

► *The city is headquarters for incipient American fascism.*

## CHICAGO, THE MUNICH OF AMERICA

BY KERMIT D. SMALL AND VAN ALLEN BRADLEY, JR.

FASCIST is a dangerous word now that we are at war against fascism, so they call themselves "nationalists." But they give this word the same sinister shadings that it has in the Axis lexicon. They applaud when speakers shout: "Let's put an end to the hypocritical cant about democracy!" Sly references to international bankers, Asiatic hordes and Americans with Jewish names throw them into orgiastic frenzies of hatred. They buy and avidly soak up slogan-logged little magazines exhorting to vigilance and action against aliens, Jews, the British, Russians, the "Screw Deal" in Washington, the leeches in Wall Street, and assorted "perils" and "menaces."

Night after night they go in droves to the Engineering Building on Wacker Drive, to Kimball Hall at Wabash and Jackson, to the Mural Room at the Hotel Morrison, to other meeting places. First generation Germans who still speak

with guttural accents. Irish-Americans who hate Britain more than Hitler. Bitter, frustrated, unhappy "mothers" on the prowl for scapegoats. Neurotics, paranoiacs, but above all, the multitude of simple, confused people annoyed by the draft and wartime hardships who need to hate something, anything, lustily.

Practically every self-styled "nationalist" group today has its headquarters in Chicago. There is an array of Committees, Plans, Institutes of changing names but unchanging ideas. Under the shielding wings of the *Chicago Tribune* they brew poisons that seep to the whole midwest and to the rest of the country in papers, pamphlets, smudged mimeograph services, and touring orators. Despite jealousies and competition for suckers, there is a fraternal sharing of speakers, especially if they are "respectables" from the halls of Congress. The same faces are in all audiences.

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the same "plots" and "menaces" touch off hysteria.

Chicago, the birthplace of the German-American Bund and scene of the greatest wartime investigation of seditious activities, tends to become the hate center of the nation and staff headquarters for incipient American fascism. It may be accident, it may be geography. But somehow the political climate of the great midwestern capital has been propitious for hatemongers. Back in the 1920's there was Mayor Big Bill Thompson announcing to delighted thousands that he would "punch King George in the nose," and there was Major General Cherep-Spiridovich distributing his anti-Semitic book *Secret World Government or the Hidden Hand*.

Chicago's large German population supported an organization called Friends of the Hitler Movement even before Adolf came to power. Captain Victor de Kayville founded *The American Gentile* in Chicago as the hoped-for American version of Julius Streicher's *Der Stuermer*. And American-born propagandists with the authentic Goebbels touch — Elizabeth Dilling, Harry Jung, Gertrude Coogan, Newton Jenkins, Homer Maertz, etc. — wrote and orated prolifically from Chicago and out of Chicago.

There is something in the restless, pulsating atmosphere of Chicago which seems to breed violence, physical and ideological. The prohibition era gangs came out of its fly-blown suburbs. Jazz took root in the cheap dance halls and saloons of its tight-packed middle districts. The peculiar violence of the Irish, celebrated by James T. Farrell, flourishes on the sprawling South Side. Chicago has its Negro problem, too: miles of it stretched along jam-packed South Side streets, within commuting distance of Chicago's dirty work in the West Side stockyards and south shore steel mills.

Of course, there is the larger and more important Chicago that has theatres second only to New York's, a fine symphony orchestra, two of the world's leading universities, and a robust liberal movement. But the city has remained, for all that, a tough frontier town in temper, the most ruggedly individualistic of all American cities.

