

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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During the depression era, millions of Americans listened to the weekly radio addresses given by Father Charles Edward Coughlin. He devoted his career to speaking out against the evils of America and felt it his duty to warn Americans against the perpetrators of this evil. But after 1934, the tone of his messages became anti-Semitic and his following decreased. His hatred of Jews escalated and in 1942, he was permanently removed from the air waves.

A literature review will examine the nature of American anti-Semitism up to 1934 through literature, periodicals and newspapers. The literature review will also identify the key anti-Semitic terminology that Father Coughlin used in his sermons. The analysis and interpretation will show how stylistic tokens of anti-Semitic rhetoric pervaded Father Coughlin's sermons from the beginning of his career, which led to his downfall as a demagogic orator.

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A Study of the Stylistic Ramifications of Father Charles Edward Coughlin's Sermons
from 1930 to 1934

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A Study of the Stylistic Ramifications of Father Charles Edward Coughlin's Sermons
from 1930 to 1934

Chapter One--Introduction

The great Wall Street crash of 1929 affected citizens of the United States in ways no one could have ever dreamed. As stocks fell and investors lost their money, the country sank into an economic depression that lasted twelve trying years. Businesses lost their financing, dismissing hundreds of employees everyday from their jobs. The unemployment lines grew to enormous lengths, as did bread and soup lines. The United States citizens scraped for food and housing. Americans found themselves in a world with a bleak future.

In 1932, newly elected President Franklin Delano Roosevelt planned on leading the United States out of the Depression in a timely manner, as well as instituting effective government programs to insure the U.S. from continued despair. Many Americans held opinions on how to "fix" the government, but only a few individuals were heard by the masses, starting social movements of change around the country.

Father Charles Edward Coughlin, a catholic priest from Royal Oak, Michigan, was one of the most listened to speakers in the 1930's. He came into prominence with the advent of his radio program in 1926, "The Golden Hour of The Little Flower," broadcast live from WJR in Detroit. This show started as a children's program with occasional commentary on political and economic affairs. Due to the popularity of the program, in 1929 two more stations, WMAQ, in Chicago and WLW, in Cincinnati, were added. By 1930 Father Coughlin's show was so popular that CBS picked up the show for nation-wide broadcast.¹

¹Charles J. Tull, Father Coughlin & The New Deal (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1965) 3-4.

His radio program was heard by hundreds of thousands of people every week. In it Coughlin urged listeners to re-evaluate their positions as U.S. citizens and good Christians. He was well-loved and respected as a speaker, some of his listeners even wanted him to run for President.² Although he was a priest, he emerged as a animated speaker out to stir up his audience by speaking the truth about the state of their country. Neither Rudy Vallee nor Burns and Allen could match his popularity on the radio.³ Father Coughlin spoke on all of the issues of his day, from Prohibition to the Child Welfare Bureau, but the one thread that tied his speeches together was his mastery of stylistic rhetoric. His style is what made him so well-loved and revered.⁴ Coughlin's messages focused on the evils of Communism, the evils of unregulated Capitalism, and reforms of the government. His messages reflected the concerns of the times which offered words of support to his listeners.⁵

In 1930, Father Coughlin began publishing his speeches so that non-listeners could have access to his messages. For the next four years his popularity rose dramatically, including the beginning of a close friendship with President Roosevelt. The President grew to rely on Father Coughlin for Catholic support, as Father Coughlin sprinkled his speeches with elements of a personal rapport with the President. The two men were able to use each other's reputation to enhance their own.⁶

In 1934, however, President Roosevelt had grown weary of Father Coughlin, for he had begun to denounce the New Deal's policies, saying that the government was a "slave" of unbridled ambition. Yet, Coughlin continued to praise the President. Roosevelt decided to loosen his ties slowly with Coughlin; some members of the

²Marshall Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time: The Radio and Redemption," Journal of Popular Culture 6 (1986): 33.

³Fishwick, 33.

⁴Alan Brinkley, Voices of Protest (New York: Knopf, 1982) 271; Francis Biddle, In Brief Authority (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962) 236; Tull, 240.

⁵Tull, 4.

⁶Brinkley, 126.

White House staff tried not to antagonize Father Coughlin, while others worked on a full investigation of him, perhaps to quiet him and even destroy his character. Father Coughlin's radio speeches, his finances as well as those of his radio program, and his citizenship were all investigated, but ultimately the only institution that could stop him was the Catholic Church.⁷

Father Coughlin's messages began to change after this investigation; he no longer bragged about his connection with the President or his administration; instead, Coughlin attacked them both. He wasted no time speaking of the problems brought on by the President and the New Deal, changing his political slogan from "Roosevelt or Ruin," to "Roosevelt *and* Ruin."

Father Coughlin remained the "Radio Priest" until 1942, when he was called back into the church by his Archbishop. He was instructed to leave all public activities and return to the priesthood full-time or face formal charges of sedition by Attorney General Frances Biddle. Why was Father Coughlin forced off the air and out of the public domain? Anti-Semitic rhetoric frequented his public speeches, as well as a public admiration for Adolf Hitler and Nazism.⁸ By 1938, his radio addresses had fully adopted anti-Semitic rhetoric and his messages were more and more reactionary. The well-loved priest, listened to by millions every Sunday of the year, seemed to have fallen into a habit of scapegoating the Jews, blaming them for all the hardships of the depression.

As this review of literature shows, historians and critics have observed that as early as 1934 Coughlin made recurrent anti-Semitic remarks throughout his speeches. But what of the preceding years? Were anti-Semitic strains always in his discourses? The purpose of this rhetorical analysis is to explore Father Coughlin's rhetorical style during his early years (1930-1934) on the air, before his more noted anti-Semitic era,

⁷Brinkley, 127; David H. Bennett, Demagogues in the Depression (New Jersey: Rutgers State UP, 1969) 81.

⁸Brinkley, 227; Biddle, 235.

in order to observe anti-Semitic tokens, strains or remarks in his sermons, speeches and lectures during this period. This analysis will disclose the stylistic precursors or signals to his later, more overt anti-Semitism. As a result, the analysis will provide the means for a more accurate description of Father Coughlin's ethos as a speaker and subsequent influence on his audiences. This analysis will also examine the limits of a speaker, i.e. how far someone can push, how radical he or she can be, before an audience departs a speaker. My analysis will employ as methodological models three examples of stylistic investigation, Edwin Black's "The Second Persona," Richard Hofstadter's "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," and Kenneth Burke's "The Rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle.'"

Literature Review

The literature on Father Coughlin is plentiful. Coughlin published nearly all of his discourses, and secondary sources are abundant. However, not much rhetorical analysis has been done on Coughlin's speeches alone, as the following books are mostly historical in nature.

Father Coughlin did not start a brand new movement with his rousing rhetoric. In his book Voices of Protest, Alan Brinkley states that the American Populist movement in the 1880's and 1890's took many of the general themes of the earlier political traditions (Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy) to shape their own ideologies.⁹ Populist rhetoric was based on images of community and localism and a society where power and wealth were widely dispersed. Although Coughlin never credits his influences to the American Populists, his rhetorical messages were definite derivatives of Populist oratory.¹⁰ The people of the 1930's joined the

⁹Brinkley, 161.

¹⁰Brinkley, 162.

Coughlin movement not only because it explained the present conditions, but because it evoked older themes so deeply entrenched in the American political culture that it could produce such a powerful response. The Populist tradition, with or without Coughlin's awareness, enabled him to engage in the effective rhetoric of familiarity. Audiences are not easily swayed by entirely new ideas; they respond best to themes of which they are already at least partially aware.¹¹

Brinkley also states that Father Coughlin was a known Anti-Semite after 1938. But Coughlin, up until that time, had considerable amounts of political power. Why was he not open about his feelings prior to that date? Brinkley asks, "The important question, however, is whether the men and women who heard him then could detect such elements...the evidence suggests they could not."¹² But he also states:

In a 1930 sermon, for example, he referred briefly to Wall Street bankers as 'modern day Shylocks...grown fat and wealthy.' A year later he compared the crass materialism of modern capitalism with the transgressions of the lost tribe of Israel...In 1934 he made passing reference to the metal as "Gentile Silver."¹³

Father Coughlin may not have been completely open with his listeners about his true feelings, but Brinkley shows how Coughlin made significant slips of the tongue (e.g., "modern Shylocks" and "Gentile silver"), ones that possibly could have been detected by his listeners. Thus there is a need for further investigation.

Father Coughlin was not publicly accused of being an anti-Semite until 1938. His followers were found not to have supported any anti-Jewish sentiments, they just loved listening to their favorite priest.¹⁴ Although Coughlin's followers did not apparently ascertain the underlying messages in his rhetoric, that does not mean the messages were absent. Brinkley's findings are confusing; on the one hand, he says

¹¹Brinkley, 165.

¹²Brinkley, 269.

¹³Brinkley, 270.

¹⁴Brinkley, 271.

Father Coughlin was not a racist until 1938, but he counters himself with Coughlin's easily detected comments. Brinkley never asks the question whether or not (from evaluating Father Coughlin's speeches) Father Coughlin was always an anti-Semite, as detected through his own speeches, sermons and lectures.

Charles J. Tull, in his book Father Coughlin & The New Deal, describes Father Coughlin:

Neither an economist nor a monetary theorist, Coughlin was obsessed with the notion that a few unprincipled international bankers had deliberately plotted the world-wide depression. He never tired of castigating the Morgans, the Kuhn-Loebs, and the Rothschilds as the symbol of all evil in the world.¹⁵

Although not deliberately pointing his finger at these people, Tull explains, Father Coughlin intentionally chose those specific surnames to make a point: The names were supposedly Jewish, thus a symbol of evil for the world. Father Coughlin used these names time and time again to prove a point--that the Jews had control of the world's wealth and were responsible for the country's banking problems.¹⁶

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his book The Politics Of Upheaval, points to anti-Semitic comments made by Father Coughlin:

He was in his mellow way a racist...his hatred of money lenders spilled over to an identification of bankers with Rothschilds, Warburgs and Kuhn-Loebs...He freely attacked those "who without either the blood of patriotism or of Christianity flowing in their veins, have shackled the lives of men and of nations with the ponderous links of their golden chain...One hundred years from today Washington will be Washingtonski."¹⁷

For Schlesinger, evidence of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism resides in his continual name-calling and negative references to Judaism. Coughlin blamed these bankers entirely for the country's economic problem's, instead of searching for a more equitable response. Schlesinger quotes Coughlin in 1934 saying, "Silver has a value

¹⁵Tull, 240.

¹⁶Tull, 240.

¹⁷Arthur Schlesinger Jr., The Politics of Upheaval (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960) 27.

and always will, long after the slave standard of the Rothschilds will have been forgotten."¹⁸ Again Coughlin connected the "Rothschilds" with slave standards; they controlled the money and the people. Coughlin implied that gold was a Jewish phenomenon, held mostly by these greedy bankers, while silver is only held by Gentiles. While gold was a symbol of the Jews for Father Coughlin, silver was the sign of Anglo-Saxon dominance and ability to sustain.¹⁹

David Bennett writes about Father Coughlin in his book Demagogues in the Depression. Responding to the question of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism, Bennett writes:

Yet in the early and mid-thirties, the cleric's associates knew him to be personally anti-Semitic and a possessor of an elaborate library on the subject. He might claim to be the friend of the Jew...but statements such as 'don't forget this is a Christian nation--let's not overwork this democracy' and labels such as 'bad international Jews' and 'gentile silver' (as opposed to Jewish gold) make it clear where he stood on the subject.²⁰

In order for Father Coughlin to have come up with the phrases "bad international Jews," and "gentile silver," he had to have thought about the Jews and Judaism. Obviously he preferred Christianity and espoused its superiority by reminding his listeners, "Don't forget this is a Christian nation."²¹

In 1936, during Father Coughlin's campaign for his political party, the National Union for Social Justice, he attacked the Jews in a response to the economic problems of the country. He spoke of the "Jewish traffickers in gold" which put him in the hot seat with the Vatican. The Vatican criticized Father Coughlin's political activities and continual verbal attacks on the President, and sent the message out to all press organizations, emphasizing that Coughlin was not the official voice of the

¹⁸Schlesinger Jr., 19.

¹⁹Schlesinger Jr., 25.

²⁰Bennett, 52.

²¹Bennett, 52.

