

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SAN MARCOS

THESIS SIGNATURE PAGE

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HISTORY

THESIS TITLE: C. Leon de Aryan: The Broom, Mazdaznan, and the Radical Right in San Diego, 1930-1945

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DATE OF SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE: May 22, 2014

THE THESIS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE THESIS COMMITTEE IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
HISTORY.

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C. Leon de Aryan:

The Broom, Mazdaznan, and the Radical Right in San Diego, 1930-1945

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2014

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Abstract

Between the years 1930 and 1965, C. Leon de Aryan wrote and edited a newspaper in San Diego, California entitled *The Broom*. The newspaper was radical right-wing and antisemitic, and pushed the alternative religion of Mazdaznan, of which de Aryan was a devout follower. This newspaper and the life of de Aryan gives insight to the antisemitism and radical right presence in San Diego, as well as to the diversity of the radical right during the 1930s and 1940s.

De Aryan has been considered by historians and San Diego locals as unimportant and not influential. However, de Aryan's newspaper, *The Broom*, had a nationwide audience and was considered by the government to be seditious in nature. An immigrant born in Romania, he was followed by the F.B.I. shortly after his arrival in the United States, and he was later indicted during the large sedition trial of the 1940s. Through his newspaper he spread his ideas regarding antisemitism and Christian-alternative religion, as well as his criticism of the Federal Government under the direction of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

De Aryan's politics, religion, and life in San Diego reveal an important side to the city's history which has not yet been studied at length. Though the city was not necessarily outwardly welcoming towards reactionary right-wing groups, they harbored and, to a degree, sheltered them for a time, which shows a certain acceptance towards them.

Keywords: antisemitism, radical right-wing, San Diego, C. Leon de Aryan, Mazdaznan, sedition

Acknowledgments

-First and foremost, I dedicate this to Eric Claeys, without whom this project would have never been possible. Thank you for pushing me to continue through the discouraging days. I'm glad to have someone to watch historical movies and events with forever.

-To Rod and Holly Smart, whose love of history was instilled in me at a young age. Our historical discussions are what led me to pursue this degree. I would love to win just one historical argument with the two of you.

-To Dr. Jill Watts, without her invaluable support and guidance this project would have never been possible. Hers was the first class I walked in to at CSUSM in 2007 as an undergrad, it was where history became personal and important. Her unfailing belief in me has been wondrous. Her writing is inspiring and we are all immensely lucky to have such a talented mentor and friend.

-To Dr. Alyssa Sepinwall, whose class on Women in Jewish History sparked my curiosity about antisemitism as a topic, and without whom I would have had no background whatsoever on this topic. I am lucky that your door truly was always open.

-To Laurel Schwartz, whose help and kindness with my research of *The Broom* was the inspiration for my final thesis topic. I hope that it is good enough to be in her amazing library.

-To my brother Winston, who I will one day convince that history is not boring.

-Last, but not least, to my best dog friend, Vettel, who was my study partner and my cuddle partner. Now Eric has to let us get you a brother!

Introduction

San Diego has long been recognized as a city of major importance in the United States, as well as being a conservative, military town. However, until recently, very few historians have explored its modern history. The scholarship regarding San Diego's acceptance radical right wing groups such as the Silver Shirts and the Klu Klux Klan have established that there was a general tolerance towards these groups in San Diego during the 1930s and 1940s. Scholarship regarding antisemitism in San Diego has also established that there were many instances of antisemitic attitudes in the area between 1930 and the 1950s. Still, the important topic of antisemitism needs more historical attention to fully understand the presence of the reactionary radical right in San Diego during the time period. Between 1930 and 1965, San Diego was also home to a antisemitic newspaper run by a radical right wing man named C. Leon de Aryan. Born in Romania in 1886, de Aryan came to America in the early 1900s and arrived in San Diego around 1930. De Aryan was well known in the city as the editor of and featured writer of *The Broom*, a weekly newspaper that he started after his move to San Diego. During the time that de Aryan lived in San Diego, he became involved in political life. De Aryan was regarded locally by some as very outspoken and intelligent, as well as unstable. It seems that he was accepted socially by San Diegans, at least in the first few years of his residence in the city. De Aryan was investigated by the government in the 1920s and the 1940s, and he was deeply antisemitic and advocated this position in his newspaper. De Aryan was devoted to Mazdaznan, a Christian alternative-religion that became popular in the early 20th century. He was a part of the growing radical right, and he was arrested for sedition during World War II.

This thesis follows the life of C. Leon de Aryan, beginning with his birth in Romania to his death in San Diego. It focuses on four major themes in de Aryan's life: his deep involvement in the mystic religion of Mazdaznan, his relationship with the well known World War I draft-dodger Linn A. E. Gale, his move to San Diego and creation of *The Broom*, and his inclusion in the sedition trials of the 1940s. De Aryan's life is important to history because it shows the large presence of, and diversity amongst, the radical right of the 1930s and 1940s, of which de Aryan was an integral part. In some ways, de Aryan's views were very much like other extremist right-wing leaders. However, across the spectrum their attitude towards religion and the reasoning behind their views were diverse. It is in these differences that de Aryan is interesting historically; the radical right could never come together because, as individuals, they were too divergent and they could not agree on a course of action due to their dissimilarities. Like the others, de Aryan thought that his ideas were the best, and the only ones to follow.

De Aryan has been largely forgotten. He has been mentioned briefly in several scholarly works about other extreme right wing leaders of the time.¹ In San Diego there has only been one newspaper article solely about de Aryan, which regarded him as a "crackpot," insisting that he was not taken seriously and had no lasting influence.² The many important details of his life have been left out, and are, seemingly, unknown to both scholarly and popular authors. He has been regarded by his peers and by many scholars as slightly interesting and mentally disturbed,

¹ Richard W. Steele, *Free Speech in the Good War* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1999); Henry Schwartz, "The Silver Shirts: Antisemitism in San Diego, 1930-1940," *Western States Jewish History*, Volume 25: Issue 1 (1992); John McIntyre Werly, "The Millenarian Right: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion of America," (PhD diss., Syracuse University), 1972.

² Richard Crawford, "Anti-semitic Publisher Made a Name in San Diego: C. Leon de Aryan's "The Broom" lashed out at Jews, FDR, Unions and Communists," *The San Diego Union Tribune* (June 2, 2011).

but nothing more.³ Often, the radical right have not been taken seriously by scholars, though they were very influential, and continue to be so. This thesis aims to show that de Aryan was important on both a local and national level, and that his story adds to the history of the radical right, the history of San Diego, and the history of antisemitism in California during the 1930s and 1940s.

De Aryan has only discussed by scholars as someone unimportant or as a “crackpot.” However, de Aryan was much more than that. He was influential, intelligent, and gregarious. He was also troubled, inconsistent, sometimes dishonest, and he maintained a grandiose sense of his own importance. His instability and his combative personality prevented him from having a greater influence, but his following indicates the lure and the power of the individuals of the extreme right and of antisemitics during the time period. Despite his inconsistencies and his quirks, his activities and his newspaper were seen as evidence of the existence of the fifth column, or disloyal citizens, in the United States by the government, and he was believed to be a dangerous man.

San Diego has long been acknowledged as a conservative city with a strong Republican base and distinct ties to the military. However, except in short articles, San Diego’s reactionary right wing groups have not been studied by scholars. The study of C. Leon de Aryan adds to this gap in the scholarship. Locally, de Aryan and his extreme antisemitism demonstrate that San Diego had a high level of tolerance for antisemitism and right wing politics during the time period of the 1930s and 1940s. Though some scholars, such as Lawrence Baron and Henry

³ James Ruffin, a senior attorney called de Aryan a “crackpot” during the California Un-American Activities, or Tenney, committee, Richard W. Steele, *Free Speech in the Good War* (St. Martin’s Press: New York, 1999), 212; Gerald Horne called de Aryan “Hysterical” and the editor of *The San Diego Weekly* in *Class Struggle in Hollywood, 1930-1950* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 93.

Schwartz, do mention San Diego's antisemitism during the period between the 1920s and the 1940s, the topic has not been as heavily studied as it has been in other large cities such as Los Angeles and New York. An important work on San Diego's antisemitism, "The Flaw in the Jewel: Housing Discrimination Against Jews in California," by Mary Ellen Stratthaus, only discusses La Jolla's antisemitism, though she does mention other areas briefly. In order to truly understand San Diego during this time period, there must be more exploration of the presence of antisemitism in San Diego. De Aryan's early popularity and social acceptance suggests that there was a higher acceptance of extreme antisemitism. Initially, de Aryan and his wife were not ostracized by higher-ups in the city, and were, in fact, prominent at social events during the 1930s. The fact that the local newspapers did not mention de Aryan's antisemitism until his involvement in the national sedition trial in 1942, though they wrote over eight-hundred articles that mentioned him, shows that they did not see extreme antisemitism as something important enough to comment on.

De Aryan was a part of the radical right movement that thrived in the 1930s and 1940s, some of whom also subscribed to a mystic religiosity. These men and women believed that the country was being taken over by leftists, and saw it as their duty to speak the truth against socialism.⁴ They were especially critical of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whom they accused of leftism. De Aryan's religious, radical right, and antisemitic newspaper, *The Broom*, was circulated nationally in the 1940s, and he was a major player in the radical right-wing during that time, mostly because of his opposition to FDR and World War II. Because of this, de Aryan was

⁴ Pelley often wrote about FDR, calling him a "Jew" and a "Communist," Werly, "The Millenarian Right," 133; Richard Breitman and Allan J. Lichtman also found that Republican leaders called the New Deal the "Jew Deal," and warned of FDR's Jewish radical influence, *FDR and the Jews* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 77.

considered a subversive by the U.S. government, who arrested him under the Smith Act for sedition; they believed that his newspaper was detrimental to the war effort.

While it would be easy to assume that de Aryan's name, which he changed from Legenopol, reflected his support of Adolf Hitler and Nazism, that is incorrect. Although the idea of the Aryan race became popular with the Nazis, it was associated with many other organizations. However, de Aryan changed his name for another reason: his mystic religion, Mazdaznan. In Mazdaznan, the term "Aryan" refers to the highest level of enlightenment a white man can reach on earth. Mazdaznan greatly influenced de Aryan's thoughts and actions during his time in America. De Aryan was antisemitic, in part because Mazdaznan's beliefs were antisemitic in its core teachings about race and power. However, he was not a follower of the Nazis or of Hitler, though they shared some beliefs.⁵ The overgeneralization of de Aryan's ideology reveals a gap in understanding him, as well as other radical right wingers of the era, who also held antisemitic beliefs, but did not necessarily in agree with Hitler. In fact, it can be dangerous to assume that all anti-semites in this era were Nazi followers, as it presumes that antisemitism both began and ended with the Nazi regime. It also could make it seem that other forms of antisemitism were unimportant compared to that of the Third Reich. There is a difference between antisemitism and pro-German feelings during the 1930s and the 1940s, and they must be treated as such. While it is likely that most who supported Nazism were also antisemitic, anti-semites were not always pro-Germany.