The problem of the Chicago *Tribune* is like the classic puzzle as to which came first, the chicken or the egg. Colonel Robert R. McCormick's paper is both a symptom and a cause. But whatever the answer, the simple fact is that the paper helps to make the city a congenial habitat for the fascist ani-

mal. It not only acts as mouthpiece and moral sponsor for Chicago "nationalists" but attracts samples of the breed from other communities to its hospitable orbit. Some of the Chicago leaders have been in the hate racket for years. Mrs. Dilling, who honestly believes that even the Quakers are dangerous radicals, has been a tireless worker for the cause for a generation. Long before Pearl Harbor, William J. Grace ran his Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee and allowed Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* to be peddled at his meetings. But there are plenty of new names, too: Frederick Kister, William H. Stuart, Roger Faherty, P. H. Moynihan, Willis Overholser, George T. Foster and others. In addition, "nationalist" leaders from other parts of the country — men like the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith of Detroit, Carl Mote of Indianapolis, Joe McWilliams of unsavory Yorkville fame — gravitate to Chicago.

Most alarming of all is the fact that this lurid "nationalism" compounded of race hatred, paranoia and plain reaction has been dignified by the public support of men in respected positions like Colonel McCormick, Senators Nye, Wheeler and Reynolds and a string of Congressmen — Paul Shafer, Clare

Hoffman, Stephen A. Day, John Rankin. Without doubt some of them mean well, within their lights and obsessions. They may be sincere isolationists eager to withdraw the USA from the war. But the fact remains they have chosen to serve as fronts for a movement that is candidly fascist where it is not merely crackpot. They have knowingly placed themselves at the head of mobs yelling for innocent blood to quench their hatreds and discontents.

## II

Sparkplug of the Chicago "nationalist" movement is William J. Grace, a local attorney who has been particularly adept in drawing "respectable" isolationists into closer relations with outright pro-fascists. Grace describes himself as "no pussyfooter," and most Chicagoans will agree. "Cap'n Grace," as he is known around the Tribune Tower, asserts that British imperialists maneuvered us into the war and that our government is an "infamous" compound of "alien isms." As head of the Citizens Keep America Out of the War Committee he sent out literature carrying a picture of hundreds of coffins draped with American flags and captioned "Bundles FROM Britain."

The Committee went out of business when we entered the war, but Grace hasn't changed his views. He revamped his organization into a Citizens U.S.A. Committee and proceeded to present Anglophobes, anti-Semites, and Congressional "nationalists" to his meetings every Friday night. All the other little "nationalist" groups in the city, including pro-Hitler Germans, found a leader and a rallying point in the energetic Grace.

Grace waded into the Illinois Congressional campaign on the side of Day, the isolationist Representative who embarrassed decent Illinois Republicans by having a book put out by Flanders Hall, notorious pro-Nazi publishing house. Last May, Grace decided that his movement needed a political arm. With Senator Gerald P. Nye as principal speaker, he launched the so-called Republican Nationalist Revival Committee at a Morrison Hotel rally. The city's fascist phalanxes turned out to cheer. The Senator must have seen the literature that was being sold in the hall — literature which two grand juries have held to be seditious. And he must have been aware that the reception committee designated to greet him included Roger Faherty, prominent "nationalist," and Earl Southard, who was ousted in 1941 as

Illinois Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars because of his part in the leadership of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

It was at a subsequent meeting of this Republican Nationalist Revival that the McCormick-for-President boom was launched. Representative Paul Shafer, Michigan Republican, was a featured speaker and gave the Four Freedoms an hour's verbal beating. The air-conditioned Terrace Casino of the Morrison grew hot with excitement as speakers loaded abuse on everyone but Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito and called for the "draft" of the *Tribune* publisher as Republican standard-bearer. Among the delegates to this gathering were representatives of We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America — an organization which demanded a negotiated peace and a strike against sugar rationing three months after Pearl Harbor. Currently Grace is running both his Citizens U.S.A. Committee and the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, though ex-Congressman P. H. Moynihan is president of the latter. Sooner or later everyone who is anyone in the city's incipient fascism shows up at Grace's meetings, either on the rostrum or in the vociferous audience.

One of the most active of the small-time leaders, of course, is Mrs. Dilling. Her Federal indictment for sedition hasn't put any brakes on her propaganda work. She still operates her Patriotic Research Bureau at 8 South Dearborn Street and sends out regularly long, venomous newsletters, crawling with religious hatred. Mrs. Dilling has been branching out too. She has told people of the midwest:

The Jews called Jesus a bastard and claimed that His Mother was immoral. . . . Internationalism and Judaism are fast getting hold of this country. . . . In the government the Jews and the Russians hold key places. . . . Franklin Roosevelt has ordered our New Testament taken away from our service men.