Vatican. Coughlin had lost not only the backing of his country's President and administration, but the support of his own superiors in his church.²²

Each author found evidence of Father Coughlin being an anti-Semite, at least after 1938. The authors do not claim that Father Coughlin was always one, except in passing reference. An anonymous cleric associate stated that Father Coughlin had "always hated the Jews." But whatever Coughlin's private feelings about Jews, there is nothing to indicate that anti-Semitism played any appreciable role in building his early national popularity.²³ Examining Coughlin's rhetoric in his early years, before his noted break with President Roosevelt, will shed new light on the question of his anti-Semitic rhetoric. Either Father Coughlin used this public break with the President to blame the world's ills on the Jews, creating them as his scapegoat, or Coughlin was already an anti-Semite, cloaking his true feelings in his speeches and waiting for an opportune moment to come out with the truth.

Methodology

Edwin Black uses the notion of moral judgment to judge history, as well as the intrinsic relationship between metaphor and ideology, or idiom and ideology. He calls this relationship no "arbitrary accident," but rather definite links between a style and an outlook. Critics can move from the evidence of style to the human personality.²⁴ A style reveals an author's true internal state. Richard Hofstadter describes the paranoid as someone who sees all of history as a vast conspiracy against not only him, but all the people.²⁵ Paranoids garner support by their ever-so-

²²Bennett, 255.

²³Brinkley, 271-272.

²⁴Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," The Quarterly Journal of Speech 4 (1970): 119.

²⁵Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Random House, 1967) 29.

particular attention to details, so that their arguments are "logical."²⁶ Finally, Kenneth Burke asserts that Adolf Hitler's style enabled him to gain the support of his followers by giving them the security of being surrounded by such a strong movement. Hitler demanded that Aryans were naturally superior to other races, and the inferior race, the Jew, was to be their all-encompassing scapegoat. This gave the Germans the strength they needed to rebuild their nation into a super power.²⁷ I will use these three works to aid my investigation of Coughlin's anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Black

Black's idea of connecting a particular style to a particular personal outlook will allow this analysis to link Father Coughlin's style to Father Coughlin the Catholic priest. Black points out:

It is through moral judgments that we sort out our past, that we coax the networks and continuities out of what has come before, that we disclose the precursive patterns that may in turn present themselves to us as potentialities, and thus extend our very freedom.²⁸

We evaluate our pasts, our networks and continuities of what has come before, by our own moral judgments. Precursive patterns in our past extend to our present; the words Coughlin speaks in his sermons have an intrinsic relation to words that he has always spoken.

Black explains how a critic can make ethical judgments of historical discourse; how one can make decisions on how to judge the past. Discourses contain tokens of their authors and are directly or indirectly the external signs of an internal state. More specifically, certain features of a linguistic act entail certain characteristics of the language user.²⁹ Language and discourse are inherent to an

²⁶Hofstadter, 38.

²⁷Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 203.

²⁸Black, 109.

²⁹Black, 110.

author; the author is the embodiment of his/her speech. A critic can use moral judgments to order history, thus:

...we know how to make appraisals of men. We know how to make potentialities of character. And this sort of judgment, when fully ramified, constitutes a definitive act of judicial criticism.³⁰

For Black, then, using an author's discourse to judge his/her character, as well as the character of the "ideal" listener, is a justifiable action. Analyzing Coughlin's character from his public speeches will shed light on his ethos as a speaker.

Hofstadter

Richard Hofstadter, in his work The Paranoid Style in American Politics, examines fear in American politics. This style points directly the psychological aspects of a right-wing radical spokesperson like Father Coughlin. Hofstadter defines the paranoid style as:

The existence of a vast insidious preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network designed to perpetrate acts of the most fiendish character...they regard a 'vast' or 'gigantic' conspiracy as the motive force in historical events.³¹

Hofstadter explains the enemy of the paranoid:

The enemy is a perfect model of malice, a kind of amoral superman: sinister, ubiquitous, powerful, luxury-loving...he is a free-active demonic agent.³²

The enemy was an active free-agent working against society's norms. The enemy makes crises, causes depressions and enjoys and profits from the misery he has produced. He, the enemy, also possesses some source of power, such as control of

³⁰Black, 113.

³¹Hofstadter, 14 & 29.

³²Hofstadter, 31-32.

the press or the education system, or he has unlimited money to wreak his brand of havoc.³³

Right-wing thought, from such a work as The Blue Book, can be examined through the paranoid style.³⁴ The basic elements of the Rightist ideology can be reduced to three. First, a conspiracy exists to undermine free capitalism by bringing the economy under the control of the government, which will pave the way for Socialism and Communism. Second, top government officials are so infiltrated by Communists that American policy has been sold out.³⁵ The names of these un-American perpetrators of evil and doom should always be exposed so that the American people could know their true enemies. And third, the entire country is so infused with Communist agents that the:

whole apparatus of education, religion, the press, and the mass media are engaged in a common effort to paralyze the resistance of loyal Americans.³⁶

Communists are lurking everywhere in America and no one is safe from their influence.

The distinguishing element of the paranoid style is that its exponents see vast or gigantic conspiracies as the motive force in historical events.³⁷ The paranoid speaker sees the fate of these conspiracies in apocalyptic terms and believes that whole world, political orders and systems of human values are of his utmost concern.³⁸ The spokesperson sees the need to totally eliminate the enemy, for the domain of absolute good or absolute evil is at stake. The enemy functions as the ultimate scapegoat, for all the evils of the world can be placed on this specific

³³Hofstadter, 32.

³⁴Hofstadter, 25.

³⁵Hofstadter, 25-26.

³⁶Hofstadter, 26.

³⁷Hofstadter, 29.

³⁸Hofstadter, 29.

enemy.³⁹ The paranoid style is exactly that, extreme paranoia of all outside forces and everything that is out of the paranoiac's control. This style suits Father Coughlin, for he felt that whoever was not with him, or believed in him, was out to ruin him and the world. Thus, though Coughlin isn't the subject of Hofstadter's study, Hofstadter seems to sum up Coughlin with this claim:

[The paranoid's] appearance of the most careful, conscientious, and coherent application to detail, his laborious accumulation of what can be taken as convincing evidence for the most fantastic conclusions, [is in essence] the careful preparation for the big leap from the undeniable to the unbelievable.⁴⁰

The paranoid, like Coughlin, focused his attention on the minute details of his enemy to create the major conclusion that this evil person was out to destroy the world.

Burke

Kenneth Burke's "The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle" provides the final framework for this analysis. According to Burke, Hitler used his style to give the people of his movement a strong sense of support, a community movement, like Coughlin did during his years on the air. Burke attempts to uncover the popularity of Hitler's Battle, and "let us also try to discover what kind of "medicine" this medicine man has concocted."⁴¹ Hitler supposedly had the answers to Germany's problems, for he was able to offer a panacea to his country's post-World War I troubles.⁴²

Hitler's first influential act was to create a centralized hub (Munich) for his followers, and gave them their scapegoat, the 'international devil,' the Jew.⁴³ This devil imagery was also an effective tool to use sexual symbolism throughout his book.⁴⁴ According to Burke, Hitler believed that the masses are "feminine," desiring

³⁹Hofstadter, 31-32.

⁴⁰Hofstadter, 36-37.

⁴¹Burke, 192.

⁴²Burke, 192.

⁴³Burke, 192 & 194

⁴⁴Burke, 194.

to be led by a dominant male. If the rival male, the Jew, were to seduce them, the masses' blood would be poisoned by the intermingling of the races.⁴⁵

Hitler used this "medicinal" angle to further the Jew as his scapegoat. When capitalism was doing well, the middle class was happy, but when capitalism did badly, Hitler offered this "medicine" to the Germans. All of the negative features that Hitler projected onto the Jews, blaming Jews for poisoning the purity of the German blood, gave the Germans their much needed scapegoat. They could project their problems onto this devil, which eased their minds and "cured" them of their troubles.⁴⁶

Burke outlines three ways Hitler used his plan to gain the support of the German people.⁴⁷ First, Hitler used the concept of "inborn dignity" to elevate the Aryan race. By the endowment of Aryan blood, the Germans were innately superior, whereas Jews were innately inferior. Next, Hitler gave the Germans a scapegoat to ascribe their ills. This was appealing to them, for they would never have to change or accept differences if the "undignified" races were eliminated.⁴⁸ Last, racial superiority gave Hitler's followers a "rebirth" or more positive outlook on life. The Germans finally had the feeling of moving forward, toward the goal of national unity and power.⁴⁹

Burke sums up his analysis of Hitler's book Battle with one last point, the power of endless repetition. Every pamphlet at Nazi meetings had two slogans: "Jews not admitted," and "War victims free."⁵⁰ Such meetings gave the German a sense of being protected, a belief that this new movement would truly recharge the German people after the devastating loss of the war. Constant repetition of Nazi

⁴⁵Burke, 195.

⁴⁶Burke, 195-196.

⁴⁷Burke, 202.

⁴⁸Burke, 203.

⁴⁹Burke, 203.

⁵⁰Burke, 217.

slogans, strong appeals to the German's innate feelings of superiority, a reasonable, ready-made and easy scapegoat, the Jew, and finally, a goal for progress, solidified Hitler's followers and gave him the requisite power to pull off his crimes against humanity. Although Coughlin was no Hitler, he utilized similar tactics. He found a ready-made scapegoat (not coincidentally the same one!), appealed to his audiences' feelings of national pride and superiority and sympathized with his audiences losses, saying that he had also been the victim of this heinous enemy out to ruin the world.

These three approaches will provide a rich base for the analysis of Father Coughlin's speaking style and a means to examine his anti-Semitism. I will be able to employ Black's notion of judging a speaker morally, gaining insight into Coughlin's ethos. I will use Hofstadter's notion of the paranoid speaker to help identify some of Coughlin's speaking patterns. Finally, Burke's evaluation of Hitler's tactics in his Battle book will point out some similarities in their public works between these two paranoid speakers.

This literature reflects a need to investigate the early speeches of Father Coughlin. An in-depth look at the rhetorical messages of Father Coughlin during the years 1930-1934 will allow for the question of his true feelings about Jews to be answered. Was he or was he not an anti-Semitic orator? If so, was he always one or did the anti-Semitic rhetoric just spring from a need to have a scapegoat to blame the problems of his time?

The impact of Father Coughlin on the people of the 1930s must also be considered. Did those people not see his bigotry? Did his speeches contain hidden anti-Semitic messages, or were the messages clearly racist? Were these people able to detect anti-Semitism? That is, was anti-Semitism a given, harbored by all people during Coughlin's time? The implications of Father Coughlin's bigotry are evident; this analysis will attempt to unearth the earliest inkling of his prejudiced statements and eventually connect this evidence with the importance of his impact. This study is

limited to the primary texts written by Father Coughlin, a few audio-taped sermons and selected secondary sources.

Chapter Two--Setting the Stage: American Opinion from the 1800's to 1934

Was Father Coughlin a virulent anti-Semite? Or was he just a part of the whole of the population who casually made anti-Semitic remarks? Did differing religious perspectives between Catholics and Jews allow for Coughlin to make anti-Semitic remarks? What was the public's attitude of Jews during his time? To answer these questions a historical framework must be built to situate America and Father Coughlin during his career.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate American thought and opinion from the 1800's through 1934, examining these three specific areas: First, the significance and roots of American anti-Semitism, particularly in relation to late nineteenth-century Populist rhetoric; second, the reaction of the American population to anti-Semitism, as seen in popular periodicals, to get a sense of their views toward anti-Semitism; and third, the connection of Father Coughlin into this time period. I will begin by defining American anti-Semitism, starting with the literature of the early 1800s which helped to shape the country's views toward Jews. Next, I will study the importance of the Populist movements with their effects on racial stereotypes and prejudices during this time period. I will also study the American people during Coughlin's time (1920-1934), investigating their conceptions of anti-Semitism and racism through popular magazines and the New York Times. Lastly, I will place Father Coughlin into this time. I will investigate such questions as how Coughlin's rearing related or compared to American anti-Semitism, and whether his speaking style expanded on American anti-Semitism or was completely original? These questions will be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

This chapter will lay the groundwork to study the anti-Semitic rhetoric in Father Coughlin's speeches from 1930 to 1934. Studying the world around him along with the traditions he hails from will provide the background necessary to investigate his works.