De Aryan was thought of as a Nazi by the public beginning in 1942, when a *Life* exposé entitled "Voices of Defeat," was published. This article was responsible for making de Aryan

⁵ Popular publication *The Hour* called de Aryan "Nazi-admiring," a "Naziphile," and "pro-Nazi" in three separate articles between 1940 and 1941, Albert Kahn, Ed., *The Hour* (reprinted by Greenwood Reprint Co.: Wesport, 1970), articles dated October 5, 1940, November 2, 1940, and March 29, 1941.

infamous, led the public think of him as a Nazi, and resulted in his eventual arrest, as the original indictments were inspired by the list. Its subtitle “While our country fights for its life, some Americans sow lies and hate inside our lines. They abuse free speech and spread Hitler’s propaganda,” revealed that the writer thought all of those discussed in the article were pro-Nazi.⁶ The article contended that subversives were widespread in America, and that the aim of these subversives was to bring down the country.⁷

The article stated that if these subversives were aliens, they could be easily prosecuted, but their American citizenship gave them the right to free speech. The article claimed that *The Broom* was dangerous because it is printed in a town with an important Navy base, and stated that “in time of war, especially an all-out war for national existence, crackpots who spread enemy propaganda are a dangerous luxury.”⁸ The authors argued that de Aryan was eccentric, but also that he was a dangerous man who influenced his readers. The inclusion of *The Broom* in this lengthy article in a national publication likely led, at least in part, to the government’s interest in de Aryan in the sedition case.⁹

Though de Aryan has only been mentioned briefly in modern scholarly works, in 2011, a San Diego newspaper article entitled “Anti-semitic Publisher Made a Name in San Diego: C. Leon de Aryan’s ‘The Broom’ lashed out at Jews, FDR, Unions and Communists,” reflected local perception that de Aryan was a crazy publisher of an antisemitic newspaper who was a part of the radical right. The research for this article is based almost solely on the testimony made by

⁶ “Voices of Defeat,” *Life* (April 13, 1942), 86.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹ Steele, *Free Speech in the Good War*, 206; Steele suggests that the government took the list from the exposé and used it to “demonstrate its determination to deal forcefully with disloyalty.”

de Aryan to the Un-American Activities committee. The author, local historian Richard Crawford, argues that de Aryan was a “crack pot” whom no one took seriously. Though Crawford does detail de Aryan’s antisemitism at length, he does not acknowledge that much of these attitudes stemmed from de Aryan’s belief in Mazdaznan. While de Aryan was certainly racist and extremist, and exposed radical ideas, he was also someone that was taken seriously by a sizable number of people who agreed with his extremist and antisemitic ideas and subscribed to his weekly. He was likely unstable, but he was also a part of the larger segment of right wing extremists, and had a considerable influence on his contemporaries through *The Broom*.

Crawford’s article claims that de Aryan changed his name in 1926 when he was naturalized. However, de Aryan began going by his chosen name as early as 1912, when he enlisted in the U.S. Army in Colorado. More importantly, the article does not mention Mazdaznan and de Aryan’s involvement in the religion. It should be noted, however, that Mazdaznan is mentioned in most issues of *The Broom* after the late 1930s, and often multiple times. Instead, Crawford chooses to focus on de Aryan’s obsession with “personal free will, vegetarianism, and faith in Jesus Christ,” which were certainly important to his writings.¹⁰

This is the only work which features de Aryan as its focus. Though the article tells a good story and gives an impression about how many San Diegans see de Aryan, it leaves out some of the most important details. The argument that de Aryan was a only a “crack pot” leaves out his political influence and his history of problems with the United States government.

Written for a local newspaper, it is hard to fault the article for its brevity and over-

¹⁰ Crawford, “Anti-semitic Publisher Made a Name in San Diego.”

generalizations, but it indicates the need to add to the scholarly debate regarding de Aryan's life and works.

Only one larger historical work has given much detail to de Aryan's life. In scholar Richard W. Steele's *Free Speech in the Good War*, Steele describes *The Broom* as "consistently anti-administration, anti-Communist, anti-British, anti-Semitic, antiwar, anti-international bankers, and anti-Federal Reserve system....on occasion it was anti-Hitler and anti-Japan as well."¹¹ According to Steele, James Ruffin, an attorney for the sedition case determined that de Aryan was a man with a "persecution complex" who loved the publicity that would come from prosecution, and that *The Broom* was not seditious.¹² Steele notes that de Aryan was not seen as a threat by San Diegans, and was supported by several judges and the district attorney, who believed he was not a danger to the United States.¹³ According to Steele, because the case was built upon conspiracy against the United States amongst the defendants, de Aryan was dropped. In fact, de Aryan hardly knew any of the twenty-seven others who were also indicted.

Another aspect of de Aryan's life, Mazdaznan, has also rarely been studied at length. De Aryan's religion, Mazdaznan, had a profound influence upon his life and his decision to publish *The Broom* for over thirty years. The religion, based on Zoroastrianism and New Thought, was controversial, yet popular for a time in the early 20th century. Upton Sinclair, famous for his book *The Jungle*, was one of the first to write about Mazdaznan in his book, *The Profits of Religion: An Essay in Economic Interpretation*, originally published in 1918. His book details the economic hold that religion, particularly Catholicism, had on America. The book starts with

¹¹ Steele, *Free Speech in the Good War*, 212.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, 213.

condemnation of the major churches, and then continues to discuss smaller, more cult-like organizations. Sinclair argued that “mixed dogma” produced “mental paralysis” and lead to “economic exploitation.”¹⁴ Sinclair claimed to have grown up Christian, and that he believed in Jesus Christ, but that the corruption of the church led to too much economic power among single groups in America. He wanted his readers, when given the choice, to choose Socialism over Catholicism.

Sinclair saw Mazdaznan as a cult and its founder, Dr. Otoman Prince of Adusht Ha'nish, as a con-man. He claimed that Ha'nish, who said he was born in Iran, was really the son of a grocer who lived in Mendota, Illinois.¹⁵ Sinclair claimed to have traced the career of Ha'nish, who he believed first joined the Mormon Church, then the Christian Catholic Church in Zion (Utah), and then later started his own cult-like religion.¹⁶ Sinclair claimed that Ha'nish used “occult sex lore” as a way to get to his followers, with information on subjects like “The Immaculate Conception and its Repetition,” the “Secrets of Lovers Unveiled,” “Our Ideals and Soul Mates,” “Magnetic Attraction,” and “Electric Mating.”¹⁷ Sinclair’s section on Mazdaznan was wrought with sarcasm. Sinclair showed how expensive Ha'nish’s pamphlets were; Han'ish wanted to profit from his “religion.” Sinclair even claimed that Ha'nish told his followers that he was seventy-six when he was really thirty-five.¹⁸

¹⁴ Upton Sinclair, *The Profits of Religion: An Essay in Economic Interpretation*, (Miami: republication Seven Treasures Publication, 2008), 83.

¹⁵ Ibid, 128.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid, 129.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Though de Aryan and Mazdaznan have not been studied at length, de Aryan's *The Broom* was part of a large study on right wing press. In 1961, journalism scholar, Walter Wilcox, presented a paper at a meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism in Michigan entitled "The Press of the Radical Right: An Exploratory Analysis." This study analyzed publications considered "extremist" and rated them on a scale from one to twenty, with twenty being the most radical. The newspapers were rated by his assistants, and the results were averaged for each publication. While personal opinion is of course a possible flaw in the design of the study, Wilcox's use of such a complex method indicates he took his study seriously.

"The rightist press," as Wilcox called it, was a textual construct of "American hate."¹⁹ His study had two objectives: "...to define and identify radical right press in terms of its place on the public opinion spectrum...and to search the radical rightist press for the thematic patterns."²⁰ The study included forty-two publications, narrowed down from four-hundred.

For a publication to earn a score of nineteen to twenty, considered "radical right," the publication had to demonstrate without a doubt that it: considered U.S. political leaders to be active conspirators, it was violently antisemitic, it had religious overtones (including the mystic), it had a preoccupation with mental health, and it had minimum concern with legality and the constitution.²¹ Not surprisingly, de Aryan's publication, *The Broom*, was ranked as "radical right" by Wilcox because it had:

1. Commitment to Conspiracy: Preoccupied with conspiracy
2. Non-rational: paranoiac overtones, confused, few or no credible facts

¹⁹ Walter Wilcox, "The Press of the Radical Right: An Exploratory Analysis," (UCLA, 1961) accessed September 12, 2013, <http://www.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/Asset.aspx?assetID=2439>, 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, 11.

3. Evil-Good dichotomy: sees things in black and white
4. Negative, non constructive: violently negative, no positive material²²

Out of forty-two newspapers, only ten were rated in the “radical right.” *The Broom* was near the top. According to Wilcox, what separated the radical right from the ultra-conservative and the conservative press was the radical right’s response to events; the radical right had a preoccupation with a vast, unreal conspiracy, non-rationality, an evil-good dichotomy, and a negative-positive approach.²³ In other words, they were extremely paranoid, and saw the political struggle as something extremely personal, and as something that was inherently good or inherently bad, there was no gray area.

Wilcox’s study is important to this thesis because it shows that, compared to other newspapers of the era with similar ideologies, *The Broom* was regarded by a scholar as being on the extreme right of the spectrum. This study indicates that de Aryan and his newspaper, *The Broom*, were both deeply paranoid and obsessed with a good versus evil dichotomy. To de Aryan, politics and religion were intertwined and could not be separated.

While scholars have written very little about C. Leon de Aryan, they have explored a very similar leader, William Dudley Pelley. He was important to the radical right because of his many publications and his creation of The Silver Shirts, a radical right group that was known for its antisemitism. It is possible that de Aryan followed Pelley’s career as early as 1935, when he published an article by Pelley in *The Broom*. John McIntyre Werly’s unpublished 1972 dissertation for Syracuse University, entitled “The Millenarian Right: William Dudley Pelley and

²² Ibid, 12.

²³ Ibid, 21.

the Silver Legion of America,” argues that Pelley was not an American Nazi as is often believed; Pelley’s antisemitism stemmed from a radical nondenominational Christian viewpoint and the Nazis’ beliefs came from their almost religious-like worship of Hitler. Werly supports his argument by proving that even with the multitudes of trials and indictments against Pelley, a direct connection between Pelley and the Nazi party was never proven.²⁴ Werly’s study aims to show that the radical right wing was “only secondarily political and primarily a religious fundamentalist movement.”²⁵

According to Werly, while Nazis were discouraged from practicing religion, Pelley’s “religion was central to the thought of the Silver Legion leader.”²⁶ Werly theorizes that Pelley’s antisemitic and anticommunist views did not stem only from European fascism, as many historians believe about antisemitism in general. Instead Werly argues they derive from what was identified by historian Richard Hofstadter as a “paranoid style” that was found in many other American organizations at the time that “stressed the perils of internal conspiracy.”²⁷ These political beliefs, according to Werly, stemmed from Pelley’s religious beliefs in millenarianism; or that the battle between good and evil, or the apocalypse, was coming. Werly also saw these beliefs in the writings of the KKK and believed them to be popular amongst the radical right.²⁸ De Aryan also fits into this thinking, as he believed that Aryans were the highest form of human beings, and that their time to rule the earth was near, and he had come to America to help prepare for it.

²⁴ John McIntyre Werly, “The Millenarian Right: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion of America,” 152.

²⁵ Ibid, i.

²⁶ Ibid, 143.

²⁷ Ibid, 142.

²⁸ Ibid, 319.