Late this July Mrs. Dilling was the main speaker at a meeting of the Constitutional Americans, a group run by George T. Foster and Mary Leach. The organization is new, but Mary Leach is not new to "the cause." For some time she has been one of Mrs. Dilling's lieutenants. Mrs. Dilling told the Constitutional Americans about her visit to Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War, and showed pictures of small boys greeting her with the Hitler salute. This, she explained, is how "these happy little Christian boys" say "hello to the American lady."

On the fringes of Grace's move-

ment, cooperating with it and with the Dilling crowd, are Ralph Keeling and Willis Overholser, who run the Institute of American Economics. Keeling ran the Midwest Monetary Federation, progenitor of the present Institute. In pre-Pearl Harbor days the Federation hired the Hitler-heiling New York anti-Semite, Joe McWilliams, as "elocution" teacher and advertised his classes in *Social Justice*. After the Federation folded up, Keeling and Overholser joined Otto Brennemann and Donald McDaniel in launching the Institute. Brennemann and McDaniel are both under indictment for sedition, and it was Keeling who bailed Joe McWilliams out of a cell when the FBI arrested him as a draft dodger.

Keeling's association with the indicted men and with McWilliams hasn't impaired his prestige with the "respectables" from Capitol Hill in Washington. Only recently Clare Hoffman of Michigan addressed Keeling's group in Orchestra Hall, Chicago; "nationalists" from downstate Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin flocked to the happy gathering. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, too, was scheduled to address the Institute, but sent his regrets together with a promise to speak there "soon."

## III

Naziphile Joe McWilliams had found that Father Coughlin's Christian Front was "pussyfooting" on the "Jewish issue," and had therefore organized his own "militant" society, the Christian Mobilizers. Touring Yorkville, the German section of Manhattan, back in 1940, he yelled:

Roosevelt is an amateur Englishman, a Jew, and the leader of the fifth column in this country. . . . I intend to get a huge following and run the government like a factory, appointing all the key men. I may not be President, but I will have absolute control.

But New York knew him too well, and became too hot for him in wartime. On departing he declared:

I was brought into this movement for one purpose: to make America Jew-conscious. I've done that. Lindbergh, Nye, Wheeler, Reynolds and the rest can carry on now. . . . I'll swing back into the saddle when the time is ripe. I'm going to travel — to start little fires all over the country so that they can burst spontaneously into a national flame that'll raze democracy to the ground.

His travels took him, unerringly, to Chicago. It was Keeling who introduced him to Alice Rand de Tarnowsky, the Chicago socialite who would rather spend her money on fighting communism and "global piffle" than on mink and diamonds. With de Tarnowsky money,

McWilliams set up swank offices at 327 North Michigan Avenue, hatched the Servicemen's Reconstruction Plan, a scheme designed to lure soldiers to the "nationalist" and anti-Jewish cause. McWilliams is offering each returning soldier \$7500 in government bonds and explains this largesse as follows: "The plan will keep the morale of these trained young men at a high enough level to smash a communist *coup d'état* at a moment's notice." Mrs. de Tarnowsky is a versatile woman. Under her maiden name of Alice Rand she edits a mimeographed, five-page sheet, the *Post-War Bulletin*, the tone of which is much the same week after week. In the June 26 issue, Germany was depicted as the victim of the war, not the aggressor, and the wars of the last eighty years were reviewed in an effort to prove that Germany has no historic urge toward world conquest.

Friends of the McWilliams-Tarnowsky combine and frequent callers at Citizens U.S.A. Committee rallies are Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Kister, comparatively new leaders in the "nationalist" line-up. Until his recent draft into the army, Kister hired a hall to give "book reviews." Last year he addressed meetings of the Patrick Henry Forum at the Hotel La-

Salle. One of the mouthpieces of the "nationalist" cause reported:

The applause which frequently interrupted the speaker [Kister] grew to tumultuous proportions when he declared that England cannot win this war but America can make herself invincible by refusing to be ruled by a British Prime Minister about to be deposed by his own nation.

