, 51-52, 57-73, 86-88.
- 73 New York Times, September 30, 1938, p. 9.
- 74 Article from unknown paper, October 31, 1938, in Dickstein Papers, box 480, folder #43.
- 75 New York Times, October 26, 1938, p. 1.
- 76 New York Daily News, October 31, 1938, p. 1.
- 77 Speech by Samuel Dickstein to Congress, n.d., in Dickstein Papers, box 500, folder #73.
- 78 Deutscher Weckruf, May 12, 1938, pp. 2-3; June 9, 1938, p. 2; August 25, 1938, p. 3; September 8, 1938, pp. 3-5; September 22, 1938, pp. 1-5; Bell, 180.

- 79 New York Times, October 2, 1938, p. 34; October 3, 1938, p. 6; October 16, 1938, p. 39; October 27, 1938, p. 4; Bell, 180-181.
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- 81 "The Nazi Pogroms: Digest of Public Opinion," Contemporary Jewish Record, II (January, 1939), pp. 41-50.
- 82 Deutscher Weckruf, November 17, 1938, p. 1; November 27, 1938, pp. 1-4; November 24, 1938, pp. 4-5.
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- 84 Deutscher Weckruf, November 24, 1938, pp. 1, 3, 5; December 22, 1938, pp. 1, 3.

Chapter VI

- 1 New York Times, November 5, 1938, p. 2; Deutscher Weckruf, November 10, 1938, p. 1; January 12, 1939. See Appendix.
- 2 Bell, 187.
- 3 New York Times, February 18, 1939, p. 30; February 19, 1939, p. 32; Deutscher Weckruf, February 16, 1939, pp. 1, 3.
- 4 New York Daily News, February 21, 1939, pp. 1, 10, 11, 14; New York Times, February 21, 1939, p. 1; Alson J. Smith, "I Went to a Nazi Rally," Christian Century, LVI (March 8, 1939), pp. 320-322; "New York Nazis Beat Up a Jew at Bund Meeting," Life, VI (March 6, 1939), pp. 22-23.
- 5 New York Herald Tribune, February 22, 1939.
- 6 "The German American Bund Meeting," Contemporary Jewish Record, II (March-April, 1939), pp. 53-58; "The Nazis Are Here," Nation, CXLVIII (March 4, 1939), p. 253; New York Times, February 21, 1939, p. 5; February 22, 1939, p. 6; February 23, 1939, pp. 10, 17; February 24, 1939, pp. 6, 18; February 25, 1939, p. 18; February 27, 1939, p. 5.
- 7 New York Times, March 4, 1939, pp. 1, 13.
- 8 Deutscher Weckruf, February 23, 1939, pp. 1-2; March 2, 1939, pp. 1-5; March 9, 1939, pp. 1-7.
- 9 New York Times, February 22, 1939, p. 6; February 26, 1939, Section 4, p. 4.
- 10 Bell, 197.

- 11 New York Times, March 3, 1939, p. 8; March 4, 1939, p. 13; March 10, 1939, p. 5; March 16, 1939, p. 14; March 21, 1939, p. 10; March 30, 1939, p. 6; April 4, 1939, p. 8; Deutscher Weckruf, March 9, 1939, p. 1; April 6, 1939, p. 4; April 20, 1939, p. 2; New York Daily News, n.d., in Dickstein Papers, box 487, folder #38; The Daily Worker, March 7, 1939, p. 1.
- 12 New York Times, March 28, 1939, p. 3; April 16, 1939, p. 38; April 19, 1939, p. 22; April 26, 1939, pp. 14, 22; June 1, 1939, p. 4.
- 13 New York Times, May 10, 1939, p. 12; May 13, 1939, p. 1; May 18, 1939, pp. 1, 11; May 19, 1939, p. 10; May 23, 1939, p. 24; May 25, 1939, p. 15; May 25, 1939, pp. 1, 24; "Woes of a Fuehrer," Newsweek, XIII (June 5, 1939), p. 12; Bell, 202-203.
- 14 Deutscher Weckruf, May 11, 1939, p. 1; May 18, 1939, pp. 1-2; June 1, 1939, p. 1; June 8, 1939, p. 1; June 29, 1939, p. 1; July 6, 1939, p. 1.
- 15 New York Times, July 5, 1939, p. 3; July 6, 1939, p. 11; July 7, 1939, p. 4; July 15, 1939, p. 4; Deutscher Weckruf, July 13, 1939, pp. 1-2; September 15, 1939, pp. 1, 9; October 12, 1939, p. 8.
- 16 New York Times, August 17, 1939, p. 4; August 18, 1939, p. 3; August 19, 1939, pp. 1, 4; Ogden, 123-4.
- 17 Bell, 209-210.
- 18 Deutscher Weckruf, June 22, 1939, pp. 1-2; July 16, 1939, p. 7.
- 19 Bell, 211-212.
- 20 New York Times, September 30, 1939, pp. 1, 8; October 1, 1939, p. 27; October 4, 1939, p. 18; October 5, 1939, p. 10; October 6, 1939, p. 17; October 8, 1939, p. 47; October 13, 1939, p. 1; October 26, 1939, pp. 1-2.
- 21 New York Times, September 26, 1939, pp. 1, 12; October 19, 1939, p. 15; October 20, 1939, p. 14; Ogden, 131-132; Deutscher Weckruf, November 9, 1939, p. 1.
- 22 Bell, 217.
- 23 New York Times, November 10, 1939, p. 10; November 11, 1939, pp. 1, 8; November 14, 1939, pp. 1, 24; November 15, 1939, pp. 1, 15; November 16, 1939, p. 15; November 17, 1939, pp. 1, 15; November 19, 1939, p. 23; November 21, 1939, p. 14; December 6, 1939, pp. 1, 18.

- 24 Bell, 222-223.
- 25 Bell, 223-224.
- 26 Bell, 226-227.
- 27 Free American, May 30, 1940, pp. 1-2, 7; June 6, 1940, pp. 1-2, 7-8; June 20, 1940, pp. 1, 7-8; June 27, 1940, pp. 1-2, 7.
- 28 Bell, 232.
- 29 New York Times, August 19, 1940, p. 1; August 20, 1940, p. 8; August 23, 1940, p. 23.
- 30 New York Times, September 11, 1940, p. 14; September 14, 1940, p. 34; September 16, 1940, p. 21; October 2, 1940, p. 1; October 5, 1940, p. 17; December 20, 1940, p. 17; December 21, 1940, p. 8; "Digest of Magazine Opinion," Contemporary Jewish Record, IV (February, 1941), pp. 76-78.
- 31 Bell, 246.
- 32 Dies Committee Report, p. 21.
- 33 New York Times, April 23, 1941, p. 14; May 24, 1941, p. 11; May 25, 1941, p. 3; May 31, 1941, pp. 1, 7; June 1, 1941, p. 1; June 4, 1941, pp. 1, 11; June 9, 1941, p. 21; June 11, 1941, p. 23; June 17, 1941, p. 4; August 18, 1941, p. 15.
- 34 Bell, 254.
- 35 Bell, 254.