Werly argues that Pelley did not want to change the way that the American government was run in the 1930s and 1940s, but only to replace whom he saw as “Jewish Sovietist” leaders and conspirators with “divinely led Christians.”²⁹ Similar to de Aryan, Pelley saw the American government (specifically as represented by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt) as being controlled by Jews with Communist ideas, and he used his religion and his right-wing publication to spread what he viewed as the “truth.” It is easy for scholars to look at the writings of both de Aryan and Pelley and automatically assume that these men were pro-Nazi and pro-Hitler. Werly argues because of the fear of Hitler and the Nazis during the time period, anyone with antisemitic beliefs, like Pelley, was labeled a Nazi.³⁰ However, though Pelley and de Aryan were fundamentally against the Nazis, that did not mean that they did not share with Hitler many of the same ideas about race and power. Both de Aryan and Pelley believed that Jews had too much power in America. Their antisemitism was just as ingrained as the Nazi leaders, but their aims were different. Both men believed that Jews held too much power in the United States, and sought to expose and change this through their publications by exposing the truth. Pelley and de Aryan were very similar characters, both men who believed that America was becoming socialist and was owned by Jews. Both men used their writings, mixed with their religious beliefs, in an attempt to convince others of the “truths” they saw. In fact, they even knew each other; they met during the sedition trials.

After the 1960s and 1970s interest in right wing extremism waned, partially as a result of the rise in social history. In the mid-1990s a resurgence in interest in the radical right emerged,

²⁹ Ibid, 147.

³⁰ Ibid, i.

which scholar Scott Beekman attributes to a speech made by historian Leo Ribuffo in 1994.³¹ This new interest can be attributed to the increased popularity in the time period of Christian-based right-wing extremism. New studies sought to connect the 1990s radical right to the long history of the radical right in the United States, showing that it never truly disappeared.

Scholars such as Scott Beekman sought to discover the history of American extreme right-wing politics. In his study, entitled *William Dudley Pelley: A Life in Right-Wing Extremism and the Occult*, Beekman, a philosopher, argued that the 1930s was a popular time for right-wing extremism, and that William Dudley Pelley was one of the main leaders of this movement. Written in 2005, this is the most recent work on right-wing extremism that applies to C. Leon de Aryan. Through his research, Beekman sought to give insight into the right-wing movement through the lens of the life of Pelley. The author claims that his research is the first that has detailed Pelley's religious beliefs and their importance, although he does reference Werly's previous work, which analyzes Pelley's life through his religious beliefs. In contrast to Werly, Beekman painstakingly details the intricacies of the combination of religions that Pelley came to believe in. Beekman disagrees with Werly that Pelley did not have Nazi ties, though his proof stems from others' scholarly works including Werly's, and not original research. While Werly used Pelley's religion to prove he was not a Nazi, Beekman simply aims to further explain Pelley's religious and antisemitic beliefs.

Beekman's study follows the entire life of Pelley from birth to death. Beekman claims that Pelley's dramatic shift to the right in the mid-1920s was due to the political environment that was prominent in the United States in that era, as well as his early involvement in Hollywood,

³¹ Scott Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley: A Life in Right Wing Extremism and the Occult* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 8.

where he became suspicious of Jews.³² Racism, especially antisemitism, surged in this era.

Pelley turned to mystic religion and right wing extremism to combat what he saw as the answer to the problems of modernity and immigrants. His antisemitism and his upbringing, according to Beekman, combined with a religious “mystical experience” that Pelley claimed he had in 1928 fueled Pelley’s extremist beliefs. This experience brought Pelley into a religion that combined traditional Christianity with mysticism and the occult, much like C. Leon de Aryan.

Beekman claims that Pelley’s “peculiar mixture of spiritualism and extremism” made him unique. This thesis disagrees with the idea that Pelley was different. Pelley was not unique; he was similar to de Aryan.³³ De Aryan was a part of the larger trend during this time period where extremism was combined with religious ideology. Both men believed that mystic religion and right-wing extremism was the only way to move America forward, and both men used political and religious writings to spread their ideas. Both Pelley and de Aryan believed in their central importance to their religious causes, and saw it as their mission to spread the word.³⁴ However, they differed in one large way: Pelley saw himself as the creator of his own religion while de Aryan was a follower of Mazdaznan, not the creator.

The historiography of antisemitism in both the larger United States and in California are important to this study, as this thesis argues that San Diego’s antisemitism was a part of the larger trends during the 1930s and 1940s. Marc Dollinger’s *Quest for Inclusion* follows the history of American Jewry, showing that even as some became more affluent, they remained politically liberal, which is opposite of the pattern of most immigrants. Dollinger explains that

³² Ibid, 138, 161.

³³ Ibid, 226.

³⁴ Ibid, 148.

this was because Jews sought to live in a country that was inclusive to all minorities, and not because of their religiosity, as other scholars have determined. Dollinger follows American Jewish politics, stating that they used liberalism to “power their move from the margin to the mainstream of political life.”³⁵ In the work, Dollinger demonstrates that domestic antisemitism worsened during World War II, when more than half of the United States citizens polled stated that they believed that American Jews possessed too much power.³⁶ He believes that fear led Americans to revert to old stereotypes and hatreds that stemmed from European antisemitism.³⁷ During the war, antisemitic Americans saw Jews’ support of the campaign against the Axis powers as more self-interested than patriotic.³⁸

The Jewish experience in California has been studied by Marc Dollinger and Ava Kahn in their book, *California Jews*. They argue that California Jewish past differed greatly from Jewish life in other parts of the United States, especially New York, which has been studied the most. The editors saw California as being popular amongst Jews both for its ethnic diversity and its welcoming weather.³⁹ The work includes fifteen chapters written by scholars with very differing subjects, all for the purpose of showing a multitude of Jewish experiences in California. Unfortunately, the volume barely discusses antisemitism or the Jewish experience during World War II.

³⁵ Marc Dollinger, *A Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 5.

³⁶ Ibid, 78.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid, 80.

³⁹ Ava Kahn and Marc Dollinger, ed., *California Jews* (New Haven: University Press of New England, 2003), 13.

While de Aryan is not discussed in *California Jews*, San Diego's Jewish experience is discussed in Lawrence Baron's chapter entitled "From Minyan to Matriculation." In the article, Baron argues that San Diego Jewry has been ignored because its population was relatively small until a boom after 1970.⁴⁰ The chapter focuses on the education of Jews in San Diego. Baron demonstrates that while the overall population in San Diego rose from just under 148,000 to over 203,000 between 1930 and 1940, the Jewish population only rose from 2,000 to 3,000 in those same years; Jews were more likely to live in Los Angeles than in San Diego.⁴¹ Baron found that even though he was an Orthodox Jew, Professor Abraham P. Nasatir was accepted by his non-Jewish students at San Diego State University as early as 1928; Baron theorizes that this respect for a Jewish professor prevented widespread antisemitism on the campus.⁴² While it does not mention de Aryan or *The Broom*, Baron's work does give some insight into the experience of San Diego Jews. Although he shows that there was less antisemitism on the San Diego State campus, Baron reveals that there was antisemitism in other parts of the county. This thesis aims to add to that component of Baron's argument, thereby reinforcing Baron's thesis that the respect for Nasatir kept San Diego State from adopting a higher level of antisemitism that was more common in San Diego at large.

Lengthy studies about San Diego often focus on the involvement of the city during World War II. Roger W. Lotchin's *The Bad City in the Good War* shows the domestic side of World War II in California's major ports of entry: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego. Lotchin's study aims to connect domestic experience with actual combat, and to show

⁴⁰ Lawrence Baron, "From Minyan to Matriculation," in *California Jews*, ed. Ava Kahn and Marc Dollinger (New Haven: University Press of New England, 2003), 135.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 136.

⁴² *Ibid*.

California's contribution to "The Good War." The work is broken up by categories, and then the different cities are discussed within those categories. The study summarizes a large amount of historiography surrounding the subject. Lotchin argues that World War II was not a second Gold Rush, as many other historians have believed, but instead was part of the ebb and flow of the growth and change that cities go through. He theorizes that, "Part of our misunderstanding of what happened during World War II stems from the under appreciation of the nature of urbanism."⁴³ While other historians have argued that the war greatly impacted cities, Lotchin's study shows how cities impacted the war effort, and how normal men, women, and children stepped into heroic roles for the duration of the war. Unfortunately, when discussing race in California, Lotchin leaves out the Jewish experience altogether. While he spends a great amount of time analyzing the experiences of the Japanese, Mexicans, Italians, African Americans, and even the South Westerners, the word "Jew" is only mentioned once in the entirety of the study.

The national radical right has been discussed at length, though they tend to focus on the later, larger groups and not the earlier forms. With the rise of the influence of the radical right in the 1950s and 1960s due to McCarthyism and the John Birch Society, a large number of historians sought to explain the phenomenon during those years, and trace its long history in America. The radical right is a group made up of extreme conservatives who want fundamental change to institutions, namely the United States government. They differ from conservatives and Republicans in that their views are extremely reactionary, and are often religiously motivated. They are anti-socialist and anti-communist, but believe themselves to be extreme patriots, who only want what is best for America. The "radical right" was defined by Seymour Martin Lipset

⁴³ Roger W. Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 242.

in 1955 as follows: “This group is characterized as radical because it desires to make far-reaching changes in American institutions, and because it seeks to eliminate from American political life those persons and institutions which threaten either its values, or its economic interests.”⁴⁴

Daniel Bell’s *The Radical Right* traced the movement back to the Populist party of the 1890s, and followed it to its (then) current state in the 1960s, focusing on McCarthyism and the fear of Communism. He attributes the “dispossessed” feelings of the radical right to the liberal changes made during the New Deal in the 1930s. The historical commonality amongst the radical right, he found, was the use of evoking “an intense emotional response from a devoted following.”⁴⁵ He also found that the radical right’s main theme, no matter which generation, was a call for “action.”⁴⁶

Bell demonstrates that the modern radical right began in 1920, when more of the populace lived in “urban territory,” and the children of immigrants rose to political maturity, which changed the politics of America greatly.⁴⁷ For the first time, American-born white men were not the only source for political agenda; they now had to compete with immigrants for power and influence. This prompted a fear amongst businessmen particularly. According to Bell, the radical right that surged in the 1930s and 1940s wanted “a return to the ‘simple’ virtues of individual initiative and self-reliance...in political terms, this means dismantling much of the social-security program, eliminating the income tax, reducing the role of the federal government

⁴⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset, “The Sources of the ‘Radical Right,’” in *The New American Right*, ed. Daniel Bell (New York: Criterion Books, 1955), 153.

⁴⁵ Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1963), 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

in economic life, and giving back to the states and local government the major responsibilities for welfare, labor, and similar legislation.”⁴⁸

Richard Hofstadter’s *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* is generally considered a milestone study on the radical right movement. Originally given as a lecture at Oxford in 1963, Hofstadter’s work shows, throughout history, “how much political leverage can be got out of the animosities and passions of a small minority.”⁴⁹ Hofstadter discusses the paranoid style, describing it as a feeling of immense persecution combined with grandiose theories of conspiracy not against the individual, but against a nation, a culture, or a way of life.⁵⁰ According to Hofstadter, “The paranoid spokesman sees the fate of this conspiracy in apocalyptic terms.”⁵¹ In short, the radical right feels that time is running out, and the time for drastic change is now.

In his study, Hofstadter proves that the radical right is not a new phenomenon, but has been present in America for many years. He follows the fear of the public against the Illuminati, Masonry, and Catholicism, and shows the similarities amongst those who feared these groups with such great intensity. The difference that Hofstadter found between the older radical right groups and the modern ones was that the modern group felt that American had been taken away from them, and they are determined to get it back at any cost.⁵²

However important these national radical right studies are, this thesis aims to analyze the radical right on a more localized and individual level. Philip Jenkins’ article, “It Can’t Happen

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (reprint, New York: First Vintage Books, 2008), 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 4.

⁵¹ Ibid, 29.

⁵² Ibid, 23.