American Anti-Semitism

In this section I will explore two theories that probe the roots of anti-Semitism in the United States. The first theory I will describe, the one I believe, is put forth by Michael Dobrowski in his book The Tarnished Dream: The Basis of American Anti-Semitism. He contends that American anti-Semitism began during the colonial period, with Jewish immigrants seeking the religious freedom they were promised once they reached American shores. They were given greater social acceptance once they were here, but did not find a corresponding religious freedom.¹ The second theory claims that this racism hails from the Populist movement and agrarian revolts during the late nineteenth century, and/or the social conflicts that arose as the Jews moved out of the ghetto and into the Fifth Avenues and Riverside Drives of America. Dobrowski and others counter that this second theory is too simple, for it completely ignores the anti-Jewish character of the most obvious and flagrant stereotypical expressions that appeared in literature, in print, and on the stage before the nineteenth century.² I will include these two theories in this section, together, because the first theory can include the second theory.

¹Dobrowski, Michael N., The Tarnished Dream: The Basis of American Anti-Semitism (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979) 11.

²Dobrowski, 6.

The Literature

The Americans in the Colonial period brought with them as immigrants the prejudices and misconceptions that were prevalent in Europe. In fact, the early settlers were more often religious zealots who were seeking religious freedom--but were not inclined to offer others the same freedom they sought.³ The view of Jews as Christ killers, rejected by God and thus justly punished for their sins, was widely taught in American Sunday schools in the early nineteenth century and was also seen in religious publications. In an 1813 volume, Sabbath Lessons, Elizabeth Peabody spoke of the "conspiracy of the Jewish rulers against Jesus Christ."⁴ Religious books also showed Jews as the Christ-killers. Hannah Richardson's Judea in Her Desolations in 1861 claimed that "the great mass of the Jews. . . conspired the death of the Just One assuring an awful responsibility." In An Illustrated History of the Holy Bible (1868), an ample amount of text was devoted to those "perverse Jews who murdered Christ." These books expressed the view that Judaism was just a prelude to Christianity and that Jewish suffering was just retribution for their heinous sin.⁵

This kind anti-Jewish literature also focused on creating stereotypes of the Jew. In 1895, Mary Elizabeth Jennings wrote in Asa of Bethlehem and His Household, that Jews are formal; they tend to be exclusive and unassimilable and take great satisfaction in their hatred of Christ. Jennings claimed that Judaism is decayed and corrupted by materialism and serves as a barrier against future spiritual development.⁶

This tradition of Christian anti-Semitism was furthered in Florence Kingsley's novels Titus (1894), Stephen (1896), Paul (1897), and The Cross Triumphant (1898). In a Christological manner, all revolving around a great figure from the New

³Dobrowski, 12.

⁴Dobrowski, 14.

⁵Dobrowski, 15, and see discussion by Volkman, Ernest A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America (New York: Franklin Watts, 1982) 48-51.

⁶Dobrowski, 18.

Testament, Kingsley depicts the stubbornly self-righteous and hateful nature of the Jews who refused to accept Jesus. Her works were published by the New Sabbath Library, and at five cents a copy, sold well over a million copies. Kingsley's novels, were actually aimed at an adult audience, but due to their accessibility to the public, inevitably found their way onto many a child's Sunday school desk ⁷

The preachings of Christianity reinforced by historical fiction thus made a fairly consistent statement regarding the bigoted nature of Judaism and its role in the Crucifixion. Justifications for anti-Jewish prejudice became overwhelming, and Jews could find little comfort in their minute security with literature and Christian doctrine continuing to upbraid their character and faith.⁸

Social Commentators

Given the theological consensus and detailed images portrayed in literature, it is not surprising to find other sources of opinion that deplored Judaism. Many social commentators and intellectuals who wrestled with the "Jewish question" in a scholarly manner came to very much the same conclusion as the religious commentators. They found very few universal truths established by the teachings of Judaism. It seemed to be the very antithesis of Christian unity and nationalism and was perceived as the epitome of medieval, superstitious and narrow group solidarity.⁹ The truly American nature of Christianity was not present in Judaism.

As early as 1812, this viewpoint was expressed Hannah Adams, the first professional woman writer in the United States and author of the first history of the Jews written in this country. Her evangelical history is filled with sympathy for the Jews, but she deplores their stubbornness in refusing to embrace Christianity. Adams writes:

⁷Dobrowski, 18-19.

⁸Dobrowski, 20.

⁹Dobrowski, 27.

The history of the Jews exhibits a melancholy picture of human wretchedness and depravity. On the one hand they are the [supposed] chosen people of God, . . . they are persecuted; continually duped, yet still persist in rejecting the true Messiah.¹⁰

In 1890, Economist Edward Atkinson argued along the same lines as Hannah Adams, saying that Jews needed to either abandon their faith in order to become true Americans, or throw away their ideas of inspiration, outgrow their superstitions and renounce their hatred of Christians before they would be deserving of equal recognition in the United States.¹¹

Clergymen commented publicly about the nature of Judaism in America. Reverend Morgan Dix of New York, in 1890, declared, "The judicial murder of Jesus Christ is rightly held up...as the great crime of mankind." Solutions given by clergymen to eliminate anti-Semitism suggested that Jews voluntarily "knock down the barriers set up by your faith which keep you apart"; that Jews "mingle more... with Gentiles," go to Gentile churches more frequently and cultivate the American idea: move forward into nineteenth century thought.¹²

As this discussion shows, negative images of Jews have been part of America's literature since the early 1800s. Jew were portrayed as perverse Christ-killers who rollicked in their hatred of Christians. They were also a formal, exclusive group that did not assimilate well into American culture. American children were fed a sturdy diet of anti-Semitism in their Sunday school lessons. Social Commentators and clergymen wrote of the tragic, persecuted Jews, who had to just throw away their faith, abandon their beliefs and mingle with some Gentiles in order to meet the true Messiah.

Jews were not included in the traditional images of American people, the manifest destiny, make-your-own-way ideology. Instead Jews were portrayed in a

¹⁰Dobrowski, 28.

¹¹Dobrowski, 29.

¹²Dobrowski, 30.

less flattering manner. This next section will describe two common and negative stereotypical images of the Jew: Shylock or the usurer, and the conspirator of evil. These images ultimately bind together and help construct the mind-set of the anti-Semite; as well as provide fuel and a scapegoat for the Populist movement.

Shylock

Shakespeare's Shylock, portrayed as the usurer and exploiter, came to epitomize the Jewish personality. This depiction was not an American invention, but the stereotype made its way over to the New World as a part of the cultural baggage of the immigrants. Shylock was updated for the times, with his peddler's pack, or in his Broadway emporium, who obviously appeared different than his distant Venetian ancestor, but he remained a familiar American figure who was associated with more modern versions of business subterfuge and moral turpitude.¹³

In 1854, the New York Sunday Dispatch wrote of the Jewish businesses as usurers (reminiscent of Shylock), "as a nation treacherous, as a nation so fond of money that it would sell its own mother and its own soul for a dime." Little else could be expected from a people descendent from Judas Iscariot who prostituted his conscience for thirty pieces of coin.¹⁴

Some early literary treatments expounded on this theme. James Fenimore Cooper's 1831 novel, The Bravo: A Tale, depicted Jews as usurers whose shrewdness enabled them to survive under oppression, but hardly made them likable or sympathetic characters. Theodore Fay's 1839 novel Sidney Clifton, was given a no less conventional treatment. His depiction of Isaac Samuel, a Wall Street moneylender, included most of the Shylock stereotype, "a striking illustration of the

¹³Dobrowski, 79 and see Ellen Schiff's essay "Shylock's *Mishpocheh*: Anti-Semitism on the American Stage," in David Gerber Anti-Semitism in American History, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986) 79-99.

¹⁴Dobrowski, 82, and Gerber, 217.

fearful inroads that iron hearted avarice makes upon the frame and spirit of its worshipers."¹⁵

The American Civil War fueled charges that the Jews were out to selfishly exploit the conflict and were attempting to destroy the national credit for their own materialistic purposes. It was alleged by Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts and Generals Benjamin Butler, William T. Sherman, and Ulysses S. Grant, along with others, that Jews were profiteering during the War; they were responsible for the speculation in Gold; they were supplying the South with goods and thus not true patriots; they counterfeited money; they fed inflation by charging high prices; they were using unfair business practices and were generally parasites who fed on the misery of others.¹⁶ The famous Grant General Order Number 11 of December 17, 1862 expelled all Jews from the Department of Tennessee for "violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department."¹⁷

In 1885, a four page pamphlet, "Down with the Jews," written by Hananel Marks, warned the American people not to do business with the Jews because of their Shylockean propensities.¹⁸ Similarly, in the 1908 book The Money-God, John C. Van Dyke, art historian from Rutgers College, placed the blame for the commercialization of society and the lowering of standards in business on the "shark-like Jews." The Jews were a nation of money grubbers, Van Dyke argued, who were only interested in accumulating wealth, "sending it back to Europe, hoarding it, or slipping away with it. They have no notion whatever of helping the country, while helping only themselves."¹⁹

By the early 1900's, the image of the Jew as a modern day Shylock was still alive and thriving in America. In 1921, G. Frank Lydston, a doctor from Missouri,

¹⁵Dobrowski, 82.

¹⁶Dobrowski, 83, and see Gerber, 29.

¹⁷Dobrowski, 83-84.

¹⁸Dobrowski, 100.

¹⁹Dobrowski, 101.

published a book, That Bogey Man the Jew, that contributed to a new wave of American xenophobia. The Jews bothered Lydston because "every Jew is a Shylock... the Jew lives, eats, drinks and thinks money--money, nothing but money."²⁰ In 1922, author Kenneth Roberts expressed a similar view. Jews were not accustomed to hard work and tended to live by their wits alone, and consequently constitute one of the most undesirable races to ever have crowded into America's cities. If the Jew engages in any line of work at all, "he is either a usurer, a peddler, a liquor-dealer, a food profiteer or a small shopkeeper." Jews were parasites who lived off other people "by means which were too often underhanded."²¹

This evaluation of the Jewish personality as put forth in religious and secular literature, and explored by intellectuals, perpetuated a timeworn stereotype which has followed the Jew since the early Middle Ages. These stereotypes of the Jew--the peddler, the "old clo" merchant, the pawnbroker, the Wall Street speculator--were all true Shylocks only out for their own good and willing and able to take unfair advantage of their Christian customers and competitors. The phrase "to Jew" found its way into the American vernacular, signifying the sharp business practices of the Hebrew. Roget's Thesaurus, for more than fifty years, listed the synonyms for Jew as usurer, extortioner, cunning, lickpenny, harpy, schemer, crafty and shift.²² The 1922 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica described the Eastern European Jew as "essentially a business or commercial man, but rarely a producer. He is essentially a middleman or intermediary."²³ American children were even exposed to these stereotypes in their fairy tales. This selection from Mother Goose was not removed until the late 1930's:

Jack sold his egg

²⁰Dobrowski, 102.

²¹Dobrowski, 102.

²²Dobrowski, 104.

²³Dobrowski, 104.

to a rogue of a Jew
 Who cheated him out
 of half of his due.
 The Jew got his goose,
 which he vowed he would kill,
 Resolving at once
 His pockets to fill.²⁴

There seemed to be no area untouched by these harmful stereotypes of Jewish people.

The Conspirator of Evil

The last image of the Jew that I will depict is that of the conspirator of evil. Jews have been commonly thought of as an instinctually clannish group united together for conspiratorial purposes.²⁵ The earliest group of Jews who supposedly banded together to wreak havoc on the world was the House of Rothschild. To a Christian society, the Rothschilds came to symbolize the reality of Jewish internationalism in a world of nations and nationally rooted peoples. So amazing was the success of the five Rothschild brothers that they became synonymous with high finance and were perceived as the center of a vast web that was dedicated to exploiting all of Christian Europe and America.²⁶ The Niles Weekly Register, during a banking controversy in 1835, wrote that "The Rothschilds govern a Christian world. Not a cabinet moves without their advice... They are the brokers and counsellors of the kings in Europe and of the republican chiefs of America."²⁷ The New York Times, in 1852, wrote that the Rothschilds controlled "the decision of war or peace in European countries. A Jew declares empires bankrupt or solvent at will.... The world at last does homage to the chosen and rejected people."²⁸ The Philadelphia Times commented in 1856 that "whoever may be king in Europe,

²⁴Dobrowski, 104.

²⁵Dobrowski, 170.

²⁶Dobrowski, 172, and Volkman, 33.

²⁷Dobrowski, 172.

²⁸Dobrowski, 172.

Rothschild rules."²⁹ This family seemed to control the actions of most of Europe, and were embarking on America with their monetary power.