Epilogue

- 1 Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), pp. 340-342; Contemporary Jewish Record, V (August, 1942), p. 422.

APPENDIX I

A booklet given to every member of the Bund contained the following pledge of obedience:

Ich gelobe meinem Fuehrer Adolf Hitler Treue.
Ich verspreche Adolf Hitler und den von ihm
bestellten, mir bekannten oder durch ihre
Abzeichen erkennbaren Vorgesetzten Achtung
und Gehorsam und verpflichte mich, alle
Befehle unverdrossen und gewissenhaft zu
vollziehen, da ich weiss, dass meine Fuehrer
nichts Ungestzliches von mir fordern.

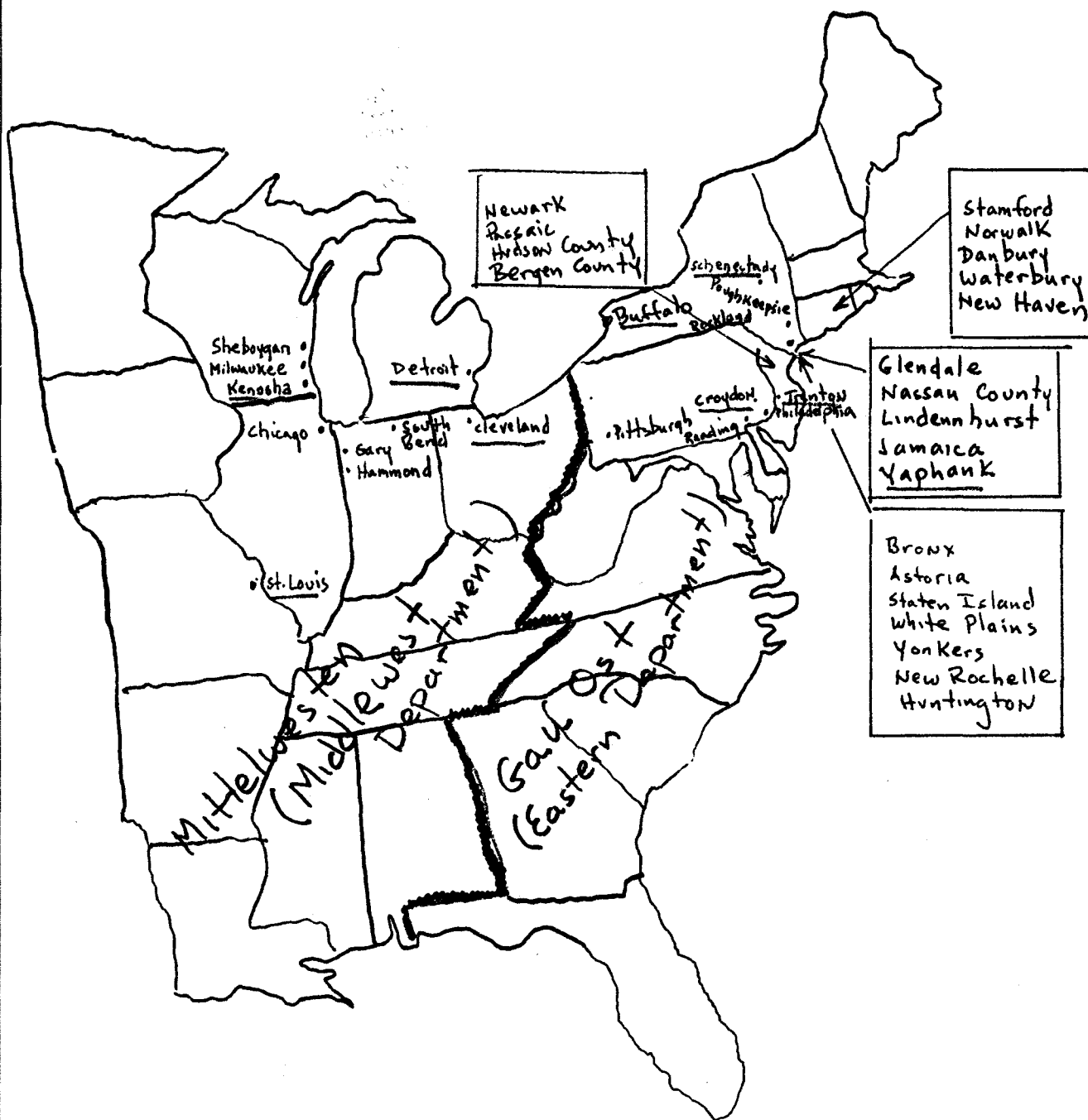
I solemnly swear fidelity to my leader, Adolf
Hitler. I promise Adolf Hitler and everybody
designated by him known to me or to be known
to me, through his credentials, or through
his uniform, the respect and absolute obedience
due him and give allegiance herewith to ful-
fill all orders without restriction, and with
my entire will, because I know that my leader
does not demand from me anything illegal.

APPENDIX II

A map of Bund Activity: 1939



Each city listed represents a unit of the German-American Bund in the United States. Each city underlined in green indicates a camp owned and/or operated by the Bund. The Bund divided the nation into three regions, as listed.