In his spare time Kister acted as usher at Grace's meetings and attended McWilliams' meetings. Before leaving for the army Kister told a gathering of Constitutional Americans that as a soldier he would have to be loyal to the Commander-in-Chief, but expressed the hope that in 1944 Charles Lindbergh would become the Commander-in-Chief. The statement was greeted with wild enthusiasm.

The Kister influence has not been ended with his induction, for his spouse carries on. Introduced as "that gracious and adorable artist, Mrs. Frederick Kister," she leads the singing at meetings of We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America. Inspired by Mrs. Dilling, the Mothers before Pearl Harbor had "marched" to Washington to petition Congress to "keep us out of war" and to impeach the President. In November 1941, led by Mrs. Lyril Van Hyning and Mrs. Grace Keefe, the Mothers sent letters to the nearest of kin of sailors killed in

battles with German submarines exhorting them thus:

In the name of justice we ask you to call to account the real murderers of your loved one, the man who violated the Constitution of the United States by sending him into the war zone. . . . We beg you not to be deceived by propaganda into blaming a foreign power.

In other words, the good ladies exonerated the gentle Hitler. The Japanese attack did nothing to change their minds. We, the Mothers has not bothered, like some of the other groups, to burrow underground or to change its name. For a time the *Chicago Leader*, published by Fred R. Hunt & Sons, was the mouthpiece of this organization. At present the Mothers have a publication of their own, the *Woman's Voice*. It charges that the Roosevelt Administration "provoked and precipitated" the attack on Pearl Harbor and calls for a "halt on the present needless slaughter, by entering immediately into conferences for a negotiated peace." The Mothers declare vehemently that they want no "international bankers" at the peace conference. (In the "nationalist" lingo "international bankers," of course, is a euphemism for Jews.)

The Mothers are among the loudest and most tragic of the mal-adjusted creatures snared by the

fascist-minded leaders. Mostly middle-aged women of nondescript appearance, they turn out en masse at all important meetings, particularly if Wheeler, Nye, Gerald Smith or some other celebrity is scheduled. They distribute Dilling literature at Grace rallies. They murmur "The Jews!" with knowing and horrified certainty as speakers rant about looming perils.

When William H. Stuart, a Grace associate, leaves the platform of the Citizens U.S.A. Committee on Friday nights he plunges into a busy week. Stuart edits his own publication, *Heard and Seen*, which sets the pace for the Chicago faithful. His editorials reiterate that "the paramount issue is NATIONALISM vs. INTERNATIONALISM." He runs plugs *ad nauseum* for the two Grace organizations. Among the first to boom McCormick for President, Stuart also urges General Douglas MacArthur to become a candidate. The "MacArthur cult," vigorously disavowed by the general himself, is a familiar gadget in the "nationalist" bag of tricks. Stuart also runs weekly *Heard and Seen* Round-Table Luncheons at Eithel's Old Heidelberg Restaurant. Roger Faherty, one-time candidate for mayor of Chicago and a frequent ornament on the Citizens U.S.A. Committee

rostrum, seems to be Stuart's right-hand man.

A relatively new speaker at Grace's meetings is George Washington Robnett, publisher of *News and Views*. Launched in 1939 as an information service on radicalism for businessmen, the bulletin soon broadened its scope; out of it stemmed two organizations, the so-called Church League of America and the Midwest Council, both headed, of course, by Robnett. Ostensibly devoted to exposing communism, Robnett's bulletin and organizations took to citing Mrs. Dilling and Harry Jung, anti-Semitic leader of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, as "authorities." His present place on the "nationalist" bandwagon is not too surprising. Another newcomer to the "nationalist" cause is Dr. Albert J. Haake, who shows up at the Citizens U.S.A. Committee rantings and thereby, no doubt, embarrasses the decent people associated with him in the American Economic Foundation.