Here': Fascism and Right-Wing Extremism in Pennsylvania, 1933-1942" attempted to show that a local history of the radical right had yet to be studied. He argues that since this history is often left out, it makes it seem that fascism and the radical right did not exist at the local level. Jenkins chose localities in Pennsylvania as good representations of local radical right movements because the state included most of the larger reactionary groups of the time, including the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bund, Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion, the Italian Black Shirts, and the Christian Front.⁵³

Jenkins believed that the foundation of the radical right in Pennsylvania began with the Ku Klux Klan, which was "chiefly an expression of Protestant fears of Catholic strength in the age of mass immigration from eastern and southern Europe during the early 1900s."⁵⁴ In Pennsylvania, Jenkins found that "...Klan and other Rightist groups were profoundly divided over how to respond to the apparent threat from fascist powers like Germany and Italy."⁵⁵ Of course, this division is one of the main reasons that the radical right never achieved the amount of influence it needed to make the changes it advocated. Their only commonalities, Jenkins argues, were their beliefs in isolationism and antisemitism.⁵⁶ Jenkins claims that the combination of these local radical right groups along with the election of Democrats to major political positions in the 1930s, the first time in twenty years, were what made Pennsylvania into the perfect storm for his study.⁵⁷

⁵³ Philip Jenkins, "'It Can't Happen Here': Fascism and Right-Wing Extremism in Pennsylvania, 1933-1942," *Pennsylvania History* Vol. 62, No. 1 (Winter 1995), 31.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Jenkins work is important to a local study of the radical right, though it does have some issues. Namely, there is an lack of discussion of historiography. Jenkins explains that there has been no local history on the subject, but then does not give examples of the main works on the radical right. The other issue is that Jenkins uses the terms “radical right” and “fascist” without any explanation as to the difference between the two, though they are not always the same.

According to pioneering political scientist, Seymour Martin Lipset, though fascism and the radical right have some similar ideologies, the movements are different. The radical right “desires to make far-reaching changes in American institutions...which threaten either its sense of traditional American values, or economic interests” using “undemocratic methods” and they “focus on attacking a scapegoat.”⁵⁸ These scapegoats are most often minority ethnic or religious groups, whose rights were attacked by the radical right groups.⁵⁹ One difference was the emphasis on religion by the radical right, whose political beliefs often stemmed from their religious ones. In contrast to the fascists, the radical right believed in democracy, though they often wanted to make extreme changes to the leadership, and did not advocate authoritarianism or dictatorship.⁶⁰ The fascists were also concerned with changing class and status relationships, whereas the radical right were not as concerned with social issues.⁶¹

In focusing on the radical right in California, one study was done on the Friends of Progress, by Colin S. Hoffman. His M.A. thesis, “Conspiratorial Politics,” argues that the Friends of Progress did have connections to the fascist German American Bund, but that they

⁵⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset, “The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy,” *The British Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 6, No. 2: 1955), 176-177.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 179.

⁶¹ Ibid, 180.

also “embodied the political frustrations still raging because of the social and economic dislocations of the Great Depression.”⁶² Hoffman also argues that the radical right had more support than has been acknowledged by historians.⁶³ While this study focuses mainly on one group, it demonstrates the importance of studying the radical right during this time period: it contributes to the understanding of the present-day radical right. It also sheds light on the life of Robert Noble, the founder of the Friends of progress, with whom de Aryan at least had a friendly relationship.

Hoffman argues that, “Though often subtle, American anti-Semitism was pervasive and furnished the fertile ground for conspiratorial politics by offering the radical Right with a tangible culprit to explain a failed status quo. Because of its important to the Nazi ideology, Americans increasingly looked upon blatant anti-Semitism as positive proof of membership in or sympathy towards Nazi Germany.”⁶⁴ In response, Hoffman holds that Californians “sought more governmental action to assure the security of California,” which led to the indictment of both de Aryan and Noble for sedition.⁶⁵

However, though de Aryan may have had many things in common with Noble and with the Friends of Progress, they differed at many points. According to Hoffman, the Friends of Progress promoted dictatorship, while de Aryan believed in the democratic process.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note, that in Hoffman’s argument that the citizens of Los Angeles did indeed call

⁶² Colin S. Hoffman, “Conspiratorial Politics: The Friends of Progress and California’s Radicals of the Right in California During World War Two” (M.A. Thesis, California State University Sacramento, 2011), 3.

⁶³ Ibid, 37.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 44.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 76.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 36.

for Noble's indictment, it makes it even more peculiar that San Diegans did not call for de Aryan's.⁶⁷

The local radical right presence in San Diego has rarely been studied, except in a few short articles. With the local dimension of the radical right being largely left out, historians do not get a clear picture of the radical right's influence on the city. Just as in other parts of the country, San Diego's extreme conservatives reacted to hard times with a resurgence of radical right groups such as the Klu Klux Klan and the Silver Shirts. De Aryan, of course, was also a part of this general resurgence of right-wing reactionaries.

"San Diego's Klu Klux Klan 1920-1980" is one article that does discuss the radical right in San Diego. Written by Sociologist Carlos M. Larralde and historian Richard Griswold del Castillo, the authors argued that the Klan's history in San Diego has never been told, despite the resurgence of the Klan in the 1920s. They believe that the Klan gave white immigrants in San Diego a "solution for the anxieties they felt as they encountered a new environment and new peoples."⁶⁸ The article argues that the location of San Diego, so close to the border, helped the Klan thrive in the area in the 1930s where it was failing elsewhere. The hatred of migrant workers gave the Klan another group to rally against.

The article aims to show that while the Klu Klux Klan was having problems on a national level, it was thriving in San Diego and also in Los Angeles. They believe that the use of colorful pamphlets and the election of a KKK member in Los Angeles proves this point. However, it is possible that the Los Angeles chapter may just have had a few wealthy members who were

⁶⁷ Ibid, 84.

⁶⁸ Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Klu Klux Klan 1920-1980, *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (Spring/Summer 2000).

influential, and this does not necessarily prove that the entire chapter was doing well. According to the article, the Klan in San Diego focused on Mexicans, not the Jews that de Aryan was concerned with. This was due to San Diego's proximity to the Mexican border. De Aryan did not mention Mexicans much in his publication, probably because he did not see them as a threat like he saw Jews.

The article states that organizations such as the Klu Klux Klan and the Silver Shirts went largely ignored by city officials in San Diego. They did not see antisemitism or anti-Hispanic violence or propaganda as a problem; it was not morally disconcerting to them. The popularity of the Klu Klux Klan in this era shows that there was more acceptance of intolerance and radical right-wing politics in San Diego. De Aryan's career confirms this.

Another article on the Silver Shirts in San Diego claims that San Diego did, in fact, have a great amount of antisemitism in the 1920s, where Silver Shirt membership was up to two-thousand.⁶⁹ In his short article, local historian Henry Schwartz, claims that the Silver Shirts were most popular in Southern California, and particularly in San Diego, where they attempted to militarize and they dressed in full Nazi attire for their meetings.⁷⁰ In his article, Schwartz acknowledges that the Depression "rallied extremist groups to organize."⁷¹ Schwartz's does mention "Leon de Aryan," though he is not the subject of the article. Schwartz claims that de Aryan was not a part of the Silver Shirts, but argues that *The Broom* was "the vehicle" for the Silver Shirts' antisemitic writings. Schwartz charges *The Broom* with helping spread the

⁶⁹ Henry Schwartz, "The Silver Shirts: Antisemitism in San Diego, 1930-1940," 52, 54.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 54-55; though Pelley may not have been a Nazi supporter, individual members of the Silver Shirts may have been.

⁷¹ Ibid, 52.

dangerous rumor that Jews were killing gentile children in murder rituals.⁷² This article in *The Broom* does exist, though it does not mention the Silver Shirts. De Aryan was not officially a part of the Silver Shirts, though he may have unofficially supported them. Though de Aryan disagreed with the local chapter on a personal level, it is clear that de Aryan agreed with the philosophy set forth by Pelley, a man he seemingly admired, considering how often he reprinted Pelley's articles in *The Broom*. Schwartz contends that the San Diego Jewish community banded with the Los Angeles Jewish community in order to monitor the activities of the Silver Shirts, and helped to end Silver Shirt activities through Jewish agency. Certainly de Aryan himself believed that the Jewish community had rallied against him, and this supports Schwartz's argument that the Jewish community fought against antisemitism in this era.

Antisemitism in San Diego is rarely discussed at length. Even in articles highlighting racial issues in San Diego, the Jews are left out. Abraham Shragge's article "'A Federal City': San Diego During World War II" speaks of racism in San Diego but only for African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Japanese Americans. Shragge's article argues against the general consensus that World War II changed San Diego drastically; he demonstrates that San Diego was a Navy town from the start, and that the war did little to nothing for attitudes towards minorities and women. However, he leaves out that San Diego changed, if only through population. The jump in population made San Diego more diverse through numbers alone.

Though Shragge did not discuss antisemitism in San Diego, the race discussion is still relevant to this project because it shows the intolerance of the people of San Diego during World War II. Shragge found that African Americans had a hard time finding work in San Diego, even

⁷² Ibid, 57.

after the law made it illegal to discriminate based on color alone.⁷³ However, according to Shragge, the treatment of Japanese Americans was even worse: the prevalence of Japanese Americans in agriculture led the people of San Diego to believe that they were poisoning the crops.⁷⁴ The article is extremely informative, but by leaving out of a large minority group in San Diego, there remains a hole in the historical analysis.

The only work, thus far, that specifically discusses antisemitism in San Diego was written by Mary Ellen Stratthaus in 1996. Her article, “A Flaw in the Jewel: Housing Discrimination against Jews in La Jolla,” argued that Roger Revelle and the building of the University of California San Diego campus is what finally lessened antisemitism in the community: Jewish professors would not teach at a school if they were not welcome to buy homes in the community. Her study is extremely well researched: she went through a multitude of letters, articles, and did a large amount of oral interviews to arrive at her conclusions. Although it may seem oversimplified that one man ended years of antisemitism, indeed this is the consensus of many members of the Jewish community in San Diego.⁷⁵

The article adds to this thesis in that it indicates that San Diego, the city of which La Jolla is a part, hosted significant antisemitism. However, Stratthaus theorizes that La Jolla was more intensely antisemitic during the 1950s because of the Cold War and fear of the “other.” This thesis aims to show that actually San Diego had a long-standing history of antisemitism that did

⁷³ Abraham Shragge, “A Few Federal City’: San Diego During World War II, *Pacific Historical Review* (University of California Press Vol. 63, No. 3, August 1994), 352.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 353.

⁷⁵ Many of those interviews in Strathaus’s work agreed, and in 1982, the founder of a local JCC and respected member of the local Jewish community, Albert Hutler, claimed that he only experienced antisemitism in La Jolla and that Roger Revelle was responsible for the demise of that antisemitism; Albert Hutler, “A Talk on ‘Antisemitism in La Jolla,’” Jewish Historical Society Meeting July 21, 1982, Henry Schwartz Collection at the Jewish Reading Room, La Jolla, Folder 42.

not begin or end with the Cold War. Though this thesis may diverge with Stratthaus on that point, her study is important to the historiography of San Diego, and the antisemitism and radical right politics that existed in the city.

Chapter One of this thesis begins with the birth of C. Leon de Aryan and his early life in Europe. Much of this chapter has been pieced together from public records and years of biographical articles that de Aryan wrote about himself later in *The Broom*. It theorizes that de Aryan moved to the United States in order to meet and collaborate with his mentor, Dr. Ha'nish, the leader of Mazdaznan. This chapter also gives an overview of Mazdaznan, as the religion is very important to de Aryan's history.