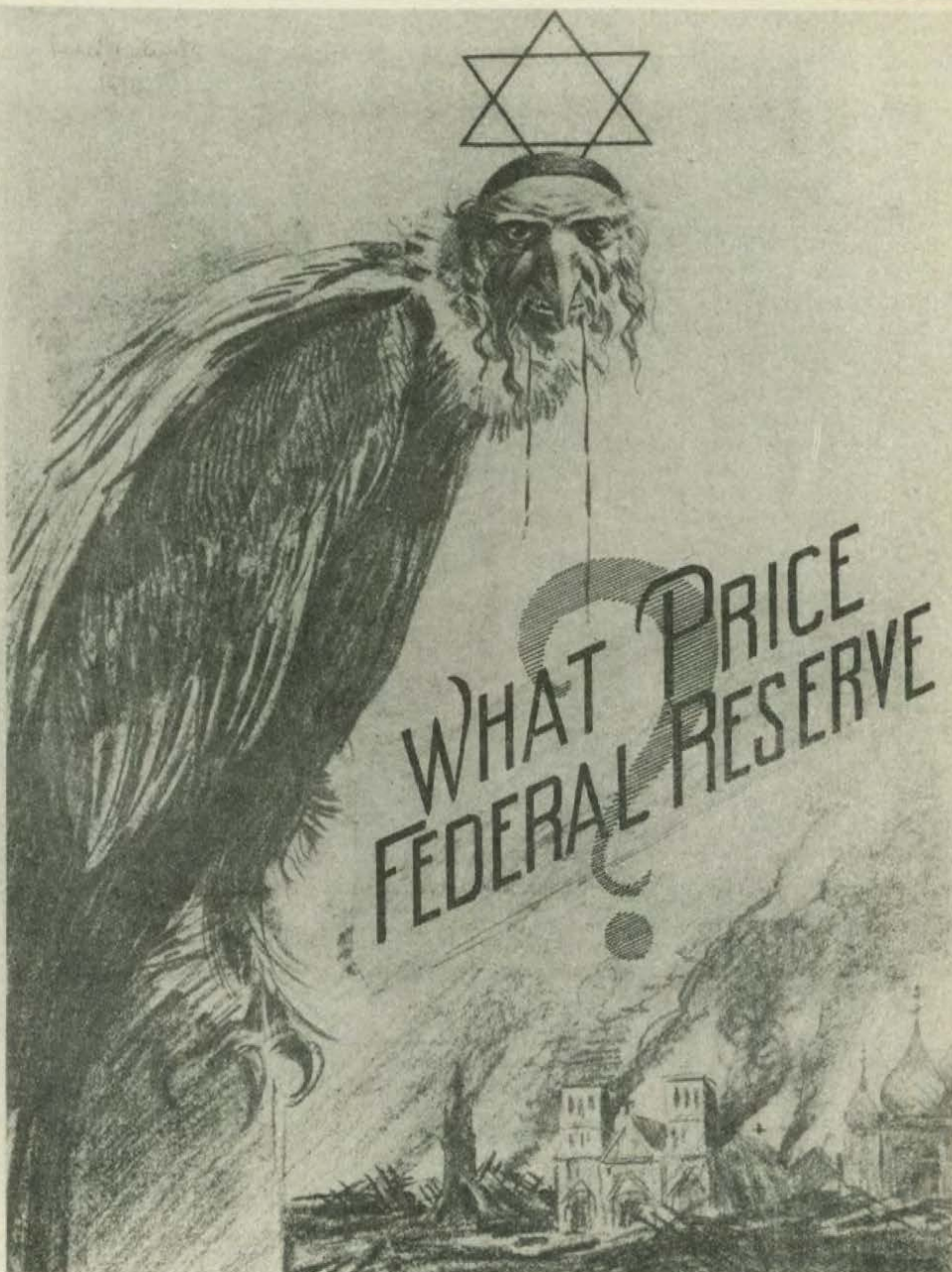
APPENDIX III



A picture of a member of a Bund youth group taken at one of the Bund camps (from "Dickstein Papers," box 480, folder 46).

APPENDIX IV

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(2)

**READ THE
PROTOCOLS
ELDERS OF ZION**
And Understand the New Deal

WHAT PRICE FEDERAL RESERVE?

Open Arraignment of the System Addressed to Secretary Morrill

Declares Hordes of Jews Have Swarmed Into Government Posts in Positions of Control

As Told by N. W. Rogers

Tompkins Corners, New York,
January 14th, 1938.

Mr. Chester Morrill, Secretary
Board of Governors,
Federal Reserve System,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:-

Adverting to Mr. L. P. Bethea's letter of October 4th, in reply to mine addressed to yourself, of September 16th, 1937, you say, in yours of July 13th:-

"As regards the profits of the Federal Reserve System, it should be pointed out that the Federal Reserve banks are not operated for profit, but for the performance of certain quasi-governmental or public functions. They are operated subject to the regulation of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and differ in essential respects from privately managed corporations operated for profit."

Such evidence as is available tends to establish that every amendment to the original Act, of December 23rd, 1913, has provided a further scope for accumulating money. In your report for the year 1918 it is stated that the net earnings were at the rate of 72.6%, while the Act of March 3rd, 1918, added some \$26,728,440. to your surplus. By 1920, after deducting dividends, it appears that the Reserve banks earned 154.7%; the New York bank 217%; and since November, 1914, to 1934, profits on Government securities amounting to some \$264,325,869. have accumulated; in the latter year alone \$46,130,941.

In March, 1935, some \$647,000,000 was, by Executive order, withdrawn from circulation by calling in the bonds backing National Bank notes in exchange for Federal Reserve notes. But the Federal Reserve banks, in turn, surrendered the bonds for gold notes. It would seem that in the transaction there was something suggestive of swindling, reminiscent of the cult of the Golden Calf. Further, the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, as amended in 1935, extracted some 290 million dollars more from the taxpayers. There are other amendments, all of which evidence that the

Federal Reserve System has never scorned any opportunity to add to its immense accumulations. This being so, I incline to believe that your allegation is misleading, not in accord with the evidence.

In the record of your performance of certain quasi-governmental, or public functions, there appears the account of a secret meeting of Federal Reserve officials, May 18th, 1920, as published in the "Manufacturers Record" February 22 1923, which was reprinted in the "Congressional

Record" on February 23rd, 1923, and again on February 28th following, pages 4632 and 4858, in accord with the requests of Senator Eugene F. Ladd and Senator Frank R. Godding, which, having read I wish, as a matter of record, to quote Senator Ladd's remarks which appear on Page 4370, of the "Congressional Record", February 23rd, 1923, which so ably substantiate what I have endeavored to convey in my former letters. He said:-

I am fully justified in stating that the peak of official perfidy and financial iniquity was reached when the Federal Reserve System was imposed upon the American people by the world's investment bankers. For defeating the very purpose its sponsors publicly claimed for it, it can not be matched. It was an unpardonable national crime. The few redeeming traits that it possesses are rendered nugatory by what its originator, Paul M. Warburg, styled in an administrative way. Through the notoriously dishonest manipulations of this infamous system the purchasing power of the farmers of the country has been deflated \$18,000,000,000 in a single year. When we stop to consider that there are 6,500,000 farms in the United States employing 13,000,000 men, we at once realize that the farmer is the largest employer of labor in the country. He produces all our food and clothing and pays nearly 60 per cent of the freight charges, in the capacity of producer and consumer. Every farm is a producing and consuming plant. Just think of the prodigious amount of supplies that are consumed in the aggregate by the farmers of the United States: Threshing machines, reapers, rakes, binders, tractors, wire fencing, tiles, in short, farming machinery and implements of all kinds, building material for homes, barns, and outhouses, fruit trees, fertilizers, plants and scores of things these will suggest.

"Now, it is plain as a geometrical axiom, that just in proportion as you reduce the purchasing power of the farmer in the same proportion you diminish the prosperity of the Nation. In the face of these indisputable facts is it not a burning shame, tantamount to a national scandal that the time of Congress should be wasted and frittered away considering such an iniquitous measure (ship subsidies--Ed.) as the one under consideration while the working farmer is pushed into irredeemable bankruptcy by the force of unjust laws and dishonest and inefficient administration of others.

"Can you imagine anything more cruel and merciless than the foreclosure of a farm mortgage that robs industrious, thrifty, peaceable country-loving, law-abiding American citizens of years of weary toil, to turn over to men who never performed a day's labor, produced a dollar's worth of wealth, rendered any useful

service to society, who have done nothing, in fact, to aid the advancement of a true civilization or to furnish the slightest pretext for their own existence. To compare them to parasites that fatten on other organisms would be doing injustice to the parasite, as the latter do not intimidate, discriminate, or deceive their prey; they are vampires that with ruthless indifference extract the very lifeblood of their helpless victims.