Earl Southard, secretary of the Citizens, has something of a record of his own. His admirers range over a wide area, and include William Kullgren, who is under indictment for sedition, and William Dudley Pelley, the minor Führer (now in prison) who said that "every true



American rejoices in an Axis victory even over our own forces." Pelley once ran a series of articles in his magazine praising Southard. After America entered the war, Southard joined Gerald L. K. Smith as an organizer for his American First Party.

Among Chicago's most esteemed "nationalist" out-of-towners are Gerald Smith and Carl Mote. Twice this year Smith put on Chicago revival meetings under the auspices of Grace's organizations. Mote, who doesn't conceal his belief that the Jews are at the bottom of all the world's ills, is president and general manager of the Northern Indiana Telephone Company. He denounces "tolerance," "social equality" and "minority rights." "Let's put an end to this hypocritical cant about democracy" is his formula.

But names and quotations cannot convey fully the spirit of that portion of Chicago which deserves recognition as the Munich of America. One must feel its pulse, hear its accent of hate, look into its inflamed eyes to recognize the fascist fervor that drives it.

Though numerically small, it is not a movement to be laughed

off. It is too intricately woven into the political fabric of Chicago, and besides, it has its extensions in dozens and scores of other American communities. In the difficult years of war and after-war adjustment ahead of the country, this movement represents a cancer in the American body politic. It does not hesitate in the midst of all-out sacrifice to lay upon our own country, rather than upon the enemy, the blame for the war. "If it hadn't been for the red-New Deal administration," Grace said recently, "we would never have gotten into this war. This does not minimize the attack which the Japanese, *they say*, made on Pearl Harbor." Quite candidly the movement is preparing to feast on trouble, to exploit difficulties, to foment mob frenzy, if and when an opportunity presents itself.

The "respectables" who play with this dynamite — publishers, Senators, Congressmen — must share the blame and the shame for the Munich of America, and for all the little Munichs throughout the land. Whatever their motives, they are lifting the morale of and providing a kind of cohesion to a vicious movement which otherwise might peter out in futility.



► *Our uniformed men borrow  
from jive for their lingo.*

## SERVICE MEN'S SLANG

BY ALBERT A. OSTROW

WHEN a man changes from *civvies* to a uniform he not only enters upon a different life but a different vocabulary. He finds there is a jargon in his new job of fighting that goes along naturally with his helmet, his weapon and his roomy shoes.

The time-honored lingo of the regular Army and Navy and the auxiliary services built up by preceding generations of warriors forms the basis of the modern American fighting man's lexicon, but he has brought it up to date with apt and colorful additions of his own. Made gag-wise by the radio and the movies he is a slicker phrase coiner than his predecessors and likes his slang punchy. For his taste it must also be unsentimental, disrespectful and like all strictly male talk, hard-boiled.

The education of the service man in the language of his new *trade* begins the moment he arrives at training camp. If he's in the Army he's referred to as a *yardbird*, often abbreviated to *YB*, an old Army term for camp-con-

fined newcomers. Or he may be called a *John*, from the "John Doe" on the sample recruiting forms — the British "Tommy Atkins" got his nickname the same way. If he's a naval recruit he's a *boot*, from the leggings he wears during training. And his camp is a *boot camp*.

Marines are *bellhops* and *girenes* to the bluejackets. Sailors are *swab jockies* and *seaweeds* to soldiers. While the men in khaki are *dog-faces* to those in the naval services. The infantry is *walkin' hell* and an infantryman a *blisterfoot*. Cavalrymen are *bowlegs* and members of the Air Force *skywinders*.

The recruit learns right off that the articles of war and the regulations are known as *the bible*, that a *housewife* is his sewing kit; a *nappy*, the camp barber; *cueballs*, the barber's clients; and a *chili bowl* or *G.I. trim*, a regulation haircut.

*G.I.*, which stands for Government Issue is a popular phrase and generally means "regulation" or "Army approved." Girls provided for Army dances are *G.I. girls* and the dance itself a *G.I. hop*. The