Chapter Two follows Aryan as he moved to Mexico in 1918 and details his relationship with infamous draft-dodger Linn A. E. Gale. Though no other articles on de Aryan have acknowledged this relationship, de Aryan's first writings about Mazdaznan were in Gale's publication, *Gale's Magazine*, and he worked for Gale for a short period of time. De Aryan helped to smuggle Gale's publication, banned in the United States, across the Mexican border. Much of the information from this chapter was derived from F.B.I. files on both of these men, which were over one-thousand pages.

Chapter Three chronicles de Aryan's move to San Diego, California, and his local involvement in politics and creation of *The Broom*. It follows de Aryan's early life in San Diego, where he was relatively popular, even as he was printing antisemitic articles in his newspaper. The chapter also details the problems that de Aryan began to encounter as locals realized how inconsistent and argumentative de Aryan really was.

Chapter Four follows de Aryan and his involvement in the sedition trials of the 1940s, where he meets the famed William Dudley Pelley and other important players within the radical right movement. This chapter shows how this trial moved *The Broom* from a local and state publication to a national one, and follows de Aryan as he becomes a popular figure.

C. Leon de Aryan's life shows us a new side of the radical right, of San Diego, and of antisemitism in the era. His life is important in showing us the diversity amongst the radical right, and the reasons why they could not come together. His story also demonstrates the emotional power that he, and others like him, had over their followers during the era, when fear seemed to control many. This thesis aims to add to the discussions of right wing extremism and antisemitism in San Diego.

Chapter One

Much about the life of C. Leon de Aryan, who was also known as Koshti, Koshty, or Constantine de Aryan, is unknown. His early life in Europe and Asia, before he moved to the United States, is undocumented. Once he immigrated to the United States, and began going by the name of C. Leon de Aryan, his life is easier to document through public records. However, even with this documentation, the motivation for most of de Aryan's early activities in the United States remains unknown. In his later autobiographical writings in *The Broom*, de Aryan wrote about his early adventures in Europe and Asia, which fills in some of the gaps in his life story. Though these stories may not have been completely factual, they are important because they reveal what de Aryan wanted his readers to believe about his life. His public persona, and his belief that he was a religious martyr of sorts, can be seen through his accounts. With the combination of public record, an F.B.I. interview with a former coworker, and his later autobiographical articles in *The Broom*, the early life of C. Leon de Aryan can be pieced together.

Public record shows that the man later known as C. Leon de Aryan was born as Constantine (or Constantino) Lagenopol (or Laganopoulos) in Dorohoi, Romania on August 18, 1886.⁷⁶ Constantine Lagenopol was born to a Greek father and a German-speaking Polish mother.⁷⁷ According to his description, Lagenopol's mother, Filomela Bilinski, was red-headed and blue-eyed, while his father, Nicolai Lagenopol, also had dark hair and eyes.⁷⁸ Their son,

⁷⁶ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization Records of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Central Division (Los Angeles)*, 1887-1940; Microfilm Serial: M1524; Microfilm Roll: 113. Accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

⁷⁷ *Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1798-1914*; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, 81 rolls); Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917, Record Group 94; National Archives, Washington, D.C., accessed September 4, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁷⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, "August 18, 1886-1943," *The Broom* (August 9, 1943), 4.

Constantine Legenopol, was also dark-haired and dark-eyed, and took after his Greek father in looks. Lagenopol came from an area of Europe that had a long and intense history of antisemitism, which may have influenced his later attitudes towards Jews.

Lagenopol's claims about his early life in Europe fill in what the public record cannot. Though they cannot be verified, these claims show what de Aryan wanted people to believe about his upbringing in Europe. According to Lagenopol's later accounts, both of his parents were members of the Greek Orthodox Church.⁷⁹ Lagenopol, however, insisted he was not a follower of the Greek Orthodox religion, and believed he was instead "born a mystic."⁸⁰

When Lagenopol was still a child his father died. Lagenopol recalled that both he and his father had contracted tuberculosis, and that his father did not survive the illness.⁸¹ After that, Lagenopol moved with his mother from Romania to Austria.⁸² From Austria, Lagenopol and his mother continued to move around Europe, and he never called any place home. It is possible that Lagenopol and his family may have been Romani, a "gypsy" group that had no particular home in Europe.

Lagenopol's upbringing in Romania greatly influenced his later life and his obsession with Jews. His place of birth, Dorohoi, had a large Jewish population while he was living there, with the Jews being fifty-three percent of the population in 1899.⁸³ The town was also

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Why Our Editor was Jailed," *The Broom* (August 21, 1944), 2.

⁸² *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 1943, Fifty-Fifth Session of California Legislature, 249, accessed Sept 12, 2013, <http://ia700304.us.archive.org/6/items/reportofjointfac00calirich/reportofjointfac00calirich.pdf>.

⁸³ Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica Volume 5* (Granite Hill Publishers: 2007), 758.

notoriously antisemitic.⁸⁴ Even before the World War II broke out in the area and the Germans invaded, the Romanian army executed over fifty Jewish civilians, including the very old and the very young.⁸⁵ Lagenopol was brought up in an area full of violent antisemitism, similar to the upbringing of Adolf Hitler. This antisemitism stayed with him throughout his life.

Lagenopol claimed that he began formally studying alternative religions at the age of sixteen, starting with Buddhism.⁸⁶ He was first drawn to the eastern religion because he claimed it taught that “God is not something behind the clouds. And Nirvana is not a state after death or some mysterious fantasy.”⁸⁷ Christianity was not enough to satiate his religious needs; Lagenopol insisted that he craved something more. This religious struggle made Lagenopol’s childhood difficult and strained his relationship with his family, and he claimed that his mother and grandmother often beat him for his religious curiosities.⁸⁸ Lagenopol claimed he was a tutor for boys in his early life, but that his mother burned the alternative religious books that he bought with the money he earned.⁸⁹ Clearly, Lagenopol craved a personal relationship with God. This interest in mysticism and alternative religions later became the central importance of Lagenopol’s life.

⁸⁴ Radu Ioanid, “The Holocaust in Romania: The Iasi Pogrom of June 1941,” *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (July 1993), 120.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, “The Sun Work Shop: When Time Stands Still,” *The Broom* (May 17, 1943), 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 3, 1944), 4.

⁸⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (December 18, 1944), 4.

According to Lagenopol, his mother had him committed to an insane asylum in the Ukrainian city of Czernowitz at the age of eighteen around 1904.⁹⁰ He believed he was placed there because of his religious beliefs and his strict vegetarianism, which his mother found odd, probably because they were poor, and poor people did not have the luxury of being choosy about food.⁹¹ Later, he was moved from this asylum to another in Vienna. Lagenopol claimed that it was in Vienna that doctors discovered that he was incarcerated due to “family persecution.”⁹² After fourteen months, seemingly in 1905, Lagenopol claimed that he escaped, insisting that his guards looked the other way because of the “epidemic of accidents” that were occurring in the asylum while he was there.⁹³ He insisted that many accidents had effected to the guards’ families during his incarceration, and he believed this was God’s way of ensuring his release. This early story was the first of many where Lagenopol claimed to be religiously persecuted. It indicated that he believed that he had important religious powers, and that God intervened on his behalf to protect him.

After Lagenopol left the asylum, he claimed that he departed from Vienna for Egypt.⁹⁴ While in Egypt, Lagenopol acquired papers that identified him as an engineer.⁹⁵ From Egypt, Lagenopol claimed that he spent a few years traveling extensively across Europe and the Middle

⁹⁰ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249; C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (December 18, 1944), 4.

⁹¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (December 18, 1944), 4.

⁹² *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

⁹³ C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (December 18, 1944), 4.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

⁹⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

East, including a pilgrimage to Israel.⁹⁶ This claim that he was traveling was all that Lagenopol revealed about his life between 1906 and 1911. In 1911, Lagenopol insisted he was working in Mesopotamia as an engineer for Sir William Wilcox (possibly Willcocks), an employee of both the Turkish and British governments.⁹⁷ Lagenopol later stated that he resigned because he believed that Wilcox was acting as a double agent, which Lagenopol claimed went against his moral compass.⁹⁸

From Mesopotamia, Lagenopol insisted he went to India to “finish [his] religious studies.”⁹⁹ There he became a follower of a religious alternative known as Mazdaznan. Lagenopol visited Bombay, where Mazdaznan flourished as the overseas headquarters of the “Sun-Worshippers,” another name for the followers of Mazdaznan.¹⁰⁰ While in Bombay, Lagenopol became involved with the official Mazdaznan sect, who called themselves the Mazdaznan Temple Association. It was this group that introduced him to Mazdaznan’s leader in the United States, Dr. Ottoman Ha’nish, through correspondence.¹⁰¹ Though Ha’nish was actually the founder of Mazdaznan, Lagenopol’s relationship with the Indian sect of this faith influenced his religious beliefs more than Dr. Ha’nish. Still, this relationship with the Mazdaznan leaders and Dr. Ha’nish would forever change the course of Lagenopol’s life.

⁹⁶ Report by F.P. Scimid: In re: Kosti Lee Aryan, German Neutrality Matter, Boston, Massachusetts, April 9, 1917; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 102; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, fold3.com; C. Leon de Aryan, “Health Foods vs. Health Rackets,” *The Broom* (January 8, 1945), 3.

⁹⁷ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249; C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

⁹⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “The Birth of Christ,” *The Broom* (December 22, 1941), 3.

¹⁰⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 3.

¹⁰¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4.

In order to fully understand Constantine Lagenopol, one must first understand the history and philosophy of Mazdaznan. It was the driving force for his writings, politics, and even his reason for coming to America. Lagenopol believed himself to be very important to this movement, and repeatedly wrote about the “mission” he was sent on by the Mazdaznan religion’s headquarters in India.¹⁰²

Though Lagenopol claimed he came into contact with Mazdaznan for the first time while in India, it is possible that he may have heard of the mystic religion while he was living in Europe. Beginning in 1906 in Germany, Mazdaznan spread rapidly throughout Europe.¹⁰³ Mazdaznan was popular with artistic groups in Europe, especially at the Bauhaus, where leader Johannes Itten taught his students what he called the “mystic religion.”¹⁰⁴ Under Itten, twenty or more students formed a religious sect around their teacher, and they spread Mazdaznan within the artist community.¹⁰⁵ These young artists showed their commitment by cutting their hair very short and wearing “monk-like garments.”¹⁰⁶ As Lagenopol claimed multiple times that he was very interested in many eastern-based religions as a young man, it is possible that he traveled to Bombay to learn more about the religion he had heard about in Europe.

No matter where he originally came into contact with Mazdaznan, Lagenopol became a devoted follower of the mystic religion. While Lagenopol claimed that the center of worldwide Mazdaznan was located in India, scholars trace its creation to America and to its leader, Dr. Ha’nish. Likely, Lagenopol thought that India was the center because that was where he came

¹⁰² C. Leon de Aryan, “Truth Stranger Than Fiction,” *The Broom* (September 13, 1943), 1.

¹⁰³ Eric C. Cimino, “Student Life at the Bauhaus: 1919-1933” (Thesis, University of Massachusetts, 2003), 39.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 37.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 40.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

into contact with the religion. Lagenopol believed that Mazdaznan had been a religion for many hundreds of years, but he was mistaken. However, the religion that it stems from, Zoroastrianism, had been around for centuries before Mazdaznan.