"According to John Skelton Williams, former Comptroller of the Currency, the earnings of a lifetime were turned over to these modern Shylocks through the unexpected and wholly unnecessary deflation of the currency by the faithless and merciless connivance of officials of the Federal Reserve System. These public officials, although supported by the people and supposed to serve them in a public capacity, have no interest in the general welfare, no sympathy for the toiling masses, but are entirely devoted to the predatory privileged interests. Their insatiable rapacity, if allowed to continue, is bound to wreck the Government, as they already have wrecked monetary and transportation systems and our most productive industries, and eventually retard and then turn back our civilization as other civilizations have been turned back in the past by the very same causes, for a civilization that concentrates enormous wealth in the hands of those who have not produced it and takes it from those who have, must inevitably evolve disorder and bring disintegration. The dangers that menace us are the natural and inevitable result of the kind of legislation we are now considering. All our industrial progress and material achievements have not brought the benefits, advantages, and blessings which our Creator intended them to bring, because we have permitted the predatory privileged interests to impose upon us laws to enrich themselves, at the expense of the real wealth producers of the Nation. The appalling decline of the purchasing power of the farmer, resulting from the rapid and unwarranted decline in the prices of farm produce is evidently the chief cause of the depression, which started with the basic industry, communicated itself to every other branch of the industrial organization, causing a dislocation of the various parts of the whole intricate network of production. The rapid decline of prices of farm products, which so diminished the purchasing power of the six and one-half million farmers, showed itself in the decline of effective demand for manufactured articles and other products of industry, resulting in the closing of mills and factories or their being operated at a small percentage of their capacity. Injustice to the farmer is the primary cause of the unemployment of millions of men able, willing, and anxious

to work to produce the things essential for the gratification of their own desires and those of others. The conclusion is irresistible, and from this conclusion there is no escape, that peace and prosperity can not be re-established until we do justice to the farmer who works the farm and prevent financial bandits from farming the farmer who works the farm. Never before in the history of this Nation was there such an urgent demand for honesty, intelligence, and courage on the part of the people's representatives as there is at this very moment. Their responsibility to the people in this great emergency is grave and serious."

Recalling that this malevolent financial cormorant was insidiously grafted upon the laws of the Nation by a Hamburg Jew, Paul Moritz Warburg who was aided in the formulation of the atrocity by another Jew, Samuel Untermyer and that, since its creation, the Federal Reserve System has conclusively shown itself to be a terrible menace to our very existence, an enemy to Christian civilization, it would seem that there must have been termites at work in Congress, else, in view of the evidence, it would not have been permitted to continue its plundering of the Nation.

The horde of Jews which have increasingly swarmed into government posts; a Jew Secretary of the Treasury; a Jew Governor of New York; a Jew "unofficial President;" a Jew Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury; a Jew Assistant Secretary; a Jew Technical Assistant; a Jew Assistant Commissioner; a Jew Director of Research and Statistics; a Jew Assistant Director; a Jew special Assistant U.S. Attorney; a Jew Chief, Division of Accounts; a Jew Chief, Division of Book-keeping; a Jew Chief Counsel, Customs Bureau; a Jew Medical Director, Public Health; two Jews on the Supreme Court Bench; Jews in the U.S. Circuit Court and District Courts; Jews in the State Department and the Secretary married to the daughter of Isaac Witz, of Staunton, Va.; Jews in the Department of Labor; Jews in the Department of Commerce; Jews in the Department of Agriculture; Jews in the Department of the Interior; Jews in the Department of Justice; Jews in the Public Works Administration; Jews on the Social Security Board; Jews on the National Labor Relations Board; Jews in the Tennessee Valley Authority; Jews in the Works Progress Administration; Jews in the Railroad Retirement Administration; Jews in the Central Statistical Board; Jews in the Federal Reserve; Jews in the Federal Reserve Banks; Jews in the Farm Credit Administration; Jews in the Civil Service Commission; Jews in the National Emergency Council; Jews in the Business Advisory Council, Department of Commerce; Jews in the Tariff Commission; Jews in the Diplomatic Service; Jews in the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works; Jews in the Commodity Credit Corporation; Jews



in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; Jews in the Science Advisory Board; Jews in the Federal Alcohol Control Administration; Jews in the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration; Jews in the Federal Communications Commission; Jews in the Government Printing Office; Jews in the General Accounting Office; etc. etc.

It is not far from the truth to say that as Jews have increasingly insinuated themselves into our affairs, particularly since the Wilson Administration, so has the national welfare disintegrated, gone from bad to worse, till our State now approximates that which the Jews had entailed upon Germany before the advent of Hitler. Jewish authority assures us that it was Zionist influence brought to bear upon President Wilson by Louis Dembitz Brandeis, which betrayed the Nation into the World War. Richard H. Edmond's editorial, in the "Manufacturers Record," of February 22nd, 1923, revealed the secret plotting of Federal Reserve officials and the conspiracy to deflate national prosperity. While the whole picture of Jewish depravity and rapacious plundering of the non-Jew throughout the entire globe as it exists today was envisaged, prophesied not only in the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," published in 1905, but also by an international Jew in 1919, as narrated by Comte de Saint-Aulaire, French Ambassador to Great Britain, 1920-1924, as follows:

"Why are the New York bankers, along with the German General Staff, the responsible authors of the Russian revolution? Are they a fortiori the authors of all revolutions, since for them, in the conflict between the interests of their own country as, as it seems their individual interests on the one side, and the revolution on the other side, it is the revolution which wins? The solidarity of faith which obtains between the New York bankers and the bolshevist leaders and the

feelings inspired amongst the Jews by their sufferings in Czarist Russia are not a sufficient explanation of this paradox. The paradox is not a mystery.

"If it is to be regarded as a mystery, the key comes to us of its own accord, even when the guardians of the temple do not surrender it. I met one of them at Budapest in 1919, a few days after the fall of Bela-Kuhn, driven out by the Roumanian army. The capitol of Hungary, being an excellent base for the conquest of Central Europe by the bolsheviks, had become the General Headquarters. A few of the most eminent strategists of the revolution had installed themselves in Budapest under cover of commercial, financial and even humanitarian missions. Misery and famine were the ravaging all the Danubian countries. The majority of the bolsheviks had remained at their posts after the occupation of the town by the Roumanians. To avoid protest from the Supreme Council which was then in session in Paris, the liberators of Hungary had not expelled these strategists of the revolution. In this affair all the thunders of the Council were reserved, not for the bolsheviks, but for the Roumanian gendarmerie who by suppressing this centre of bloody anarchy had saved in spite of itself, Western Civilization, in that part of Europe. In the following year Poland was to save Western Civilization a second time by driving back the Soviet hordes. The pressure exerted on Roumania, first to prevent her from occupying Hungary, then to compel her to evacuate it before Hungary's complete restoration to health, in case she refused to obey the Supreme Council, went as far as a threat to regard as null and void the undertaking of the allies, subject to which Roumania had entered the war against the Central Powers. General Smuts, the delegate from South Africa on the Supreme Council, was even charged with a special mission to Bela-Kuhn, who, though an enemy of the allied nations, put a figure as the ally of their governments against another allied nation. Let us observe that if the League as yet no official existence--it was the treaty of Versailles that was to be its birth certificate--it was already obligingly constituted for this occasion and was functioning secretly. It was even then trying out its powers against Roumania and in favor of bolshevism, in the manner of 1920 in face of the Soviet attack on Poland.