By the late 1800s the Populist movement had gained momentum. Spurred on by agrarian interests, this group of rebel-rousers vocalized their dismay over who held power in America. Their enemy was the Eastern conglomerate, capable of ruining rural America in one fell swoop. Although some historians have said that Populist anti-Semitism was insignificant to the Populist movement, for not all anti-Semites were Populists and not all Populists were anti-Semites, the historical evidence still points at the Populists for the most part being anti-Semitic.³⁰

The following discussion is of the Populist movement from the late 1800s and early 1900s. This is where Dobrowski agrees with the Populist researchers, that American Populist rhetoric plays a major role for anti-Semitic attitudes of many Americans.

Populism

Victor Ferkiss deemed Populism a generic term denoting the People's party, Populism proper, the movements of the Greenback party, the Bryan free silver crusades, La Follette Progressivism, and the manifestations of the primarily agrarian revolt against domination by Eastern financial and industrial interests.³¹ Nationalism was found in Populism principally in the form of suspicious isolationism, which regarded foreign involvements as antagonistic to the national interest and as existing solely to promote the interests of Eastern capitalists.³²

²⁹Dobrowski, 172.

³⁰Dobrowski, 175; Volkman, 27-30; Gerber, 30-31; Alan Brinkley, Voices of Protest (New York: Knopf, 1982) 162.

³¹Ferkiss, Victor C. "Populist Influences on American Fascism." Western Political Quarterly 1957, p.352.

³²Ferkiss, p.354.

The Populist's enemy was the big-time eastern businessman, who was only out for himself. Unfortunately, this helped to create anti-Semitism in the Populist movement. The Nebraska prairie farmer would "associate the Jew with the merchant, the financier and the corrupt and domineering Eastern city."³³ Populist racial and ethnic hostility was directed at those believed capable of destroying the small farmer's economic status and way of life, and the big city business man was thought capable of doing just that.

C. Vann Woodward wrote that "Populism was specifically agricultural interest politics. Whatever concern the farmers might have had for their status was overwhelmed by desperate and immediate economic anxieties."³⁴ The farmers involved in the movement reacted to their seemingly helpless situation and strove to create a better world for themselves. Notable Populist characteristics were rural provinciality, ominous credulity and obsessive fascination with conspiracy. Here again Populists are seen as anti-Semites; their money and banking problems became the fault of the Jew. The Jewish international banker, and all of his scheming, was the villain to the rural citizen.³⁵

Both authors agree that Populists had the tendency to use Jewish financiers, and Jewish culture, as the scapegoat for farmer's resentment of big business. Ferkiss explains:

The Jew is branded a national enemy and is identified with the banker, the communist, and the internationalist. Alleged Jewish racial solidarity is claimed to be not merely a link that reinforces the economic ties of international finance, but one which binds seemingly disparate but actually compatible groups as the international capitalists and the communists in common cause against the American nation and people.³⁶

³³Ferkiss, p.355.

³⁴Woodward, C. Van. "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual." American Scholar 1959., p.63.

³⁵Woodward, p.64.

³⁶Ferkiss, p.364, Woodward, p.64.

American farmers saw their fate in the control of the shifty Jewish businessman. They rallied together and strove to take back their power. The movement became charged by having a scapegoat.

Populism arose from the desperation of failing farmers. They saw their future being run by big city greedy businessmen, namely the Jew, and they banded together to fight this evil foe. The Populists used the Jew as a scapegoat to dump all of their problems which strengthened their own cause. They also saw the Jew (as well as other minorities) as a threat to true Americanism, and worked their hardest to harass these people. Populists used anti-Semitic and prejudicial rhetoric to gain support as well as members.³⁷

The Populists were not, by far, the only group responsible for American anti-Semitism. Clearly, the religious literature, the religious community, and the so-called intellectuals or social commentators of the early nineteenth century contributed greatly to the anti-Judaism crusade. They all saw the Jew as the true American enemy, someone willing to do anything for money and to cheat you in a second if he had the chance. Nowhere were positive images of the Jew; instead stereotypical portrayals of Shylock and the evil conspirator popped up in American culture. Youngsters were raised on the notion that the Jew was out to cheat them; their nursery rhymes and their Sunday school texts told them so. The entire underlying argument of all this anti-Jewish propaganda is that the Jews were the despicable group who killed Christ. Thus, years later, the American society had the license and duty to spread the "truths" about these people.

What does this say about the American people during this time? Did all, or at least an embarrassing large number of Americans feel this animosity towards Jews? The following section probes that question. Looking at the periodical literature

³⁷Ferkiss, p.365, Woodward, p.65.

during the 1920 and 1930s, the early years of Father Coughlin's church career, will give insight into the American opinion on anti-Semitism during that time.

The American People, Coughlin's Audience

This section of the chapter will emphasize the importance of the American's opinion during this time period. Thoughts, views and opinions on the issues of anti-Semitism (and a noticeable amount of anti-anti-Semitism opinions) and prejudice will be discussed. These viewpoints directly influenced the work of Father Coughlin, who prided himself on being in touch with the common man.³⁸ My investigation of these opinions will allow for a clearer understanding of Father Coughlin in the next section.

Popular Opinion

In the September 30, 1934 issue of Time magazine, a study of Jewish characteristics and habits of thought was printed in the article "How Jews Think."³⁹ The researcher was Dr. Abraham Aron Roback, professor at Boston's Institute of Advertising, and he found, from 43 surveyed students, that Jews:

- 1) Generally chose broad historical topics in preference to technical and restrictive questions.
- 2) Were more "expansive," more illustrative of personal experience and less matter of fact.
- 3) Were more likely to intrude personal points of view.
- 4) Had more flexibility or elasticity of style.
- 5) Wrote simpler and had more legible hand writing.⁴⁰

Expanding on the nature of Jewish conventions and tendencies, an editorial in June 1933's edition of Harper's Monthly, stated that Jews naturally had a flair for business.⁴¹ The article explained that they are useful as publishers of periodicals, in

³⁸Walter Davenport, "The Shepherd of Discontent," Collier's May 1934:35.

³⁹"How Jews Think," Time 30 September, 1934: 34.

⁴⁰"How Jews Think," Time 30 September, 1934: 35.

⁴¹Edward S. Martin, "The Nazi's and the Jews," Harper's Monthly Magazine June 1933: 125-128.

show business, in music, in merchandising and banking, and that they have contributed practitioners of the first quality to medicine and law. The final point was that "an infusion of Jew in other stocks is common and apt to be valuable. Jewish racial material, when of good quality, is one of the most precious ingredients ever cast into humanity."⁴²

Another survey, this one from the July 28, 1928 edition of the New York Times (NYT), from the National Conference of Jews and Christians, asked for methods to better the relationship between Jews and Christians.⁴³ One man from the West Coast wrote in that in his opinion the difficulties "are slight but deep seated in that they are the results are of inherited instincts." He explained that although he saw differences between the two races, the minds of all races should be inculcated with the fundamental necessity for tolerance of other's opinions and beliefs. A New England merchant added, "In my opinion the inferiority complex of many Jews is the problem and worth studying.

The April 1932 issue of Literary Digest reprinted a dialogue from the American Roman Catholic Weekly between noted Jewish author H.M. Kallen, and the Pilgrim, a reader.⁴⁴ Kallen wrote, "Christianity and anti-Semitism imply each other. . . . To reject and condemn anti-Semitism requires a transmutation and revaluation of Christian attitudes and teaching."⁴⁵ The Pilgrim replied:

The Gospel story does not confine blame of Christ's death to the Jews alone. . . it is shared by the Roman government. Christ was put to death by the world of his day. . . . They were exonerated from full blame by Jesus--saying, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." Christianity attaches the note of tragedy to the Jewish

⁴²Edward S. Martin, "The Nazi's and the Jews," Harper's Monthly Magazine June 1933: 126.

⁴³"Jews and Christians Seek Better Accord," editorial, New York Times 28 July, 1928.

⁴⁴H.M. Kallen and The Pilgrim, "The Pilgrim (from American Roman Catholic Weekly) and The Jew as the Villain of the Christian Drama," Literary Digest April 1932: 46.

⁴⁵H.M. Kallen and The Pilgrim, "The Pilgrim (from American Roman Catholic Weekly) and The Jew as the Villain of the Christian Drama," Literary Digest April 1932: 46.

people. and I think that Mr. Kallen would agree that it is better to be regarded by some persons as a bit tragic than not to exist at all.⁴⁶

The Pilgrim seemed to care for the Jews, and he does not blame them completely for the death of Jesus Christ. Christ. However, the statement that it was "better to be regarded as a bit tragic than not to exist at all," seemed to suggest lingering resentment toward the Jewish people. If the Pilgrim believed what he had written, he would not have considered the Jews tragic, for they had already been redeemed by Christ.

Finally, the May 1920 Literary Digest reported in an article titled "Jewish-Christian Accord," that Jewish resentment of Christian propaganda, which identified Americanization with Christianization, has been allayed by the promise of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christian America that in the future such forms of Christian propagation will not be countenanced.⁴⁷ "They endorsed the resolution that there should be no tendency to cloak religious efforts under the guise of patriotism, and this decision seems to have afforded eminent satisfaction of the Jews."⁴⁸ The editorialist noted that Christianity equals Americanism is somewhat true, most Americans were also Christians, but the statement is incorrect because Christianity obviously did not originate in America.

These opinions taken from popular periodicals during Coughlin's time relate directly to the earlier (1800 to early 1900) American anti-Semitism. Jews were still seen to be different from everyone else; they were obtrusive and opinionated, were excellent businessmen, they were easy targets for racial humor, their inherited instincts made them "difficult," un-American and partially responsible for the death of Christ. The images of Shylock, the evil conspirator, and the Christ-killers immediately resurface, indicating that the American people still harbored anti-Semitic

⁴⁶H.M. Kallen and The Pilgrim, "The Pilgrim (from American Roman Catholic Weekly) and The Jew as the Villain of the Christian Drama," Literary Digest April 1932: 46.

⁴⁷"Jewish - Christian Accord," editorial, The Literary Digest 8 May 1920: 52.

⁴⁸"Jewish - Christian Accord," editorial, The Literary Digest 8 May 1920: 52.

thoughts. However, numerous people spoke out against these stereotypes and prejudices of Jews, revealing that not all Americans were so intolerant.

The Defiant

In the October 31, 1933, edition of the New York Times, in an article titled "Hitlerism is here," John La Forge, editor of America, said that the protests here against anti-Semitism in Germany would be more effective if lynchings were curbed in this country.⁴⁹ Public condemnation and publicity should be as outspoken against such occurrences as the propaganda against anti-Semitism. He wrote, "Hitler does not need a Nazi propagandist in the United States to stir up antagonism against the Jews."

Catholics were urged to fight against anti-Semitism in this country, as reported in the October 8, 1934 edition of the NYT.⁵⁰ Catholics everywhere should join hands in a fight against the appearance of anti-Semitism in this country, said Dr. Ross Hoffman, professor of history at NYU. "Let us always remember that the Jew and non-Jew are brothers. . . . I think there lies upon Catholics a special obligation because of their philosophy and knowledge of human nature to fight in every way against the appearance in our country of this ugly thing, anti-Semitism."

In the October 14, 1929, NYT, the Rev. Dr. John Maynard, Professor of Foreign Languages at Bryn Mawr pleaded for better understanding between Jews and Christians.⁵¹ "No one is doing more important work for the welfare of our country today than Jewish religious leaders who are trying to adapt the religion and customs of their people to American conditions. Judaism at its best and Christianity when it is sincere get along very well together. It is only when religion is a pretense that it fosters lack of love and the spirit of enmity."

⁴⁹John La Forge, "Hitlerism is here," New York Times 31 Oct. 1933.

⁵⁰"Catholics urged to fight bigotry," editorial, New York Times 8 Oct. 1934.

⁵¹NYT, October 14, 1929 "Sees Jews at their best," editorial, New York Times 14 Oct. 1929.

The President and Congress also spoke out against racism. In the September 18, 1933, NYT President Roosevelt gave a greeting on Rosh ha Shanah, proclaiming that "to Jewry we are indebted to many high ideals which we have operated for the benefit of the nation and for the promotion of brother hood of man through peace and goodwill."⁵² Representative Byrns, the leader of the House, demanded Representative Louis T. McFadden to retract his anti-Semitic statement. In the June 1, 1933, NYT.⁵³ Rep. McFadden remarked, "Is it not true in the United States today that the Gentiles have the slips of paper while the Jews have the gold and the lawful money." Rep. Byrns, the leader of the House, called upon Mr. McFadden to retract his statement on the floor of the House that the Gold Clause Repeal Resolution was the work of "Jewish international money changers."