Zoroastrianism was one of the oldest organized religions in the world.¹⁰⁷ Though traditionally it was most popular in pre-Islamic Iran, it spread with immigration as early as 550 BCE.¹⁰⁸ The religion focused on “the all-encompassing dualism of good and evil, light and darkness...the resurrection of the dead in the flesh...[and] responsibility of mankind for the fate of this world and the world beyond.”¹⁰⁹ Ahura Mazda was the principle god in the religion, and is where the term Mazdaznan came from, the worship of Mazda.

Historian Michael Stausberg found that while Mazdaznan claimed to be the authentic and original Zoroastrianism, the movement actually emphasized the more modern trends of hygiene, gender equality, vegetarianism, and eugenics.¹¹⁰ According to Stausberg, Ha'nish borrowed from Zoroastrian mythology, changing the name of the goddess Anahita to the Mazdaznan Ainyahita and claimed she was the “mother” and “patron” of the white race.¹¹¹ Ha'nish used this ancient Zoroastrianism, combined with Christianity and modern New Thought, to create the doctrine of Mazdaznan.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Stausberg, “On the State and Prospects of the Study of Zoroastrianism,” *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*, Vol. 55, Fasc. 5 (2008), 562.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Werner Sundermann, “Zoroastrian motifs in non-Zoroastrian traditions,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. 18, No. 2 (April 2008), 155.

¹¹⁰ Michael Stausberg, “Para-Zoroastrianisms, in *Parsis in India and the Diaspora*, editors John Hinnells and Alan Williams, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 244.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 243.

Mazdaznan was a religion that was also based in part on New Thought, a movement that focused on the idea that fate was in the hands of the individual, and that the power for change resided within oneself and one's mental attitude. New Thought began to become more popular towards the turn of the twentieth century, though it began as early as 1840.¹¹² According to scholar Alfred Whitney Griswold, New Thought was not a church but a belief system which could be practiced by anyone, regardless of their religion.¹¹³ The movement believed that thoughts became matter and helped to promote both health and wealth.¹¹⁴ Businessmen were particularly drawn to the ideology, which emphasized that thoughts could make you rich quickly.¹¹⁵ The New Thought movement later spread to Los Angeles, where it thrived amongst those who believed that their positive thinking could alter their fortunes.¹¹⁶ Followers of Mazdaznan adhered to the beliefs of New Thought through their practice; they claimed that they could control of their lives through thought and breathing exercises. In blending Zoroastrianism with New Thought, Mazdaznans believed that they controlled their destiny and their success.

The philosophy that distinguishes Mazdaznan from many other Christian-based religions was that Mazdaznan taught that a person must attempt to find paradise on earth while alive, not after death. According to official Mazdaznan doctrine, one could achieve this through breathing techniques, vegetarianism, and meditation. It is in this doctrine that the elements of New Thought in Mazdaznan become clear. It is evident that Dr. Ha'nish combined the three

¹¹² Jill Watts, *God, Harlem, U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992), 21.

¹¹³ Alfred Whitney Griswold, "New Thought: A Cult of Success," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 40, No. 3 (November 1934), 309.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 310.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁶ Watts, *God, Harlem, U.S.A.*, 25.

movements of ancient Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and the more modern New Thought to create a religion that attracted followers.

The religion of Mazdaznan was the first Zoroastrian based religion to be worshiped in large numbers in the United States.¹¹⁷ Its founder and biggest advocate, Dr. Ha'nish, officially went by the name Dr. Otoman Prince of Adusht Ha'nish, prophet of the Sun God, Prince of Peace, Manthra Magi of Temple El Katman, Kalantar of Zoroastrian Breathing and Envoy of Mazdaznan living, Viceroy-Elect and International Head of Master-Thot.¹¹⁸

The accounts of background of the founder of Mazdaznan, Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish, differ depending on the source. Some said that he was born in Tehran, others that he was German American, the son of a grocer.¹¹⁹ Constantine Lagenopol himself insisted that Dr. Ha'nish was born to a wealthy Persian family. Lagenopol later claimed that as a child, Ha'nish was about to die from a heart malformation, when his parents surrendered him to an ancient Mazdaznan Temple near the Caspian Sea. The Priests reportedly saved Ha'nish's life, taught him the ways of Mazdaznan, and housed him for twenty-five years. Eventually they allegedly sent Ha'nish to study at Oxford, before he came to America to spread the truth of the religion that saved him.¹²⁰

Others claimed that Ha'nish was American born and instead "created" Mazdaznan while he was a printer in Salt Lake City as a young man.¹²¹ In 1912, a man claimed that Ha'nish was

¹¹⁷ Stausberg, "Para-Zoroastrianisms, 244.

¹¹⁸ Sinclair, *The Profits of Religion*, 128.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, "Experiences of Doctor Hanish," *The Broom*, (April 1, 1946), 2.

¹²¹ "Law's Fierce Light Upon Sun-Worshippers: Extraordinary Cult of Mazdaznan," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 11, 1920), II.

actually his son, named Otto Hanisch. According to this account, Ha'nish was born in Germany and immigrated to the United States as a young boy.¹²² Later reports speculated this was the truth and claimed that Ha'nish could not speak Persian, except for one salutation.¹²³ Testimony offered before a grand jury in a 1920 case against Ha'nish claimed that he originally was a follower of Mormonism, but grew disenchanted with the religion, and created his own instead.¹²⁴

Regardless, what is verifiable is that Ha'nish founded Mazdaznan with a "series of parlor lectures" in Chicago in 1898.¹²⁵ Ha'nish's followers were largely composed of wealthy women, who financed the religion and their newfound leader. Scholar Gregory H. Singleton found that New Thought religions drew wealthy women into the fold because they craved a sense of community and empowerment; they usually divorced within two years of joining their "new" religion.¹²⁶ It is possible that the New Thought component of Mazdaznan drew in many of its followers. Mazdaznan began spreading quickly, with followers all over America, Europe, and India.

Very soon after the establishment of Mazdaznan in Chicago, Ha'nish and his religion began facing damaging rumors and legal trouble. In 1904, Ha'nish was investigated when a very wealthy woman, Emma Eloise Reusse, after fasting for forty days under Ha'nish's direction, died

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Gregory H. Singleton, *Religion in the City of Angels: American Protestant Culture and Urbanization, Los Angeles: 1850-1930* (Ann Arbor: Umi Research Press, 1977), 169.

in a Chicago hospital.¹²⁷ Ha'nish was driven out of the city and forced to find a new home for Mazdaznan headquarters.¹²⁸

Ha'nish left Chicago for New York City and established a temple there in the spring of 1905.¹²⁹ In New York, there were already "considerable number" of Mazdaznan followers.¹³⁰ Ha'nish was forced out of New York when the Medical Society questioned his use of the title of "Doctor."¹³¹ Ha'nish then moved to Los Angeles by 1906, where he taught classes twice a week. A *Los Angeles Times* reporter described Ha'nish as both "simply stunning" and "tall and fair."¹³² Across the country, Ha'nish, Mazdaznan, and its strange rituals were being written about. In Boston in 1906, sixty members of the Mazdaznan movement were found participating in self-torture rites.¹³³

Ha'nish moved again, this time to Denver where he was eventually accused in the mysterious death of a young woman in 1907.¹³⁴ The young follower had been instructed to partake in a forty-day fast, which resulted in her death.¹³⁵ In turn, Denver also drove Ha'nish

¹²⁷ "Fanatic Leaves Maniac Trail: Hanish, of Evil Fame, Heads for Colorado," *The Los Angeles Times* (November 16, 1907), 12.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ "Law's Fierce Light Upon Sun-Worshippers: Extraordinary Cult of Mazdaznan," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 11, 1920), II.

¹³⁰ "Crazed by Sun Worship: Chicago Teacher Fasted For Weeks Under Persian Sect's Influence," *The New York Times* (May 7, 1904), 1.

¹³¹ "Law's Fierce Light Upon Sun-Worshippers: Extraordinary Cult of Mazdaznan," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 11, 1920), II.

¹³² "Mazdaznan is Revealed: Dr. Hanish, H.H., Presider Over Rhythm-Fest," *The Los Angeles Times* (July 16, 1906), II 1.

¹³³ "Sun Worshippers in Boston: Colony of Sixty Advocates of Torture Found at The Hub," *The New York Times* (March 27, 1906), 9.

¹³⁴ "Fanatic Leaves Maniac Trail: Hanish, of Evil Fame, Heads for Colorado," *The Los Angeles Times* (November 16, 1907), 12.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

out, and he relocated back to Chicago, where he established the official Mazdaznan center of the United States around 1907.

Even after his move back to Chicago, Ha'nish could not escape his troubled past. In 1911, Ha'nish was accused of kidnapping a young boy named George Lindsay, who was the heir to a fortune worth millions.¹³⁶ The boy was found in the temple in Chicago, and the boy's uncle sought to expose Ha'nish.¹³⁷ However, Ha'nish's very wealthy female followers, mostly widows, testified for him.¹³⁸ Ha'nish was tried, but it is unclear whether or not he served time in jail or was convicted.

In 1917, in order to avoid the continuous legal problems in Chicago, Ha'nish moved the Mazdaznan center to Los Angeles.¹³⁹ However, there was a Mazdaznan temple in Los Angeles as early as 1912, showing the early popularity of the sect.¹⁴⁰ Mazdaznan was one of the many alternative Christian religions that were forming in the Los Angeles area at the time. Cults, sects, and alternative religions grew rapidly in California the 1910s and 1920s. Some scholars believed that the good weather in California drew religiously inclined people, many who suffered illnesses. Other historians believed that the Hollywood presence in Los Angeles drew these alternative religions. According to Gregory H. Singleton, between 1916 and 1925, thirty-two new religious organizations arose in Los Angeles, twelve of which were created in the city.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ "Fair Ones in Flight: Fear Revelations of Sun Worshipers," *The Los Angeles Times* (December 24, 1911), I 1.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Portillo, Ernesto Jr. "Mazdaznans ready to leave lofty retreat," *The San Diego Tribune*, Monday, October 6, 1997, B-1.

¹⁴⁰ *Los Angeles, California, City Directory*, 1912, 32, accessed via www.ancestry.com.

¹⁴¹ Singleton, *Religion in the City of Angels*, 168.

Many ex-protestants were drawn to these new religions because they craved the sense of community that they missed as cities were became larger and less community-oriented.¹⁴² Being a part of a smaller religious experience gave many people a sense of family and community in a world that was growing so much larger.

Many religions similar to Mazdaznan cropped up in Los Angeles in the first half of the twentieth century. New Thought became very popular in Los Angeles by 1920, and was dominated by women.¹⁴³ Mazdaznan was not the only religion that focused on the Aryan race; The Church of Nazarene also grew in Los Angeles during the early 20th century. Founder Joseph Pomeroy Widney, from Ohio, moved to Los Angeles and began his church, the Beth-El, which preached both New Thought and the centrality of the Aryan race.¹⁴⁴ Widney preached that the Aryan race would remain while the others disappeared.¹⁴⁵

Beginning in 1920, Dr. Ha'nish again ran into legal trouble. That year, five children that had accused Ha'nish of molestation mysteriously disappeared.¹⁴⁶ Years later, another young girl came forth, claiming that Ha'nish had "betrayed" her in 1933; she sued for one million dollars in damages for the "seduction."¹⁴⁷ This young girl had grown up in Switzerland, where her family was very involved in Mazdaznan, and they moved to the United States to follow "The

¹⁴² Ibid, 169.

¹⁴³ Michael E. Engh, "'A Multiplicity and Diversity of Faiths': Religion's Impact on Los Angeles and the Urban West, 1890-1940," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1997), 474.