"In both crises the inspiration came from the same source. In 1919 President Wilson, the master of the Supreme Council, the godfather and the father, at any rate by adoption, of the League of Nations, forced upon the Supreme Council that scandalous partiality in favor of bolshevism. In 1920 even if Wilson had quitted the scene the same hidden powers of which he was the instrument still protected the Soviets. The situation explains how the masked allies of Bela-Kuhn had remained at Budapest after his defeat and how it was possible to meet them at the

tables of the allied missions of which some of them were members. The fact was very convenient for them and enabled them to accomplish their other mission. They drank Tokay with as much gusto at allied tables as at the table of Bela-Kuhn, and when they had drunk more Tokay than the children who were their official proteges had drunk of milk, their tongues were loosened. A number of Jewish revolutionaries who had been expelled from Hungary were there after the Armistice. They wore American uniforms. Their reports to Wilson inspired the policy of the Supreme Council in Central Europe. I have retained in my memory the conversation of one of these augurs whose table neighbour I was at one of those international dinners which are the best school by the most dangerous reef for diplomacy. He had become a director of a great New York bank, one of those which were financing the bolshevik revolution. He was not, however, "fixed to the ground like a strong box", as Louis Philippe said of Casimir Perrier. On the contrary, he had intelligence in his speciality and a readiness to make any effort to reach higher regions. Like a good Oriental his speech was couched in imagery to which his active mind gave an intellectual development. A fellow guest had asked him how it was possible for high finance to protect bolshevism, a system hostile to that movable property whose existence is necessary for the banking industry, and also riches which are represented by land and buildings, not necessary for banking. Our friend who was then at the head of a mission for feeding those who were without bread, swigged off a big glass of Tokay paused for a moment, taking a pull at his enormous cigar which had cost five golden francs and then said:-

"Those who are astonished at our alliance with the Soviets forget that the nation of Israel is the most nationalist of all peoples, for it is the most ancient, the most united, and the most exclusive. They forget that its nationalism is the most heroic because it has sustained the most terrible persecutions. They forget that it is also the purest nationalism, since it is the most spiritual; it has existed through the centuries in spite of all obstacles without any territory to give it strength. Like the papacy, it is ecumenical and spiritual. But its eyes are turned toward the future rather than the past and its kingdom is of this world.

That is why it is the salt of the earth, yet it is, as they say on the boulevards, 'le plus d'essale' of nationalisms, which means that the world decants it and despoils it."

As a few of the guests received the last statement with an irrepressible smile, the sage of Zion replied with this comment:

"When I say 'despoils,' I mean that the wine of our nationalism is the most drinkable in the world; it has the finest bouquet, and

the nations of the world absorb it with the greatest ease, with delight and without a headache in the morning. But to return to the subject of salt, do you know the saying of the men who salt ood fish? I picked it up on the fishing grounds of Newfoundland. Here it is: 'Too much salt corrodes meat, too little lets it rot.' The precept can with justice be applied both to the human mind and to the peoples of the earth. We Jews apply it wisely, as it should be applied, salt being the emblem of wisdom. We mingle it discreetly with the bread that men consume. We administer it in corrosive doses only in exceptional cases, when it is necessary to get rid of the debris of an immoral part, as in the case of Czarist Russia. That gives you a partial explanation why bolshevism finds favor in our eyes; it is an admirable salting tub in which to corrode and destroy and not to preserve. But beyond and above this particular instance we are in communion with Marxism in its purest form in the International; in other words, with our religion, because it is the weapon of our nationalism, in turn defensive and offensive, buckler and sword. You will say that Marxism is the very antithesis of capitalism, which is equally sacred to us. It is precisely for the reason that they are the direct opposite of one another, that they put into our hands the two poles of this planet and allow us to be its axis. These two contraries like bolshevism and ourselves, find their identity in the International. These opposites which are at the antipodes to one another in society and in their doctrines meet again in the identity of their purpose and end, the remaking of the world from above by the control of riches, and from below by revolution. For centuries Israel has been segregated from Christianity, thrust into the ghetto to exhibit to the faithful what is called the evidence of the ancient law, in a humiliation which they declare to be the punishment for the crime of slaying God. And this fate saved us and, through us, will save humanity. In this way we preserved our genius and our divine mission. Today it is we who are the true faithful. Our mission consists in promulgating the new law and in creating a God, that is to say in purifying the idea of God and realizing it when the time shall come. We shall purify that idea by identifying it with the nation of Israel, which has become its own Messiah. The advent of it will be facilitated by the final triumph of Israel. In these ideas we find our New Testament in which we reconcile kings and prophets as David the prophet-king and the king-prophet united them in his own person. We are kings that the prophecies may be fulfilled, and we are prophets, that we may not cease to be kings.'

Then the 'king-prophet' drank another glass of Tokay. A skeptic raised this objection: "Don't you risk being the martyrs of this Messiah whose prophets and apostles you are? For though your nationalism may be despoiled, it also sometimes despoils other nations. If you despise riches you do not disdain them altogether, as a means not of enjoyment but power. How is it possible for the triumph of the Universal Revolution, the destroyer and denier of capitalism, to prepare the triumph of Israel which is the sacred ark of this same capitalism?"

"I am not ignorant of the fact that Jeroboam spread the cult of the Golden Calf from Dan to Bethel, and that Revolution is, in our days, the chief priestess of this cult and the most diligent provider of its tabernacles. If the Golden Calf is still standing, its most comfortable pedestal is undoubtedly the tomb of empires. In the first place, revolution is never anything but the displacement of privileges which arise from wealth. It is not the creation of riches, nor even their exploitation which feeds the Golden Calf, it is above all else the mobilization of wealth, the soul of speculation, which feeds it. The more frequently wealth changes hands, the more of it remains in our hands. We are the brokers who receive commissions on all exchanges, or if you prefer the expression, we are the toll-gatherers who control the crossways of the world and collect a tax on all movements of that wealth which is 'anonymous and vagabond', whether such movements are from country to country, or are the oscillations of market prices. To the calm and monotonous song of prosperity we prefer the passionate voices, raised in turn, of a rise and fall in market values. There is nothing like a revolution to excite them, unless it is a war which is also a revolution. Then again revolution enfeebles nations and puts them in a condition in which they can least resist foreign enterprises. The health of our Golden Calf calls for the sickness of certain nations, those which are incapable of developing themselves by their own efforts. On the contrary, we are in close association with the great modern States such as France, England, and the United States, Italy, etc., who are represented at this table. They have entertained us with generous hospitality and with them we collaborate for the progress of civilization. On the other hand, let us take, for example, Turkey before the War, "the sick man of Europe," as the diplomats used to say. This 'sick man' was necessary for our health, for he showered upon us concessions of all kinds: banks, mines, ports, railways, etc. The whole economic life of Turkey was entrusted to us. We looked after him so well, that he died of the treatment, at least as far as Turkey in Europe was concerned. Looking at things from the vulgar point of