In an editorial by Lewis Gannett, in the March 1923 issue of The Nation, titled "Is America anti-Semitic?" the issue of racism was discussed.⁵⁴ He summed up American anti-Semitism:

We are forcing the Jew to chose between assimilation with the complete loss of group identity, and the establishment of entirely independent cultural institutions--and we are shoving him more toward the latter choice. Either of these solutions is a defeat for our ideal America. We have never faced the meaning of the ideal. We have talked of the melting pot, but have been unwilling to plunge in ourselves. If we really want an America that is truly a place for the cultures of the world, the first step is to change our Anglo-Saxon attitude. It is not so much anti-Semitism, Christian theology, or Jewish traits that stand in the way as the smug Anglo-Saxon tradition of exclusiveness and self-sufficiency.⁵⁵

Gannett criticized Christian Americans for their treatment of the Jews. Forcing them to assimilate will only create problems. An ideal America should be more accepting of different peoples instead of a haven for exclusively Anglo-Saxons. This anti-anti-

⁵²"Roosevelt hails Jews," editorial, New York Times 18 Sept. 1933.

⁵³"Demands retraction of attack on Jews," editorial, New York Times 1 June 1933.

⁵⁴Lewis S. Gannett, "Is America anti-Semitic?," The Nation March 1923: 330-2.

⁵⁵Lewis S. Gannett, "Is America anti-Semitic?," The Nation March 1923: 332.

Semitism provides a counterpoint to the widely felt anti-Semitism. While anti-Semitic propaganda was rampant in this country and was seen in religious literature, Sunday School readings, newspapers, government documents, nursery rhymes, thesauruses, encyclopedias and periodicals, and helped create a tradition of American anti-Semitism, substantial evidence exists to support the claim that not all Americans were anti-Semites and, in fact, spoke out against the bigotry.

Father Coughlin

Finally, I will place Father Coughlin into his time period by detailing his origins--a humble Canadian upbringing--and his career in the Catholic Church. Comparisons between Coughlin's background, American anti-Semitism and his rhetoric should be apparent. This inquiry will locate Father Coughlin's attitude toward Jews and situate the reader for an investigation into his religious rhetoric.

Biography

In 1891, Charles Edward Coughlin was born in Hamilton, Ontario, to a Canadian mother, Anne, and an American father, Thomas. Coughlin was raised as an only child (his sister died at three months old) in religious surroundings. He attended St. Michael's College, a school which trained priests. He was a noted rough and tough fullback on the football team, fracturing his jaw during a game. He eventually graduated from the University of Toronto, took his vows as a priest, and entered the Basilian novitiate.⁵⁶

In 1916, Charles was ordained, and assigned to St. Agnes Church in Detroit. He was meticulous about his sermons; he consistently rewrote, polished and practiced

⁵⁶Marshall Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time: The Radio and Redemption," Journal of Popular Culture 6 (1986): 33.

them. More and more people came to hear the young priest. In 1923, he was joined the Detroit diocese. Well liked by Bishop Gallagher, he was soon given his own church in Royal Oak, which was canonized St. Therese, the Little Flower.

Royal Oak was a poor town with a fervent chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.⁵⁷ The church was hardly completed before the Klan burned a cross on the lawn saying, "Move from Royal Oak." Father Coughlin did not leave and instead made it his mission to make Royal Oak a shrine. He arranged for Babe Ruth and other baseball stars to come to his church. The church was mobbed, and Ruth and his teammates took up a collection before anyone was allowed to enter. They raised over \$10,000 to help out The Little Flower. But this was only the beginning for Coughlin. He created his own long term solution to gaining his needed popularity: radio.⁵⁸

His initial broadcast was on October 3, 1926, called the "Golden Hour of the Little Flower," and was aimed at children. Coughlin's show was local for three years, and in 1929 Chicago and Cincinnati linked in. His big breakthrough came in 1930 when he was picked up by CBS radio and was broadcast into the prime-time markets. Finally, in a 1930 radio address, Father Coughlin launched an all-out attack on Bolshevism, which he said was destroying family life in Russia and was a threat to all Americans. This was one major theme throughout the rest of his career as a radio priest.⁵⁹ Father Coughlin grew so immensely popular that his followers glued themselves to their radios during his sermons. His messages were broadcasted loud and clear: Americans should watch out for threats to their livelihood.

Coughlin had a vision for America, according to Sid Kessler in "Fascism under the cross: The Case of Father Coughlin."⁶⁰ Kessler explained:

⁵⁷Fishwick, p.35.

⁵⁸Fishwick, p.35.

⁵⁹Fishwick, p.35.

⁶⁰Sid Kessler, "Fascism under the cross: The Case of Father Coughlin," Wisconsin Magazine of History (1954):1-12.

"Christian charity," patriotism and Christianity were synonymous with Father Coughlin's conception of the melting pot. . . . In order to join his National Union for Social Justice, members had to repeat the mandatory oath: I pledge to follow the example of Jesus Christ who drove the money changers from the temple because of the exploited poor.⁶¹

True Americans believed in Christian charity and the teachings of Jesus Christ. Any disbelievers were condemned by Coughlin. Soon after, in late 1934, he began threatening that unless Jews recognized the necessity to openly profess the divinity of Christ, there would always be a Jewish problem. Because of the Jews innate stubbornness to accept Jesus Christ, they would never gain acceptance by the American people.⁶² Inkling of his anti-Semitism were coming into focus.

James Shenton also spoke of Coughlin's anti-Semitism in his article "The Coughlin Movement and the New Deal."⁶³ In a 1933 sermon, Shenton reported, "The priest made frequent reference to the 'money powers,' 'international bankers,' and 'crosses of gold.'"⁶⁴ When confronted with this anti-Semitism, Coughlin's followers cried out, "protesting that their leader was not anti-Semitic, for he had differentiated between 'American and un-American Jews.'"⁶⁵ This differentiating between "good" and "bad" (American and un-American) Jews is still a form of anti-Semitism. Accepting only part of a culture is not true acceptance.

Populist Heritage

Coughlin's style of speaking links him to the Populist orators of the near past. Marshall Fishwick explained that there were many and complex reasons for Coughlin's urban following. The radio priest promoted a kind of invented nativism. The "hunted" people of the past could now be the hunters. If, as Coughlin argued, the

⁶¹Kessler, p.9.

⁶²Kessler, p.11.

⁶³James P. Shenton, "The Coughlin Movement and the New Deal." Political Science Quarterly (1958): 352-373.

⁶⁴Shenton, p.354.

⁶⁵Shenton, p.371.

wealthy WASP elite were a gang of internationalists and exploiters, then his own followers would be vindicated. Coughlin's followers were more honest, more democratic and more American than their enemies, the Easterners.⁶⁶ Coughlin spoke out to the Americans who felt their positions of power slipping away; like the Populists, he gave them a direction and a purpose.

As his following grew larger, his techniques became more effective. His style of speech blended irony with well-ordered rhetoric: popular wisecracks and vulgarisms thrown in along with some Biblical references. The uses of "damn," "swell" and "lousy" added zest to his speech; listeners liked hearing them from a priest. These words gave warmth to his discussions of economic problems and brought him closer to his disembodied audience.⁶⁷ He also named individuals and presented stereotypes of heartless bankers and arrogant businessmen, the Anglicized arrogant eastern elite. They were to destroy the small farmers and businessmen. "Congressman from New York," "Wall Street attorney," the erudition of Harvard, Yale, Princeton; the poorer Catholic or impoverished farmer had something or someone on which or whom to place blame.⁶⁸ Week after week, Father Coughlin explained that their Depression suffering was not their fault, that it had been caused by evil and mysterious forces personified by international bankers and brain trusters.⁶⁹ This "folksy" style kept him at the level of the common American, seemingly unusual for a Catholic priest.

Relationship with the Catholic Church

In early 1933, Cardinal Hayes of New York privately expressed that the church had another McGlynn affair on its hands. In 1886, Archbishop Corrigan tried

⁶⁶Fishwick, p.37.

⁶⁷Fishwick, p.39.

⁶⁸Fishwick, p.40.

⁶⁹Fishwick, p.43.

to silence Father McGlynn's support of Henry George and of the radical land-reform movements. Corrigan excommunicated McGlynn in 1887, but McGlynn was subsequently restored to the priesthood in 1892 by direct intervention of the Vatican. The principle was then established that as long as a priest was merely expressing his private political views, discipline efforts would not be sustained. As long as Father Coughlin had the support of his immediate superior, Bishop Gallagher, who alone could exercise disciplinary authority within his diocese, nothing could be done to stop his radio career.⁷⁰

As of September 12, 1936, the Catholic Church was still supporting Coughlin. That day's issue of Newsweek reported that Bishop Gallagher of Detroit, along with Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland, arrived in Italy to meet with Pope Pius XI.⁷¹ Bishop Schrembs said, "Father Coughlin is really fighting for the preservation of American democracy."⁷² Bishop Gallagher insisted that he had not been summoned by the Pope to discuss the Detroit priest, nor had he come for that purpose. He stated that "the head of all priests in the Diocese of Detroit is myself. It must be for myself to make observations about Father Coughlin, not the Vatican."⁷³ However, later on, he said, "I painted them with a pretty picture of what Father Coughlin was doing."⁷⁴ Not until Bishop Gallagher died in 1942, did the Catholic church exercise control over Father Coughlin's radio work.⁷⁵

Connections

When Father Coughlin attacked Bolshevism in his 1930 speech, he warned Americans of the Communist threat. Yet he also set the tone for his entire radio

⁷⁰Shenton, p. 364.

⁷¹Newsweek 12 September 1936: 25.

⁷²Newsweek, 25.

⁷³Newsweek, 26.

⁷⁴Newsweek, 26.

⁷⁵Shenton, p. 365.

career, which revolved around outside threats to "true" Americans. These outside threats included the Jews, the international bankers, and everyone who was un-Americans. To Coughlin, "True" Americans meant just that; these people were the good Christian people who came to America to work and earn an honest fair living. Anyone outside this definition was a threat and an outsider: Bolshevists, Jews, Socialists, Communists, all proved to be shifty individuals who were out for their own good and would cheat anyone for money.

Coughlin was raised during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when American anti-Semitism flourished. Supporting evidence shows that children's literature, the nursery rhymes and Sunday School books, pushed anti-Judaism on its readers. Father Coughlin probably was not spared. He was, no doubt, exposed to the religious literature that espoused Jews as Christ-killers who reveled in their hatred of Christians.

Later on as a priest he looked to the Populists' style of oratory to reach listeners. The Populists, some of them anti-Semites, spoke of the Jews as the evil conspirators who were going to strip away the livelihoods of men. Father Coughlin used this style to speak directly to the provincial American who needed reassurance of their own viability as an American. These folks were small-town, white, Christian, and patriotic, true Americans in Father Coughlin's book. Like the Populists, he tailored his speeches to their needs, speaking out against the big overpowering Eastern elite that was going to sweep away their livelihood. Many of these easterners happened to be Jewish, so targeting that race, also like the Populists, made his scapegoat that much more defined. Americans were made aware of clearly who the enemy was, yet Father Coughlin did not directly point his finger at the Jew until after 1934 when his power was beginning to slip.

Coughlin's "obligations," or public speeches, sermons and lectures, are the focus of the next chapter. The terminology presented in this chapter will provide me

with some guidelines to evaluate Father Coughlin's work; I will know what phrases and terms to seek. I will use Coughlin's style to judge his personality (his internal state), determine his degree of paranoia, evaluate the strength of his following, along with the list of terms that make reference to Jews. These stylistic approaches will provide a rich foundation to base this analysis.

Chapter Three--The Sermons

By 1930, Father Coughlin had made quite a name for himself on the national airwaves. His radio program gained thousands of new listeners every week. Millions of people on the East Coast and in the Midwest glued themselves to their radios on Sunday, 4 p.m. eastern standard time, hanging onto Father Coughlin's words. The beloved priest from Royal Oak, Michigan, was sharing his gospel with all.

Father Coughlin's radio career spanned from 1926 to 1942. In his earliest years, 1926 to 1929, he taught catechism over the airwaves to children. From 1934 to 1942, his sermons encompassed religion and politics: Coughlin spoke out against the Roosevelt administration, supported Hitler's actions in Germany and tried to create his own political party. Historians and researchers agree that 1934 was the first year that Coughlin espoused anti-Semitism, with the abhorrence and scapegoating of Jews intensifying until 1942 when he was banished from the air. I contend that between the years of 1930 and 1934 Father Coughlin engaged in paranoid anti-Semitic rhetoric with as much virulence and vengeance as he did in his later years. The contents of his orations, from as early as January 12, 1930 (his first sermon of the new year) are full of derogatory, paranoid, and repetitious slandering of Jews and Jewish history.