¹⁴⁴ Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives in Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 97.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ "Anti-Hanish Five Vanish: Chief Witnesses Against the 'Prophet' Can't be Found," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 6, 1920), II 1.

¹⁴⁷ "Girl's Recital in Suit Against Cult Unshaken: Defense Concludes Cross-examination of Irma Weber, Who Seeks \$1,000,000 Damages," *The Los Angeles Times* (July 29, 1941), 9.

Master.”¹⁴⁸ Despite his legal trouble and the controversies that surrounded him, Ha’nish’s religion and influence continued to flourish.

What, exactly, did the followers of the Mazdaznan believe in, and what were their practices? A journalist described the followers and rituals of the religion in 1907:

As daylight dawned on the lake front today there were gathered in a great room made of solid plate glass in the Temple of Mazdaznan strangely-garbed men and women from all parts of the world. With their faces toward the east and pretreated in adoration the disciples of Otoman-Zar-Adusht Hanish were paying their tribute to the rising sun...strange chantings filled the room, weird fires burned on the altar, soft incense filled the air, and mystic rites were observed by this group of worshipers in their Oriental gowns.¹⁴⁹

At its height, Mazdaznan was practiced in as many as fourteen American cities and eight foreign countries, with up to twenty-thousand followers.¹⁵⁰ The American locations included: Baltimore, Brooklyn, Chicago, Denver, Kokomo, New York, Pasadena, Rochester, Sacramento, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and Seattle.¹⁵¹ Internationally, Mazdaznan had temples in Montreal, Yarmouth, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leipzig, Herriberg, and Vienna, as well as in cities in Denmark, India, and Australia.¹⁵² Many American journalists believed that Mazdaznan was a

¹⁴⁸ “Girl Accuses Two Cultists: Asserted Victim of Attacks Testifies to Betrayal When Only 11,” *The Los Angeles Times* (April 10, 1940), A1.

¹⁴⁹ “Sun Worshipers at Devotions: Strange Scenes Witnessed in Chicago,” *The Los Angeles Times* (December 26, 1907), 14.

¹⁵⁰ “Law’s Fierce Light Upon Sun-Worshipers: Extraordinary Cult of Mazdaznan,” *The Los Angeles Times* (Sunday, January 11, 1920); “Adusht Hanish Found Guilty: Jury Decide his Text-Book is Objectionable,” *The Los Angeles Times* (November 30, 1913), 12; “Million is Sought in Attack Suit,” *The San Diego Union Tribune* (January 18, 1940), 2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² “Law Now Holds Cult Secrets: Mass of Evidence Found in Sun Temple Raid,” *The Los Angeles Times* (January 6, 1920), II 1.

cult, where Ha'nish led his followers to fast for long periods of time, participate in orgies, and dance naked.¹⁵³

Mazdaznan was a part of a larger trend in religion during this time period, where Christians began looking towards mysticism to add to their existing beliefs. Mazdaznan followers considered the religion a Christian-based religion, though they did not believe that Jesus was the only Messiah. To Mazdaznans, Jesus was one of the many prophets sent here to earth, and Dr. Hanish was another. In Mazdaznan Jesus was not regarded as important as in other expressions of Christianity; Mazdaznans, similar to other New Thought followers, believed that they alone were in control of their destiny and had the power of foresight over their lives.¹⁵⁴ For Mazdaznans, they alone were their own true savior and path to salvation, not the Christ. According to Mazdaznan, Jesus was born of a Persian mother, who lived in Nazareth, and an Armenian father who was a mystic leader.¹⁵⁵ In Christianity, Jesus's life was a mystery for a few years where he disappeared from record; Mazdaznan explained that during this time he was trained in the temples north of Persia, where he was taught spiritual mastery.¹⁵⁶ According to Mazdaznan, Jesus was, in fact, the patron saint of the Aryan race, otherwise known as Zarathustra.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ "Law's Fierce Light Upon Sun-Worshipers: Extraordinary Cult of Mazdaznan," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 11, 1920), II.

¹⁵⁴ Henry Sorge, *The Philosophy of Mazdaznan: Derived Completely from the Works of Dr. Otoman Zar-Adusht Hanish* (Los Angeles: The Mazdaznan Press, 1960), 263.

¹⁵⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Sun Work Shop: Easter Tidings," *The Broom* (April 26, 1943), 3
"An Extract," *Mazdaznan*, no. 1 (Los Angeles: The Mazdaznan Press, 1920), 173, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

¹⁵⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Sun Work Shop: Easter Tidings," *The Broom* (April 26, 1943), 3.

¹⁵⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Sun Work Shop: Mother of the Aryan Race," *The Broom* (May 31, 1943), 3.

According to Hanish's teachings, Mazdaznan was "the Eternal Religion that stands behind all other religions."¹⁵⁸ Mazdaznan doctrine claimed to not interfere with other religious or scientific philosophies, but attempted to "supply the missing link between them."¹⁵⁹ Mazdaznan claimed it combined religious beliefs, including those in one God and in Jesus, with what they believed were scientific breathing exercises and healthy eating habits, thereby making their leaders and followers stronger in both spirituality and health. Here Mazdaznan was similar to other mystic religions of the time that sought not to replace Christianity, but to add to it. Additionally, borrowing from another popular trend of the era, Mazdaznan sought to use eugenics, or specified mating, to create the master race that they believed would rule the earth: the true Aryan race.¹⁶⁰

In the teachings of Mazdaznan, its most important practices were very clear: breathing exercises were very important, and leading a vegetarian lifestyle was the only way to have a clear mind and reach the highest mental state. According to Mazdaznan's teachings:

*We are the way we breathe.
We are what we eat.
We are the way we live
We are the way we think.
We are the way we pray.*¹⁶¹

Health and exercise were stressed as the basis for an intelligent mind and soul. This began with a vegetarian or, even better, a vegan diet without any animal fats. Mazdaznans were,

¹⁵⁸ "Mazdaznan," *Mazdaznan and The Messenger*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (Lowell: The Household of Mazda, January 1919), 327, accessed via hathitrust.org.

¹⁵⁹ "Mazdaznan," *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (February 24, 1911), 5.

¹⁶⁰ Stausberg, "Para-Zoroastrianisms," 243.

¹⁶¹ Sorge, *The Philosophy of Mazdaznan*, 77.

at their core, pacifists; they believed that eating animals or harming human beings was repellant and would keep them from attaining their highest goal of being a true Aryan.¹⁶²

The Mazdaznan philosophy regarding families was aimed at creating a master Aryan race. Mazdaznan taught that because women had given up their power to men, the cost had been destruction of the Aryan race.¹⁶³ In order to remedy the destruction, women were taught to marry well. According to the eugenic laws of Mazdaznan only by marrying Aryan men of the faith, could women regain their “power.” Though Mazdaznan followers claimed to not be antisemitic or racist, they believed in populating the world with the Aryan race, which they believed was above all other races. In order to accomplish this, women carrying children were to practice positive thinking and build healthy bodies so that their offspring would be strong Aryan children.¹⁶⁴ Mazdaznan claimed that they held women in a position of respect because of their responsibilities as mothers; in many ways they were traditional. Dr. Ha’nish was quoted many times as saying that, “No nation can rise above the level of its womanhood.”¹⁶⁵ Possibly, this was why so many women were drawn to the religion; they sought respect, which they may not have found at home. Women may have believed that as mothers they would be held in higher respect in this religion. According to Henry L. Sorge, a follower of Ha’nish and eventual leader of Mazdaznan, “The greatest offering that woman can make toward the welfare of our nation today is intelligent, inspired motherhood.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² O. Z. H., “Mazdaznan Season Hints,” *Mazdaznan* Vo. XV, No. 2 (February 1916), 14, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org

¹⁶³ “Women to take Part in the Federation of Nations,” *Mazdaznan*, vol. 16, no. 1 (January 1917), 444-445, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ “Eugenics,” *Mazdaznan*, Vol. 19 no. 1 (1920), 39, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

¹⁶⁶ Henry L. Sorge, *The science of “you-genics”* (Los Angeles: New Horizons Publishing Company, 1964), 72.

While Mazdaznan clearly believed that the white race was the future and the most important of the races, they did not seem to support or advocate violent against other races in their writings. In early Mazdaznan magazines, African Americans and Jews are never mentioned in derogatory terms. However, Mazdaznan believed the races had different roles, and that non-whites and Jews were decidedly inferior in capabilities. They embraced the separation of the races and believed that races should not mix in order to remain pure. Mazdaznan followers believed that as Aryans they were preparing the earth for the future complete Aryan race, which would rule the earth in all their perfection, and have no more need for the other races. Their belief that the Aryans were to inherit the earth and that they would be its rulers clearly demonstrates their racism and elitism. They believed that eventually the other races would no long exist.

Official Mazdaznan philosophy believed that the first four races (described as “black,” “brown,” “red,” and “yellow”) arrived on earth early to prepare the land for the coming of the Master white race.¹⁶⁷ However, early Mazdaznan ideology taught that Jews or Semitics were actually one of the twelve tribes of the Aryan race, that migrated from Persia to Europe and America.¹⁶⁸ According to this early article, written by a Los Angeles follower, Jews were a part of the Aryans and would come together with Zarathurstra to create a peaceful realm.¹⁶⁹ It is difficult to determine whether or not this reflected official Mazdaznan ideology. Though Dr. Ha'nish and his ideas of eugenics were clearly antisemitic, it seems that individuals within the

¹⁶⁷ “An Ultimatum,” *Mazdaznan*, vol. 20, no. 1 (January 1921), 599, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

¹⁶⁸ David Ammann, “Iran, the Land of Wealth,” *Mazdaznan*, vol. 20, no. 1 (January 1921), 160, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

religion differed in their thinking on the subject.¹⁷⁰ No writings by Dr. Ha'nish on the subject could be found. However, Eric C. Cimino found in his study that at least one Mazdaznan sect was not antisemitic, because the names of the followers were very clearly Jewish.¹⁷¹ While Ha'nish may not have outwardly spoken on the subject, his obsession with creating the Aryan race show just how deep his antisemitic feelings were. This likely drew someone like Constantine Lagenopol who had grown up in a deeply antisemitic community.

It was this faith in Mazdaznan that brought Lagenopol to America. When, exactly, Constantine Lagenopol came to America is difficult to determine. There is no record of his original entrance into the United States, but it occurred sometime between 1910 and 1912. It is clear that Constantine Lagenopol changed his name before coming to America. From his arrival forward, Lagenopol was known as C. Leon de Aryan, or "Koshti" for short. This name change clearly stemmed from his belief in Mazdaznan, which described the Aryan as "a Noble Soul who has dedicated his life and his body to the service of the Almighty and is true to his purpose."¹⁷² This name change demonstrates even further that de Aryan came to America with the purpose of joining the Mazdaznan movement in the United States.

The exact circumstances as to the timing of de Aryan's move to the United States are unclear. According to de Aryan's later memoirs, in 1911, Ha'nish ordered him to go to Germany. However, de Aryan claimed that the Mazdaznan Temple Association of India instructed him to remain in Bombay instead, with a mission to "explode the myth" that was circulating there about

¹⁷⁰ C. Leon de Aryan did not believe that Jews were Aryan, as he stated "Jews are not white," in "Jews are Mongolians or Negroids," *The Broom* (September 22, 1941), 2.

¹⁷¹ Cimino, "Student Life at the Bauhaus: 1919-1933," 44.

¹⁷² C. Leon de Aryan, "In the Lord's Service," *The Broom* (August 26, 1940), 3.