view of the accumulation of wealth for the purpose of accomplishing our mission, we wanted another 'sick man.' That need would by itself have been a sufficient reason, beyond all higher considerations, for inoculating pre-war Russia with bolshevism. Russia is not the sick man of post war times, much more nutritive to us than the Ottoman Empire and much less able to defend itself. Russia is our new feast. It will soon be a corpse and our only trouble will be to carve it up.

"At the other end of the table sat a co-religionist. He was the 'enfant terrible' of the synagogue and had waited for the psychological moment to get in his word. He cried: 'They take us for birds of prey, we are rather carrion birds.' "

"Well yes, if you insist, replied the apologist for the new faith, but please add that we are carrion birds for the good of humanity, for its moral health, just as in countries where sanitation and hygiene are in a rudimentary condition there are other carrion birds for the physical health of the public. Add also that our essential dynamism makes use of forces of destruction and forces of creation, but uses the first to nourish the second. What indeed were countries like pre-war Turkey, pre-war Russia and even pre-war Hungary with its feudal regime and its latifundia? They were paralysed limbs which spoilt all movements of the world. They were rather clots of blood in the circulation of Europe which might bring about its death by obliterating its vital blood vessels. By dissolving them we restore them to the current of blood circulating thru the whole body. If, in the course of the operation, a few drops of this liquefied blood are scattered, why should we disturb ourselves? It is a paltry price for an immense benefit. One of our countrymen has said that we, as a people, are an organized majority. Another has said that we are revolutionaries because we are conservers of ourselves. In the management of the New World we give proof of our organization both for revolution and conservatism. Our organization for revolution is evidenced by destructive bolshevism and for construction by the creation of the League of Nations, which is also our work. Bolshevism is the accelerator and the League is the brake on the mech-

anisms of which we supply both the motive force and the guiding power. What is the end? It is already determined by our mission. Israel is a synthetic and homogeneous nation. It is formed of elements scattered throughout the whole world, but cast in the flame of our faith in ourselves. We are a League of Nations which contains the elements of all others. It is this fact which qualifies us to unite the nations around us. We are accused of being the agent which dissolves them. It is only at points which are impervious to that synthesis of natural elements, of which ours is both the example and the means, that we act as a dissolvent. We do not break the surface except to awaken in the depths below the affinities which do not yet recognize each other. We are not the greatest common divisor of the nations except to become their greatest common federator. Israel is the microcosm and the germ of the City of the Future."

That our Chief Executive is wholly in accord with the Talmudic design of world conquest, so vividly pictured in the foregoing quotation, there can be little doubt, inasmuch as about the same time the N. Y. Times, August 13th, 1920, reported him as stating, in a Milwaukee speech, that the opponents of the League of Nations were "a handful of crooks." Furthermore, as President of the United European Investors, Ltd., which dealt in fluctuating foreign monies, and his activities in connection with the Camco holding corporation, he evinced a trend which has uniquely characterized the Jewish race; accumulating as distinguished from producing.

The insincerity and the radical conflict between profession and performance; the more abundant life, driving the money-changers from the Temple, etc. etc.; the vitriolic attacks upon corporate wealth, are all manifestly fraudulent attempts to soothe the people into a hypnotic apathy while that imperial and supreme Holding Corporation, the Federal Reserve, insidiously saps our Nation to feed the Golden Calf. The malignant, lethal Federal Reserve with its regiment of Jews to protect it, may well be the inciting cause of such a wave of anti-Talmudism as to entail the expulsion of the entire parasitic swarm, as has been the case in Germany.

Very truly yours,
N. W. Rogers.

Deutscher WECKRUF und BEOBACHTER

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LORD BYRON ON THE JEWS

Canto 15
of

THE AGE OF BRONZE

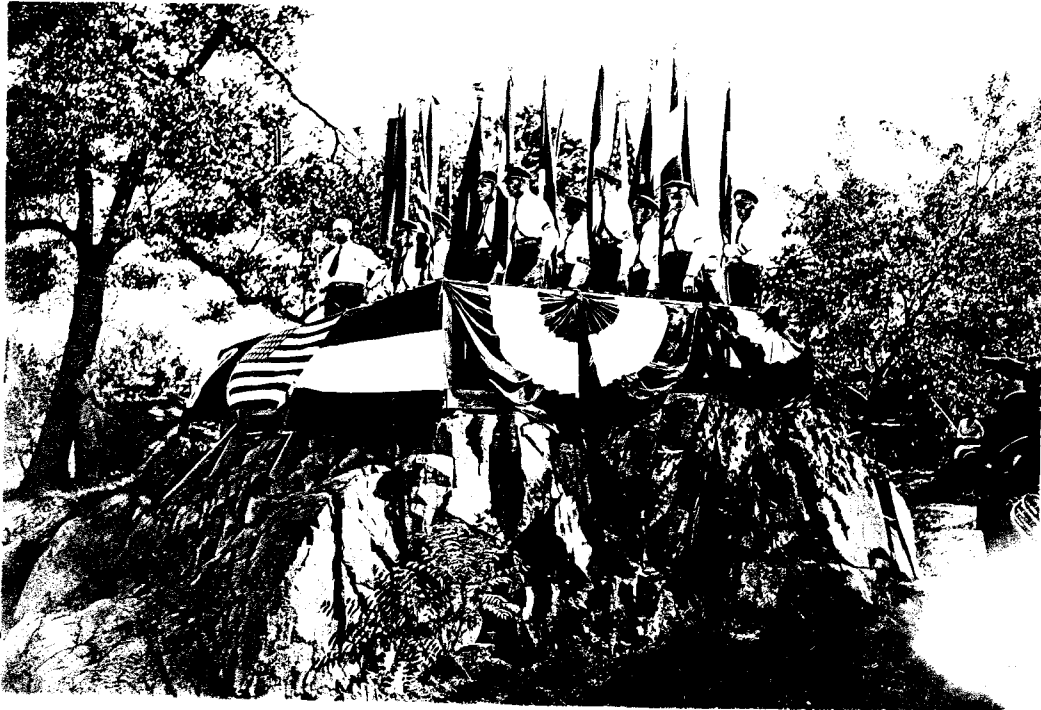
Or turn to sail between those shifting rocks,
The New Symplegades - the crushing stocks,
Where Midas might again his wish behold
In real paper or imagined gold.
That magic palace of Alcina shows
More wealth than Britain ever had to lose,
Were all her atoms of unleaven'd ore,
And all her pebbles from Pactolus' shore.
There Fortune plays, while Rumor holds the stake,
And the world trembles to bid brokers break.
How rich is Britain! not indeed in mines,
Or peace or plenty, corn or oil, or wines;
No land of Canaan, full of milk and honey,
Nor (save in paper shekels) ready money:
But let us not to own the truth refuse,
WAS EVER CHRISTIAN LAND SO RICH IN JEWS!
Those parted with their teeth to good King John,
And now, ye king's! they kindly draw your own;
All states, all things, all sovereigns they control,
And waft a loan "from Indus to the pole."
The banker - broker - baron - brethren, speed
To aid these bankrupt tyrants in their need.
Nor these alone: COLUMBIA FEELS NO LESS
FRESH SPECULATIONS FOLLOW EACH SUCCESS;
And philanthropic Israel deigns to drain
Her mild percentage from exhausted Spain.
Not without Abraham's seed can Russia march;
'Tis gold, not steel, that rears the conqueror's arch.
Two Jews, a chosen people, can command
In every realm their scripture-promised land:-
Two Jews keep down the Romans, and uphold
The accursed Hun, more brutal than of old.
Two Jews - but not Samaritan's - direct
The world, with all the spirit of their sect.
What is the happiness of earth to them?
A congress forms their "New Jerusalem,"
Where baronies and orders both invite -
Oh, holy Abraham! dost thou see the sight?
Thy followers mingling with these royal swine,
Who spit not "on their Jewish gaberdine,"
But honor them as portion of the show -
(Where now, oh pope! is thy forsaken toe?)
Could it not favor Judah with some kicks?
Or has it ceased to "kick against the pricks?"
On Shylock's shore behold them stand afresh,
To cut from nations' hearts their "pound of flesh."