Hofstadter's "paranoid" style explains the paranoiac: he or she sees the world as a vast international network formulated to perpetrate evil at the expense of innocent people.¹ The enemy of the paranoiac is a demon; he rollicks in malice, luxury and sin.² This enemy makes crises, causes depressions and enjoys profiting from the misery he has produced. He or she, the enemy, also possesses some source

¹Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Random House, 1967) 14 & 29.

²Hofstadter, 31-32.

of power, such as control of the press, education system or has unlimited money to wreak havoc.³ The paranoid speaker sees the fate of these conspiracies in apocalyptic terms and the whole world, political orders and systems of human values as his utmost concern.⁴ The spokesperson sees the need to totally eliminate the enemy, for the domain of absolute good or absolute evil is at stake. The enemy functions as the ultimate scapegoat, for all the evils of the world can be placed on this specific enemy.⁵ The paranoid style is exactly that, extreme paranoia of all outside forces and everything that is out of the paranoiac's control. Coughlin, speaking and writing in the paranoid style, focused his attention on every minute detail of his enemy to create the major conclusion that this evil person or persons was out to destroy the world.

Employing Hofstadter's depiction of the paranoiac will illustrate Father Coughlin's earliest, 1930 to 1933, anti-Semitic rhetoric. This material comes in snippets and tokens, and could be construed as harmless and even part of everyday American conversation. He never devoted an entire Sunday broadcast to his hatred of Jews until 1933, in his landmark sermon "Gold--Private or Public." This speech serves as a turning point to understanding the Coughlin world-view on Jews; after studying the message in this work, all of his previous messages come into focus and the meaning and intention of his later work becomes clear. No matter when or what year Father Coughlin was speaking, he engaged in anti-Jewish rhetoric in which he found a scapegoat for all of America's problems, as well as for his own.

I will engage Hofstadter's guidelines to the paranoiac to detail the content of Coughlin's speeches, up to the "Gold" sermon of 1933. Next, I will examine the meanings of that work, which will help fine-tune his early and later messages. Finally

³Hofstadter, 32.

⁴Hofstadter, 29.

⁵Hofstadter, 31-32.

I will investigate Coughlin's ultimate goal, to create himself as the bearer of all truth, not unlike Christ himself.

Bolshevists and Communists

In his first speech of 1930, "The Christian Family," Coughlin strove to name the true enemy of Americans, Bolshevism. He stated, "We Americans are seriously tainted with the purple poison of Bolshevism and its doctrines."⁶ He noted that all of two million American men and women, from this Bolshevik influence, have joined the ranks of the rabble in the ancient scene of Pilate's Hall, shouting out, "Give us Barabbas--Crucify Christ. Give us the political economy of lust, of Russia, of Bolshevism, of Christlessness."⁷ From the beginning, Coughlin grabbed the most well-known Jewish historical travesties to damn those Americans who had fallen away from an ideal Christian America. Placing the Bolsheviks, as well as the Bolshevik influences, in the sandals of the ancient Jews *who crucified Christ*, Coughlin prescribed to his audience their first enemy and helped implant more anti-Russian and anti-Jewish notions into his listeners.

Coughlin described a Communist as someone, "whose sole argument is based upon temporalities and selfish conveniences."⁸ He explained the growth of communism: "it has waxed strong, has grown to gigantic size because of the misery, the injustice, and the greed to which our laboring class has been subjected."⁹ He continued explaining, "it is by no means a product of Russia. It is international."¹⁰ He summed up his stance:

⁶Charles E.Coughlin, "The Christian Family," 12 January 1930.

⁷Coughlin, "The Christian Family," 12 January 1930.

⁸Coughlin, "Christ or the Red Fog," 19 January 1930.

⁹Coughlin, "Our Spiritual Weakness," 9 February 1930.

¹⁰Coughlin, "You Must Choose," 23 February 1930.

What happened in Russia can happen here unless Washington begins to take heed and unless we rid ourselves of the Communistic doctrines of irreligion, of pacifism, of free love, and of capitalistic greed¹¹

Coughlin's paranoia becomes evident at this stage of his career. Coughlin clearly believed that the Communists had the potential to ruin America, from their "selfish conveniences," and doctrines of irreligion, pacifism, free love, greed. Communists were not Christians thus not good Americans. Even worse, America could easily fall prey to these demonic agents of free-love and irreligion if their international influence was not stopped. Communists as well as Bolsheviks exemplified all that America was not, but unless the American people watched out for these enemies they too could become as evil as the ancient Jews in Pilate's Hall, crucifying Christ.

Socialists

Coughlin's next targeted enemies were Socialists, who "with [their] cry of internationalism and irreligion, advocate internationalism at the expense of patriotism."¹² Coughlin warned that, "international Socialism not only strives to breakdown the permanency of the American family, its aim is at the Nation itself."¹³ This notion undoubtedly scared Coughlin's audience; tearing apart the sanctity of the American family was an abominable idea. Stereotypically, Americans take the utmost pride in their families and most would do anything to protect their family unit from the apparent evils of Socialism. Coughlin cited more un-American Socialist activities:

Socialists distributed this pamphlet which reads: "Smash the Boy Scouts. They are an Organization for Capitalist Wars." This headline is followed by four pages of disloyalty and un-Christianity¹⁴

¹¹Coughlin, "Behind the Skirts," 2 March 1930.

¹²Coughlin, "The Red Serpent," 1930.

¹³Christ or the Red Fog, 1930

¹⁴Coughlin, "The Enemy Within," 2 February 1930.

This anti-Boy Scout propaganda is more proof of the Socialist un-Americanism. Using the Socialists' attack on the Boy Scouts (part of most American boys' lives) enabled Coughlin to drive deeper into his listeners that fear and mistrust of these flagrantly evil beings.

Coughlin also placed the Socialists in the same fraternity as the Bolsheviks and Communists, all in Pilate's Hall, shouting, "Give us Barabbas and the paganism of which he is typical. Crucify Christ and his gospel."¹⁵

These three groups were the ultimate enemies, they were international and un-American which also made them un-Christian, just like the Jews choosing the blasphemer Barabbas and crucifying the sacred Jesus Christ.

Industrialists/Capitalists

Father Coughlin also despised the Industrialists and Capitalists. These two groups advocated internationalism:

Many of our thoughtless Industrialists and Capitalists, whose names are well known, in their greed for gold have sold their birthright to promote the building up of this internationalism and irreligion.¹⁶

They, Coughlin continued, were also to blame for the trial of Christ:

as in common they raise their voice in chorus in the ancient blasphemy of: 'Give us Barabbas! Crucify Christ!'"¹⁷

Along with their Communist, Bolshevik and Socialist counterparts, the Industrialists and Capitalists were no better than Jews, choosing Barabbas over Jesus Christ, and some had even sold their (presumably) Christian birthright to promote their greed for gold, international sympathies and lack of (Christian) religion.

¹⁵Coughlin, "The Enemy Within," 1930.

¹⁶Coughlin, "You Must Choose," 1930.

¹⁷Coughlin, "Charity--The Policy of Christ," 1931.

All of Coughlin's enemies possessed evil doctrines designed to sway Americans from their American nationalism. The Bolshevists and Communists had an economy of lust, and advocated irreligion, pacifism and free love. Socialists advocated irreligion, disloyalty and un-Christianity, all evil according to Coughlin. These depraved groups were a threat to the well-being and future of America, what he spent his career defending. Coughlin damned these people, saying that they were no better than modern day rabble in Pilate's Hall, shouting to save Barabbas and crucify Jesus Christ. Crucifying Jesus was unpatriotic and un-American because all good Americans were also good Christians. Coughlin stated, "Patriotism and Internationalism! One born of Godliness and Christliness; the other, the offspring of atheism and greed!"¹⁸ Internationalism connoted more than being globally-oriented or interested in cross-cultural communication; it meant being contrary to what America was built on. Coughlin repeatedly reinforced the importance of American nationalism and Christianity, as well as created, for his audience, a running list of all the groups of people out to get them, destroy the American way and spread blasphemy and un-Godliness throughout the land. Along with this paranoia, Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism began to surface. Placing his enemies into Pilate's Hall jeering at Jesus Christ was a strong rhetorical move. Presuming that his audience had studied the Bible and knew that the Jews crucified Christ (and were Christians), Coughlin gave them enough reason to despise all of these anti-American, anti-Christian, international enemies

Coughlin's International Banker

While Coughlin had a long list of enemies, the wretched and depraved international banker was by far his most notorious and detested foe. Coughlin referred to the international banker in many ways. He described this villain, "the

¹⁸Coughlin, "Internationalism," 1931.

prince of gangdom, who, having an open disregard to authority, brazenly dares to make overtures and compromises for the perpetuation of his racketeering."¹⁹ With increasing contempt for gold, Coughlin stated again in his next sermon that, "they are gangsters...who have purposely wrecked the markets of the world through their greed for gold."²⁰ Coughlin deemed these bankers un-American, stating that they were "filled with a spirit of internationalism and selfishness, have little...patriotism."²¹ Once again Coughlin described his enemy as part of a world-wide international operation geared toward over-turning the American lifestyle. These bankers were no better than gangsters, and they had no regard for anything but their own selfish greed. Coughlin believed that these selfish, unpatriotic, international banking gangsters were only going to destroy beloved America, and duly warned his audience of this conspiracy.

His earliest reference to the international banker was in 1930 where he stated that thoughtless, well-known Americans promoted internationalism.²² Coughlin devoted the next year's sermons to detailing and exposing the international banker: who he was, what and how he did his actions, all of which Coughlin deemed evil. He named them: "J.P. Morgan Banking Company, Montague Norman, and certain gentlemen in our Federal Reserve Bank," all were evil perpetrators of sin. He explained that the "eminent American financiers [were]...the unholy hands of the international banker."²³

Later on, Coughlin rounded out his list of enemies by naming all of these rascals. The international bankers were easily identifiable to Coughlin; they were the major bankers of the time:

¹⁹Coughlin, "Lest We Forget," 1931.

²⁰Coughlin, "Quo Vadis?--Whither Goest Thou,?" 1931.

²¹Coughlin, "Where Money is King," 1931.

²²Coughlin, "You Must Choose," 1930.

²³Coughlin, "Internationalism," 1931.

We find such names as the Chase National Bank; Dillon, Reed & Company; the First National Bank of New York; the Bankers Trust Company; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Halsey, Stuart & Company; White, Weld & Company; E.H. Rollins & Sons; Lee, Higginson & Company; Ladenburg, Thalman & Company; the Bank of America; and the First National Corporation of Boston. These are the twelve apostles of international banking.²⁴

Coughlin also added the notorious Rothschilds to this list. He called them terrorists, stating that, "today as in the year 1862, we are being terrorized and tyrannized by the philosophy that was then spoken by the House of Rothschild to the American Banker," because they gained control of the world's gold.²⁵ He chastised them and challenged their religious affiliation, insisting that "money must never be used as a medium of control despite the fact the Rothschilds advocate this very thing. You can't keep that philosophy and be a Christian," alluding to his own negative feelings to unchristian gold worshippers.²⁶

"Terrorists," "tyrannizers," "international," "unholy," and "un-Christian," were all frequent adjectives for Coughlin's international banker. He was finally able to put a name on these evil men, and "prove" that they were conspiring against true patriotic Americans by describing the bankers' nefarious actions. Coughlin spared nothing when he described these villains. They were not Christians, thus unpatriotic and un-American. These terrorists wreaked incredible havoc on the American people, because of the disregard of their sinful un-Christian and international actions. Any disaster, misery or depression was to be blamed on these men and their actions. They were the sinners, and Americans were going to have to pay for the bankers' actions.

The first quality these bankers held in common was that they enjoyed destroying the money and currency market of the world; "they are directly responsible for the destruction of our credit."²⁷ The bankers also imported American gold

²⁴Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 11 December 1932.

²⁵Coughlin, "Bonds or Charity,?" 1933.

²⁶Coughlin, "The New Age,," 1933.