APPENDIX V



A sketch of Representative Samuel Dickstein, undated, from the "Dickstein Papers" (box 500).

APPENDIX VI



A photograph of a Bund gathering at one of the Bund camps (undated).

Madison Jan 12, 1939

APPENDIX VII



AN OVERCROWDED

Madison Square Garden

WILL SEE A

MASS Demonstration for True Americanism

AND

George Washington Birthday Exercises Monday, February 20, 1939

at 8 p. m.

Be Sure of Your Seat

Get Your Tickets Now!

TO ALL AMERICAN PATRIOTS!

The increasingly violent, malicious and poisonous attempts to silence and cripple the German American Bund by lying press and radio propaganda, by attempted riots and coercion of hall owners, by false charges and threats

these persecutions are in mortal fear of the Bund's reaching and enlightening those Americans still in the dark concerning the red scourge! These persecutions prove definitely that the German American Bund IS the most outspoken and uncompromising and therefore the most EFFECTIVE Opponent of all Atheistic Subversion in the Country today!

The Bund is an Organization of American Citizens unequivocally committed to the Defense of the Flag, Constitution and Sovereignty of these United States and therefore to the Defense of the right and duty to proportionate representation in the conduct of the Nation of the more than 100,000,000 Aryan (WHITE GENTILE) Americans, as being the ONLY means of preserving the Independence and the Christian Culture and Civilization of this our Country!

The usual means of informing the Public NOT being at our disposal, more and more MASS DEMONSTRATIONS are essential to awaken the Nation! The Bund's packed meetings and the record attendance of 35,000 to 40,000 people at its affairs at Camp Siegfried and Camp Nordland prove it to be constantly growing and gaining recognition and support!

We cordially invite you to participate at our PRO-AMERICAN RALLY and George Washington Birthday Exercises at Madison Square Garden on Monday, February 20th, 1939, at 8 P. M. The Doors will be opened at 7 P. M. General Admission 40c, reserved seats 75c and \$1.10, Tax incl. Tickets obtainable at 178 East 85th St., Room 6, New York City, BUtterfield 8-8347, 8-8797.

Free America!

German American Bund

To Manager
PRO-AMERICAN RALLY
P. O. Box 75, Station "K", New York, N. Y.

I herewith enclose \$..... (Cash — Money Order — Check)
for which kindly send me:

..... GENERAL ADMISSION TICKETS (40 Cents)
..... ARENA TICKETS (75 Cents)
..... RESERVED ORCHESTRA — Rear (75 Cents)
..... RESERVED ORCHESTRA — Front (\$1.10)
..... RESERVED BOX SEATS (1.10) (9 seats to a box)

I am a ☐ Member, ☐ Officer of the
Our organization is willing to participate with flags and be listed in the
Official Program.

Name:
(Please print name clearly)

Address:

APPENDIX VIII

The constitution of the German-American Bund as it appeared in the Congressional Record, Appendix, March 7, 1939.

PREAMBLE

We associate ourselves together to unite all honorable, seriously minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, loyal and prospective citizens of the United States, proud of their German blood and treasuring German traditions, language, and ideals of national and individual liberty, justice, truth, duty, and absolute honesty, into one great, free, proud, and respect-commanding German-American Bund for the mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

The aims and purposes of this organization shall be—

- (1) Above all, to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America;
- (2) To respect and honor the flag and institutions of the United States of America and to cultivate their lofty ideals;
- (3) To promote good will, lasting friendship, and continued beneficial relations between the United States of America and Germany;
- (4) To defend with all lawful means at our disposal the good name and honor of our mother country (Germany) against base defamation, willful and poisonous lies, and purposeful malice emanating from any ill-wishing, jealous, avaricious, or ignorant source whatsoever, be it race, people, tribe, clan, nation, association, or individual; against propaganda spread by print, script, or mouth, openly or covertly, through books, magazines, newspapers, leaflets, or merely cowardly rumors;
- (5) To try to bring a better understanding to our American fellow citizens of the real and undisputable German achievements in the sciences and arts; the German inventions and contributions toward the advancement of agriculture, industry, and commerce; the great, world-wide, recognized German institutions of learning; the German high standard of the various professions, handicrafts, and labor; the outstanding German laws and institutions for the protection and welfare of the country as a whole; the ancient German ideals of liberty, justice, honor, and education.
- (6) To abstain from useless, harmful, and ignoble propaganda and incriminations of every kind.
- (7) To act at all times, everywhere, and under all conditions, as straightforward, courageous, just, and honorable descendants of the Germanic race, setting an example of blameless conduct, thereby creating an atmosphere of genuine good will toward the German people and their government.
- (8) To work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental right of every civilized nation to tend to its own business of self-government without interference from outsiders.
- (9) To cooperate freely and willingly with all persons of good will to promote mutual understanding and friendship among nations and for an honorable peace among mankind.
- (10) To keep our bund clean of heart and mind, banning all selfish inclinations, and to stand unwaveringly for our own as well as the welfare of our fellow citizens.
- (11) To be and remain worthy of our Germanic blood, our German motherland, our German brothers and sisters, and to cultivate our German language, customs, and ideals, and to be upstandingly proud of these principles.
- (12) To always remember that only in unity there is strength, and that, if firmly united, we shall be of real value and a desirable and respected class of law-abiding citizens of the United States of America.

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1: Membership in this bund is primarily to all Americans and prospective citizens of Aryan blood, of German extraction, and of good reputation. Membership may also be extended to other national elements filling the requirements of our membership application.

Section 2: An applicant may be admitted to the bund as soon as he receives his membership card, signed and approved by the national leader or his accredited representative. Admission to membership in any local or branch signifies membership in the national organization.

Section 3: Application for membership may be rejected without stating the reasons for such rejection.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

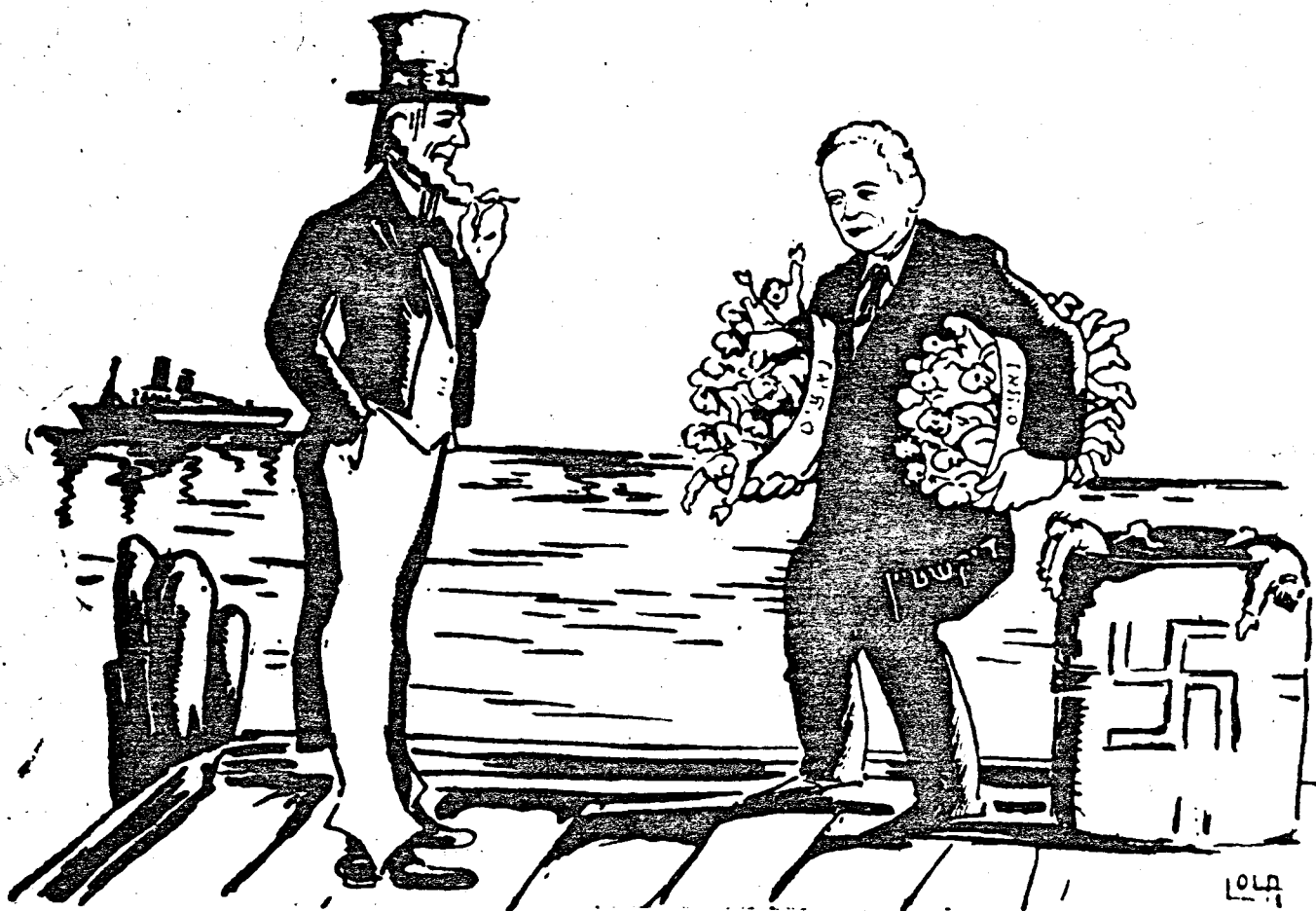
Section 1. The national convention shall elect a national leader, who in turn shall have the power to nominate and with the advice and consent of the national convention shall appoint a national vice leader, a supervisor of national organization, a national secretary, national treasurer, a public and political relations counsel, a supervisor of press affairs, and a supervisor of economic development. The office of national secretary and national treasurer may be held by one person.

DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL LEADER

It shall be the duty of the leader to devote his whole time to the interests of the Bund. He shall preside at all sessions of the national convention and of the national executive committee and shall perform the executive duties of the Bund when the same is not in session and shall exercise a general supervision over the affairs of the Bund; he may convene the national executive committee when deemed necessary and shall have authority to call a national convention at any time or upon request of the majority of the department leaders if required. He shall have power to appoint deputy national officers to represent the Bund; he shall be empowered to adjust all grievances referred to him in conformity with this constitution; he shall interpret all laws relating to the Bund and shall decide all controversies and appeals referred to him by local units or members thereof. Such decision shall be final unless reversed by the national inquiry and arbitration board at their first meeting after such decisions shall have been rendered. He shall grant and sign all charters emanating from the Bund and shall be jointly responsible with the national treasurer for the disbursements of all funds from the treasury of the Bund; he shall supervise the official publication and the management of the economic development; he shall organize, or cause to be organized, all local units and shall have power to call local unit meeting and convene local units and may preside at any regular or special meeting of local units; he shall have power to suspend or remove any district or local unit officer for sufficient cause; subject, however, to the right of appeal of such district and local unit officer as herein provided; he shall have the power to suspend or remove any department leader or any member of the national executive committee by and with the advice and consent of the majority of the national executive committee for a sufficient cause; subject, however, to the right of appeal of the aggrieved parties to and a fair hearing by the national inquiry and arbitration board. He shall also have the right to suspend any member from membership pending filing of charges and hearing on such charges as hereinafter provided.

APPENDIX IX

על ביעור חמץ



קאנגרעסמאן דיקשטיין: זיי זיך מקדים, אנקעל. אט האסטו
דיך נאנץ פינע פעקלאך מיט "נאצי"-חמץ — דו ווייסט דאך שוין וואס
מ'טוט מיט דעם!

A cartoon that appeared in the Deutscher Weckruf (n.d.).
Translation: Congressman Dickstein, you are the first
uncle; you have the whole package of Nazi forbidden
food during Passover. You know what to do with them
("Dickstein Papers," box 497, folder 45).

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