²⁷Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 1932.

overseas, free of any taxation, causing the American extra grief. Coughlin explained their actions:

These same international bankers...who demand tariff for the presumed protection of the laboring class, literally implored European governments and industrialists to accept their money, pardon me, your money, to build up factories for foreign competition which could have no other result but close the doors of American industry and send the American workmen tramping through the streets of our nation.²⁸

What were the reasons for these atrocities? Coughlin details them for his audience:

"deceit, exploitation and greed. These were the three major virtues of the many leading International Bankers in this country."²⁹ He begged the bankers to mend their ways:

oh, rob, steal, profiteer and exploit.... Every time you lift a lash of oppression;...you are crucifying Him on the cross of Calvary."³⁰

Coughlin evoked Shakespeare's Shylock, juxtaposing him with the modern day Shylocks, international bankers:

Shakespeare's Shylock ... had been rated the Rialto for his usury. But we have lived to see the day when modern day Shylocks have grown fat and wealthy, praised and deified, because they have perpetuated the ancient crime of usury under a modern racket of statesmanship.³¹

The results of this greedy, deceitful, exploitative profiteering always ended up in disaster. Coughlin's mission was to expose these criminals responsible for the world's problems. Coughlin explained their actions with contempt:

Thus a group of men who unwisely or unjustly accumulate unreasonable or unpayable debts is simply ruining their nation's spending money. They invite disaster. They breed depression. They obstruct the channels of trade and commerce. They close factories and

²⁸Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 1932.

²⁹Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 1932.

³⁰Coughlin, "Bonds or Charity,?" 1933.

³¹Coughlin, "Man or Beast of Burden," 1931.

they confiscate homes. They crowd our thoroughfares with an army of unemployed.³²

The international banker, or "Shylock," was only interested in his own personal gain. He had no notion of peace and tranquillity, or of homeless, unemployed and starving workers.

Coughlin chided his audience, saying that:

like Judas of old we have traded the traditions of manliness, of fidelity, of plain living, of Godliness for thirty pieces of material prosperity."³³

Father Coughlin spoke on this same subject, that "unfortunately there are still those in our midst who sell their fellowman for thirty pieces of international gold."³⁴ Selling your fellow man out was an outrage to Coughlin, and he would "return to die, rather than turn Judas and betray him for thirty dirty pieces of this world's silver."³⁵

Coughlin hated the international bankers because they, like Shylock, were destroying the world's money:

It was an effort to protect gold instead of labor.... The Treaty of Versailles.... was an effort which culminated in the destruction of credit and the hoarding of four-fifths of the world's liquid money in the hands of the two modern Shylocks, the United States bankers and the Bank of France.³⁶

Again, these Shylocks revered the mighty dollar over the labor force. The vitality of the American people was not their concern; greedily hoarding money, creating disasters and depressions was their only regard.

Coughlin preached to his listeners that their land had become the prey of the money changers, that they had turned the temple into a den of thieves, "A spirit of national greed was overwhelming the American spirit of fraternal patriotism."³⁷ The

³²Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 1932.

³³Coughlin, "The Pact With the Past," 1930.

³⁴Coughlin, "Without Religion--What,?" 1931.

³⁵Coughlin, "Quo Vadis?--Whither Goest Thou,?" 1931.

³⁶Coughlin, "Come Follow Me," 1931.

³⁷Coughlin, "The New Herod--The International Banker," 1932.

subject of gold, always a concern for Coughlin, was damned even more. The international bankers worshipped gold at the expense of the world, as Coughlin explained:

The Treaty of Versailles...has made a mockery of peace and.... was brought on by the desire of a certain few who worship at the alters of the international calf of gold and play financial politics at the expense of a world's misery.³⁸

He repeated his sentiments later, stating that "Christianity is against the modern Pharisee who worships the golden calf of internationalism."³⁹ Coughlin detailed how the Jews worshipped: Every day, all Jews would kill a calf and offer it up to their creator.⁴⁰ Coughlin then juxtaposed gold and calves, stating that "the modern Pharisee worships the golden calf of internationalism,"⁴¹ implying the international bankers were the modern day Pharisees. Not only did the international bankers want to ruin all that America was built on, but they worshipped gold which was enslaving the American people. Coughlin's allusion to the banker's actions as non-Christian, or "worshipping at the altars of the international gold," inferred that these bankers were Jews.

Coughlin also found these abominable traits in the country's public officials.⁴² He scoffed at these people:

Public officials draining the tax money from the purses of the people simply to uphold the bulwarks of a decrepit and outworn system of politics! Here is an army of bloodsuckers who are a menace to the security of the country.⁴³

These crooked men were damaging the integrity of the nation, with their internationalism draining, or sucking, the tax money out of the citizens of this

³⁸Coughlin, "Prosperity," January 5, 1931.

³⁹Coughlin, "Christ or Chaos,?" 1931.

⁴⁰Coughlin, "On Sacrifice," 1931.

⁴¹Coughlin, "Christ or Chaos,?" 1931.

⁴²Coughlin, "Prosperity," January 5, 1931.

⁴³Coughlin, "Taxation--Its Remedy," October 23, 1932.

country. Like the paranoiac, Coughlin warned of the overwhelming influence of this "army" that was out to suck the marrow of the bones of the Americans. These public officials were conspiring to damage the security of Coughlin's blessed America, along the rest of his foes.

Father Coughlin was thorough in his list of enemies, for he even distrusted all of Wall Street because of their constant preoccupation with gold. He explained that Americans were also to blame for the degradation of Wall Street:

We have made gold our master and our king. We have placed him upon the throne of Wall Street--the same Wall Street whose early history was associated with the sale of slaves.⁴⁴

Gold was a major vehicle that all of Coughlin's enemies used to wreak havoc on America. The acceptance of the gold standard infuriated Coughlin, for only those who wanted to destroy America and bring the country shame (e.g. remembrance of the slave trade) advocated such widespread use of gold. Making gold into the America's master and king would only make Americans turn away from the values of patriotism and Christianity.

As always, Coughlin banished these evil international bankers to Pilate's Hall, shouting along with the Jews (easily because they were Jews or Jews at heart) to crucify Christ:

Those responsible.... and greedy for the blood and wealth of nations, they have raised their voices until the clamorous shout has gone mocking to heaven: 'Give us Barabbas--The Barabbas of gold begotten of greed.'⁴⁵

Like the Bolshevists, Communists, Capitalists, and the blood-sucking Public Officials, the international calf of gold worshipping, Shylockean bankers chose Barabbas--of gold begotten of greed--which proved the bankers to be unpatriotic, un-American, and un-Christian. These international bankers were banded together,

⁴⁴Coughlin, "Gold-Master or Servant," 1932.

⁴⁵Coughlin, "Gold and Silver and the Child Welfare Bureau," 1931.

presumably along with Coughlin's previous enemies, in an international network designed to destroy the American character and way of life. Coughlin's paranoia consumed his sermons; he prophesized that all of these heathens were out to slaughter Americans (like the Jews crucified Christ). Coughlin's paranoia was apparent, but his anti-Semitism was still somewhat muddled. His sermons mirrored the usual stereotypes of Jews, e.g. Christ killers, Shylock, gold-worshippers and bankers, but not until his 1933 sermon, "Gold--Public or Private," is Coughlin completely open about his anti-Semitism.⁴⁶ He used his mastery of words to seemingly offer the Jews some understanding, but his message was quite the opposite. This sermon is the turning point for Father Coughlin; all tokens of anti-Semitism evident in his early sermons are concentrated here, and after this sermon his tone became harshly anti-Semitic.

Gold--Private or Public!

Coughlin detailed, for his audience, the plight of the Jew, as well as the end result:

May I recall for you how the Jews had at one time been taken captive by the Egyptians? Watch them as they mold bricks, as they sweat in the hot sun and were denied an education. Slaves they were! Did the thought ever strike you that when they found freedom under the leadership of Moses they had enough gold in their possession with which to build a golden calf? Did the thought ever occur to you: Where did they get that gold? Slaves were not paid in gold. They had taken it by right of compensation for the work they had done. And thus the Jew learned from the Phoenicians, learned from the Egyptians and learned by bitter, cruel experience from every so-called Christian nation in Europe that made of him a scapegoat. They learned that gold was the only wealth which they felt was secure in their possession.

⁴⁶Coughlin, "Gold--Private or Public,!" 1933.

The Jews were gold-hoarders because of their history of enslavement; thus, the only power Jews could ever hold was in gold and money. Coughlin's motive for giving this specific sermon was to spell out the ancient strife between Jews and Christians:

I have touched upon these perilous points for a purpose. I have touched upon them simply for the reason to bring your attention and to recall to my own fact that our Christian ancestors forced the Jew into hoarding gold, the only element of wealth that hatred permitted him.

Christians forced the Jews into their obsession with gold; wealth was the only thing the Jews could control. This trait was transferred down to the modern day Jews.

Coughlin named the true contemporary Jew, the Rothschilds (who were Jews) who were forced into their gold-hoarding by the hatred of Christians. But they grew accustomed to their wealth and began wielding their control over the public.

Coughlin explained:

I am only building up to the climax of these international Rothschilds whom I have mentioned. This family more than any other devised the plan of constituting gold as wealth, and land and produce, men and labor as its servants. They were forced into this position by the hatred of Christians. It was this family who formulated the theory of modern wealth, the theory I have read to you time and time again. From their London office originated the idea not of gold as a medium of trade but of gold held in private possession independent of the nation; of gold as a medium of control.

Father Coughlin seemed to be offering understanding to the Jews and their ancient strife. He shed insight on the enslavement of the Jews, and he blamed Christians for driving the Jews into their gold-hungry ways. Coughlin even explained the reason for the Jews having no single nationality: they were driven out by the nationals. But, that is all the compassion Coughlin could muster. Indeed, he devoted the remainder of the sermon to denouncing Jews and demanding their un-Christian ways to cease.

He demanded "European Jewry" and the gold standard to give way to democracy, to value men more than money:

Thus, my friends, the day has come in the cycle of progress when the theory of the European Jew that gold is sacred, gold is wealth, gold is

more precious than men and the homes in which they live, that day has come in the course of the development of democracy when gold no longer is wealth and must never again be recognized as a medium of control.

In the name of patriotism, Coughlin implored the evil to end:

It was persecution that drove the Jew into the hoarding of the gold. Persecution must surrender to democratic forbearance and citizenship.

He urged his audience not to accept the rotten gold standard, which only wanted to control America. Coughlin accused non-Jews, Gentiles, of emulating the international Jew:

After Rothschild came the Gentiles, the Christians, who endeavored to emulate him. They, too adopted this same theory. Need I mention them in lower Manhattan by name? Need I call your attention to the fact that the gold which tills the soil, the gold that holds the roof over our heads, the gold that is the very life blood of commerce, of industry, of prosperity, has been held captive in the bank of greed, similar to the money which today is held captive in the banks of Michigan?

These Christian bankers were no better than Jews. Their allegiance to gold was stronger than the prosperity and vitality of their country, just as was the Jews'.

Finally, Father Coughlin demands that the power of this country be held by true Americans, good Christians who would not oppress the millions of people just for gold:

Things are necessary for the development of a country, and for the maintenance of a country, those things must belong to the nation alone and must not be permitted to rest in the hands of the Morgans and Kuhn-Loebs and central banks and Rothschilds who have grown fat by the billions at the expense of the millions of oppressed people.

Coughlin's enemies, the Morgans, Kuhn-Loebs, and the rest of the heathen international Jewish bankers, must no longer be allowed to control the future of America.⁴⁷

⁴⁷Coughlin, "Gold--Private or Public,!" 1933.

Coughlin identified his true arch rival, the international banker, in this sermon. Although he offers some Christian responsibility for the downfall of the Jew, he showed how the Jew, after 2000 years, had not even attempted to mend gold-controlling, money-grubbing ways. Instead Jews enjoyed creating disasters and turmoil by holding the world at its mercy. Naming the modern day Jew an "international banker" gave Coughlin the perfect opportunity to blame the Jews for the situation in America. Because of their innate desire for money, power and gold, not people, Father Coughlin knew that the Jews were at the heart of all disasters. Communists, Socialists, Bolsheviks, Wall Street, Washington, all Jews or "honorary" Jews, were out to destroy the patriotic, prosperous and Christian America that Coughlin idolized.

Coughlin's enemies served a purpose for his rhetoric. Not only did this running list of villains become the enemies of his audience, they helped Coughlin isolate who was truly for or against the American way, who was American or un-American.

Coughlin's Mission

Kenneth Burke's "The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle" provides the final framework for this analysis of Father Coughlin. According to Burke, Hitler used his style to give the people of his movement a strong sense of support, of community, and used the power of endless repetition, as Coughlin did during his years on the air. Hitler and Coughlin also agreed upon who was to blame for the world's problems: the "international devil," the Jew.⁴⁸ After Coughlin's "Gold--Private or Public" speech, his overt scapegoating of the international banker grew stronger, as did his need to

⁴⁸Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 192 & 194.

sectionalize his group of listeners. At this point in Coughlin's career, he, with his endless Jewish scapegoating and nationalist rhetoric, just like Hitler, broke off from the majority and created his own community to wield his power.

Throughout Coughlin's sermons, from early 1930 to 1934, he deferred authority to a higher individual: Pope Pius, his own Bishop Gallagher, President Roosevelt (granted, this changed) and, of course, Jesus Christ. However, after his "Gold" speech, he began to evoke another authority, himself. This was Coughlin's mission, to create an environment where only his words were truth. His paranoid rhetors, true to Hofstadter's model, was full of facts, minute details, and history lessons, all to prove the evil nature of the international Jewish banker. But his enemies were not just Jews; in fact, he made the rest of his foes (Bolshevists, Communists, Industrialists, Wall Street, Washington Officials etc...) honorary Jews because they had sold their birthright trying to emulate Jewish scoundrels. After Coughlin was clear about who he hated most in the world, he began shifting the messages of his rhetoric, so that nothing but his system of knowledge and beliefs was true, Christian or American. He did this to gain the support of his followers for his own social movement and to, perhaps, create himself into a messianic figure, as Hitler.

Coughlin warned his audience of the evil nature of his enemy, and hinted at the goals of his forthcoming political group:

Of a sudden we have all awakened to the menace of the monopolistic international banker and his gospel of gold--a gospel that has been the breeding swamp of war, of famine, of poverty in the midst of plenty. Sane nationalism has no quarrel with Christian internationalism. Its only argument is against the internationalism of the gold worshipper.⁴⁹

He had no problem with Christian internationals, who obviously, did not worship gold, but with non-Christian internationalism that worshipped gold, namely the Jews,

⁴⁹Coughlin, "The New Temple," 1933.

who had to be banished from power. He demanded, "Away, then, with the crap shooter! Now is the time for honest men; for financial reformation; for industrial rehabilitation."⁵⁰ For Coughlin, it was time for reformation and rehabilitation of the crooked status quo.

He offered his listeners a choice:

My friends, you can choose between socialized capitalism or monopolistic capitalism. The former if constructed upon Christian principles can save this nation. The latter, if persisted in, must result in a revolution.⁵¹

The right choice was to side with Coughlin. Monopolistic capitalism was only destroying the American way of life. Socialism added to capitalism, as long as it was Christian socialism, would save the nation. He explained himself:

My motive is to arouse you to a high sense of Christian duty and of American patriotism. Their program is designed to force you to pagan gold worship and to spineless internationalism.⁵²

The only real choice Coughlin's audience could make was to side with Coughlin. Going against the Catholic priest who made it his life's work to expose evil, greed, selfishness and un-American ways would be unpatriotic and un-Christian.

Finally, in 1934, Coughlin introduced a panacea to his country's problems. He started his own political group, with its own membership guidelines and by-laws, to try to change the reckless course of the nation. He described the party's reason for uniting: "The NATIONAL UNION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE [NUSJ].... It is for the youth of the nation. It is for the farmers of the nation. It is for everyone in the nation."⁵³ Coughlin urged his listeners to join and revolt against the evil powers:

Need I ask you to unite? In the past you had not the sagacity to organize yourselves. Oh, but that is not true of the banker, of the industrialist, of the plutocrat! They are organized almost 100 percent against you for the

⁵⁰Coughlin, "The New Deal and The New Men, " 1933

⁵¹Coughlin, "The New Temple," 1933.

⁵²Coughlin, "Thus Goeth the Battle,!" 1933.

⁵³Coughlin, "The National Union for Social Justice," 1934.

protection of those very principles of exploitation which have succeeded in reducing more than 70 percent of our population to a standard of living that is best described as economic slavery.⁵⁴

Coughlin warned that if his followers remained unorganized and did not join his movement, they would remain powerless and weak. The NUSJ was organized by Coughlin, in the Populist tradition, to give the people a real voice in the political arena.

His party was to be the only true answer to America's problems. Everyone was allowed to take part, not just the ones who controlled the power, like the international bankers. Coughlin's repeated and continual damning of his enemies served, for his audience, as a constant reminder of who they should despise and not trust. Coughlin's party ran an unsuccessful candidate for president, William Lemke, in 1936. Rather than abandon politics, Coughlin continued to broadcast every Sunday, complaining about the state of America while his anti-Semitism grew exponentially along with his respect for Hitler's actions. As Coughlin became more radical, his audience's interests tapered off. He continued to be the radio priest until 1942, when Bishop Gallagher died. Father Coughlin was permanently removed from the air waves and formally silenced by Attorney Biddle. He remained a priest until he died in 1978.

The impact of Coughlin is still being felt. His vehement paranoia, coupled with his anti-Semitic rhetoric, helped to instill prejudice into millions of Americans. Father Coughlin was enormously successful during these four years, for he spoke against his enemies, the real enemies of America, the international, unpatriotic, un-Christian, gold-worshipping, greedy Jewish, or honorary Jewish, bankers. For Father Coughlin, anyone who did not symbolize true-Americanism, like himself, was to be suspect and hated. Not only did Coughlin subscribe to the anti-Semitic sentiments of

⁵⁴Coughlin, "Share the Profits With Labor," 1934.

the day, but the racist and stereotypical rhetoric that lived in his sermons only fostered hatred of Jews, and the other targets, in the minds of millions of Americans.

Chapter Four--Conclusion

Father Coughlin did indeed use anti-Semitic rhetoric in his sermons. The question I raised earlier, was his rhetoric consistently anti-Semitic, is easily answered if one evaluates his orations. From the first sermon of 1930 to 1934, Coughlin consistently used racist, derogatory and slanderous language when he described the "international enemy," the Jew. Edwin Black's notion of connecting a style to personal outlook fits Father Coughlin particularly well. Black explains that discourses contain tokens of their authors and are directly or indirectly the signs of an internal state. The author's style reveals his/her true internal state: Coughlin can be called an anti-Semitic orator.¹ Granted, as the literature of Coughlin's time demonstrated, anti-Semitic and racist language was prevalent in most realms of literature, especially religious works. He was raised on a diet of religious teachings and writings that depicted the horrendous Jew as the Christ-killer. But, a great many Americans were able to turn away from the systematic scapegoating of Jews and speak out against anti-Semitism. Not everyone was anti-Semitic and racist, just those people who needed to blame someone else for their own problems.

Although he was an educated and well-versed man, Father Coughlin could not resist the temptation to scapegoat an entire group of people for all of his country's ills. Millions of Americans in his audience had similar anti-Semitic indoctrinations as Coughlin, so his words spoke the "truth." I see Coughlin's actions as incredibly dangerous and manipulative. He used paranoid anti-Semitic rhetoric to warn his audience of who their enemy was, and used his "vehicle," the priesthood, to give expertise to his messages. His audience--millions of listeners who sent him millions

¹Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 4 (1970): 119.

of dollars of support--believed in his authority and subscribed to his outlook on the world. His brand of reductionist rhetoric had the dangerous potential of shaping hatred in yet another generation of Americans.

In order to explain Father Coughlin to those interested in my thesis topic, I have tried to find a modern-day equivalent to this man. Rush Limbaugh, the right-wing radio and television commentator, is the closest person I could find to explain the impact of Coughlin. Education and religion aside, Limbaugh, like Coughlin, loves the power he can wield over his audience, just by invoking one simple phrase. The Bolsheviks, Communists, et. al. were to Coughlin as the FemiNazis and the tree-hugging Environmentalists are to Limbaugh. Just as amazing as Coughlin's following was, is Limbaugh's; he got so big that he had to have his own television show. Perhaps Limbaugh will follow the path of Coughlin and naturally burn himself out, or maybe the American people will see the danger of such a speaker and, as they did to Coughlin, switch the radio and/or television off.

Studying Father Coughlin proved to be somewhat of a limited endeavor. Coughlin, a Detroit priest from the 1930's, published most of his works, yet the accessibility of those works in 1990's Oregon was restricted. Researching Coughlin was a difficult task; while some of his speeches were at the Oregon State University library, the rest of his speeches were scattered throughout libraries across the country. The interlibrary loan system was able to find the primary and secondary sources on Coughlin, but collecting the material was expensive and the quality sent was only mediocre. However shoddy or hard to find the materials were, studying his oratory was somewhat easier, for anti-Semitism and Populism were topics available in the Oregon libraries. The periodical materials from Coughlin's time were equally accessible, I had no trouble finding material on American anti-Semitism thought up to the 1930s.

The methodology I used, combining elements from Black, Hofstadter and Burke, was well-suited for this thesis. Coughlin as a speaker was so complex that each of the authors' main points directly connected to his style. This methodology was also specific; after each discussion I was able to conclude succinctly on Father Coughlin's speaking style. I think this methodology could be used in similar studies of demagogic oratory because it demonstrates the multi-facets of a speaker.

Finally, I can see two further areas of research from this study. First, it would be interesting to track some of Coughlin's followers and see if Coughlin's anti-Semitic rhetoric left an impact on their thinking. Did Coughlin's anti-Semitic rhetoric help to create more American anti-Semitism? Or did World War II erase the negative effects of Coughlin's words? Another area of research could be to study messianic rhetoric as a whole, or even certain messianic orators. The conclusions drawn from this thesis could be seen as minor compared to some of the current demagogic orators.

Complete List of Coughlin's Sermons

1930

Sunday, January 12th, 1930, "The Christian Family."
 Sunday, January 19th, 1930, "Christ or the Red Fog."
 Sunday, January 26th, 1930, "The Red Serpent."
 Sunday, February 2nd, 1930, "The Enemy Within."
 Sunday, February 9th, 1930, "Our Spiritual Weakness."
 Sunday, February 16th, 1930, "The Pact With the Past."
 Sunday, February 23rd, 1930, "You Must Choose."
 Sunday, March 2nd, 1930, "Behind the Skirts."
 Sunday, March 9th, 1930, "Socialism and Communism."

1931

"Charity--The Policy of Christ"
 "The King in Pilate's Hall"
 "Our Solitary Boast"
 "On Sacrifice"
 "Sacrifice of the Mass"
 "Lest We Forget"
 "Machine Age and Labor"
 "Where Money is King"
 "Man or Beast of Burden"
 "Internationalism"
 "Without Religion--What"
 "The Story of Bethlehem"
 "Christ or Chaos?"
 "Prosperity"
 "Gold and Silver and Child Welfare Bureau"
 "Why Radicalism?"
 "Christianized Democracy"
 "The Pact With the Past!"
 "By the Sweat of Thy Brow"
 "Quo Vadis?--Whither Goest Thou?"
 "The Slaughter of the Innocents"
 "The Pilgrimage"
 "The Great Betrayal"
 "Easter Sunday"

January 5th, 1931, "Prosperity."
 April 19th, 1931, "Come, Follow Me."
 April 19th, 1931, "The Great Sin."
 Sunday, October 25th, 1931, "On Prohibition."
 November 22, 1931, "Render to Caesar."
 November 29, 1931, "The Miracle."
 December 13, 1931, "What is Truth?"

1932

February 14, 1932, "The Secret is Out."

Sunday, October 23, 1932, "Taxation--Its Remedy."

October 30, 1932, "Gold--Master or Servant."

December 11, 1932, "The New Herod--The International Banker."

1933

"Revaluation"

"Gold--The Medium of Exchange"

"Use and Not Abuse"

"Unprinted Pages"

"What Price Depression?"

"The New Age"

"Rubber Credit Money--The International Bankers"

"Honest Legislation"

"Bonds or Charity?"

"The March of the Workers"

"The Suicide of Capitalism"

"The Salvation of Capitalism"

"Gold--Private or Public!"

"Banks and Gold"

"The New Deal and The New Men"

"To the ExService Man"

"From the Ashes We Shall Rise Again"

"The Truth Must Be Told"

"Lateral and Frontal Attack"

"The New Temple!"

"The Restoration of Silver"

"The Call to Arms!"

"Thus Goeth the Battle!"

"By Their Fruits They Shall Be Known!"

"Money Control!"

"Industry and The Gold Standard Capitalism"

1934

Sunday, November 11, 1934, "The National Union For Social Justice."

Sunday, December 2, 1934, "Share the Profits With Labor."

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