Christ.¹⁷³ After this “mission,” de Aryan insisted that the Association instructed him to change his name from Constantin Lagenopol to C. Leon de Aryan, to go to America as Mazdaznan instructor, and to insure the success of Ha’nish.¹⁷⁴

A later interview with a coworker, named Edward J. Braithwaite, places de Aryan in Washington, D.C. in the summer of 1912, where “Kosti” de Aryan worked for a short time for William Bowman in the Department of Agriculture.¹⁷⁵ Braithwaite, who was African American, described de Aryan as about thirty years old, smooth shaven with an olive complexion.¹⁷⁶ He stated de Aryan was a Bulgarian with a lower lip that often twitched while he spoke.¹⁷⁷ Braithwaite believed that de Aryan had previously worked the coal mines of West Virginia, which implied that de Aryan had been in the United States for at least a few months by this time.¹⁷⁸ Braithwaite also stated that he took a great interest in de Aryan because of his intelligence and interesting personality.¹⁷⁹ From Washington D.C., de Aryan and Braithwaite moved to New York City. There Braithwaite supplied de Aryan, who was penniless, with clothes and money.¹⁸⁰ Braithwaite stated that de Aryan claimed to have traveled extensively in India, Tibett, England, and around the United States, and that he had a “profound knowledge of Occult

¹⁷³ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4; C. Leon de Aryan, “America First, So Help Me God!” *The Broom* (January 22, 1945), 1.

¹⁷⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4.

¹⁷⁵ Report by F.P. Scimid: In re: Kosti Lee Aryan, German Neutrality Matter, Boston, Massachusetts, April 9, 1917; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 102.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Science as practiced in India.”¹⁸¹ Whether or not de Aryan was well traveled, it is clear that he wanted people to think of him as a worldly man.

Braithwaite claimed that de Aryan left quite suddenly from New York in the early fall of 1912; Braithwaite heard from him at least once more, seemingly through correspondence, when de Aryan contacted him from Fort Logan, Colorado later that fall.¹⁸² Braithwaite believed that de Aryan “was doing secret service work for some foreign government, as he seemed to have no definite occupation” and that he had some “ulterior purpose.”¹⁸³ Braithwaite found de Aryan charming, but also believed that there was some purpose for de Aryan being in the United States that was suspicious.

De Aryan’s claims regarding his first few years in America differ from public record and the interview with Braithwaite. Although his account of his arrival in the United States changed throughout the years, but he consistently insisted that he was sent to the United States by the Mazdaznan leaders in India. According to de Aryan, while he was finishing his religious studies in Bombay, he was contacted through telepathy, by Mazdaznan leaders who appeared to him around two in the morning to give him a “mission.”¹⁸⁴ It was this “mission” that sent de Aryan from India to the United States, where he was to prepare for the future of Mazdaznan.¹⁸⁵ De Aryan believed he was charged with the duty to expose false leaders and help promote

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (November 22, 1943), 4; C. Leon de Aryan, “The Birth of Christ,” *The Broom* (December 22, 1941), 3.

¹⁸⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, “Truth Stranger than Fiction,” *The Broom* (September 13, 1943), 1; C. Leon de Aryan, “Who is the Sovereign?,” *The Broom* (October 4, 1943), 1; C. Leon de Aryan, “We Must Solve the Jewish Problem,” *The Broom* (February 7, 1944), 2.

Mazdaznan and its leader, Dr. Ha'nish, thus making the United States the perfect place for the Aryan race to rise to power. According to de Aryan's later account, the leaders of Mazdaznan warned him of the trouble that would befall him while he "[upheld] the Aryan ideals of life in the darkest hour of trial."¹⁸⁶ Part of this mission was to "test the claims of freedom" in America and report back to the Indian Mazdaznan leaders while also giving support to the American Mazdaznan leader, Dr. Ha'nish.¹⁸⁷

In one early census, de Aryan claimed to have been in the United States as early as 1910.¹⁸⁸ In his own memoirs published years later, de Aryan claimed that on September 2, 1912 he landed in Baltimore on a British Tramp steamer.¹⁸⁹ He claimed to have evaded the immigration authorities, accusing the inspectors of being "fools."¹⁹⁰ Once in America, he believed he "had to play the role of the 'poor immigrant'" so that he could "experience the actual life" of the people.¹⁹¹ He first recalled he found work in Maryland as a harvest hand.¹⁹² Afterwards, de Aryan claimed that he moved to West Virginia to dig coal.¹⁹³ It is clear from his claim that he held these jobs in order to be a better follower of Mazdaznan because he would

¹⁸⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, "Our Aryan Teachings," *The Broom* (November 8, 1943), 2.

¹⁸⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, "My Adventures in America," *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 3.

¹⁸⁸ 1930 United States Federal Census [database on-line], United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*. Year: 1930, San Diego, California, Roll: 191, Page: 5b, Enumeration District: 0066, Image: 544.0, FHL microfilm: 2339926, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

¹⁸⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, "My Adventures in America," *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 3; C. Leon de Aryan, "Our Aryan Teachings," *The Broom* (November 8, 1943), 2.

¹⁹⁰ Report by R. Panster: In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probably Bolshevist Agitator, Beaumont Texas, February 13, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 41; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, fold3.com.

¹⁹¹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Editor in Auto Accident," *The Broom* (April 8, 1946), 2.

¹⁹² C. Leon de Aryan, "Chats with Gladys," *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

¹⁹³ C. Leon de Aryan, "Truth Stranger than Fiction," *The Broom* (September 13, 1943), 1.

understand the plight of the average man better. De Aryan thought of himself as almost divine in nature, sent here by his God, or Ahura-Mazda, to play a part in claiming America for the Aryan race.

Without official accounts, much of the first few years of de Aryan's life in the United States can only be speculated. De Aryan and Ha'nish possibly met in person in 1911 or 1912, in Chicago, where the official Mazdaznan headquarters was located at that time.¹⁹⁴ From there, it is possible that de Aryan was given instructions by Ha'nish as to what his role should be in the spread of Mazdaznan theology.

Public record shows that de Aryan indeed did move to Fort Logan, Colorado, as Braithwaite had said. C. Leon de Aryan enlisted in the United States Army on December 6, 1912.¹⁹⁵ Since he was not a United States Citizen, and as a follower of Mazdaznan he was a pacifist, it is unclear why he decided to join the Army. His official occupation as stated to the army before he joined was a "surveyor."¹⁹⁶ De Aryan was dishonorably discharged on February 10, 1914 in Ft. Worden, Washington.¹⁹⁷ The records for the reason behind his discharge have since disappeared.

In his later autobiographic accounts, de Aryan claimed that he joined the Army in order to observe the inner workings of the institution and that he wanted to find out whether the army was

¹⁹⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, "American First, So Help Me God!", *The Broom* (January 22, 1945), 1.

¹⁹⁵ *U.S. Army, Register of Enlistments, 1798-1914* [database on-line], original data: Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1798-1914 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, 81 rolls); Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C., accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid

run for reasonable defensive purposes or if it was against the constitution.¹⁹⁸ De Aryan claimed that his dishonorable discharge from the United States Army in 1914 resulted because he “opposed the method of inducting men into the army” and he contended that “the oath was not read to him before he enlisted.”¹⁹⁹ His pacifism may have also led to his discharge.

During his enlistment, de Aryan claimed he was only a gardener, and had no military training or service.²⁰⁰ However, this is unlikely. Even if he was a gardener, he undoubtedly went through boot camp. De Aryan later wrote that he was quickly moved to the job of personal gardener for Major Bartlett, and made friends with the cook so that he could receive fully vegetarian meals.²⁰¹ Soon, de Aryan was contacted again, he claimed through telepathy, by the Mazdaznan leaders, who told him he needed to leave the army.²⁰² De Aryan claimed that he was sent to Alcatraz as a part of his dishonorable discharge, and left there on July 22, 1914.²⁰³ While this narrative may have been created by de Aryan later in his life in order to perpetuate his public persona of a true Mazdaznan follower, the self-fashioned story shows de Aryan’s dedication to his religion.

After his discharge, records show that de Aryan lived in San Francisco between 1914 and 1917, and his listed occupation was “guide.”²⁰⁴ Possibly, he was engaged in spiritual teaching of Mazdaznan during this time. In 1915, during the Panama Pacific International Exposition, there

¹⁹⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “Truth Stranger than Fiction,” *The Broom* (September 13, 1943), 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

²⁰⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (November 8, 1943), 4.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ San Francisco, California, City Directory, 1915, 212, *U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989* [database on-line]. Accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

was an International Congress of Mazdaznan Philosophy.²⁰⁵ The object of this Exposition, as laid out in the introductory pamphlet, was that “every conceivable line of human thought will have representation...delegates will be present from practically all civilized nations.”²⁰⁶

Mazdaznan was one of seventy-one religions represented at the expo.²⁰⁷

De Aryan claimed that he was living in San Francisco in order to be involved in this exposition in official Mazdaznan capacity, where he made some “valuable contacts.”²⁰⁸ He also stated that he lectured on Mazdaznan in San Francisco during the exposition.²⁰⁹ If he had not met with Ha’nish before, he had another opportunity to meet him during the exposition. De Aryan later claimed he attended a candle-lit sermon led by Dr. Ha’nish in Oakland.²¹⁰

Though de Aryan believed in Mazdaznan and its leader, Ha’nish, and he had a tumultuous relationship with Ha’nish throughout the years. Later, de Aryan would claim that their relationship began to deteriorate early on when he refused Ha’nish’s early order to go to Germany.²¹¹ De Aryan, who believed himself to be a “true” follower of Mazdaznan, did not think that he should follow anyone. De Aryan believed that Mazdaznan was a centuries old religion, and that Dr. Ha’nish was just one of the many prophets of the religion, and not the infallible leader. He also held that true Aryans were not sheep who followed blindly, but men

²⁰⁵ “The Congress Program,” *Panama Pacific International Exposition: San Francisco, 1915*, New York Public Library, 32, accessed September 4, 2013, hathitrust.org.

²⁰⁶ “Foreword,” *Panama Pacific International Exposition: San Francisco, 1915*, New York Public Library, 3.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 5.

²⁰⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (November 8, 1943), 4.

²⁰⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “The Reporter For *The Broom*,” *The Broom* (July 15, 1946), 2.

²¹⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys,” *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

²¹¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “America First, So Help Me God!” *The Broom* (January 22, 1945), 1; C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4.

who created their own destiny. According to his later memoirs, de Aryan informed Ha'nish that he only followed one master, and his name was Mazda.²¹² However, de Aryan did see Ha'nish as his "superior...in ability and knowledge."²¹³ De Aryan considered his arguments with Ha'nish as justifiable. De Aryan viewed himself as an important figure in the Mazdaznan movement. This difference in ideology between the two men was partially because de Aryan joined Mazdaznan in India, not in America and not through Ha'nish. De Aryan believed that the true leaders of Mazdaznan lived in Bombay, not America. Therefore, de Aryan argued that Ha'nish's followers were mistaken in their god-like reverence of Ha'nish.²¹⁴

There are not many sources in regards to C. Leon de Aryan's early life in Europe and America. Therefore, much of this information has been gathered through a large number of autobiographical articles that appeared in his newspaper, *The Broom*. These articles were written years afterwards, and it is very possible that de Aryan changed many facts to fit his public persona. However, if much of what de Aryan wrote about his life was, in fact, exaggeration, de Aryan did a convincing job of keeping the details consistent throughout his many years of writings. Whether or not his accounts were factually true, he seemed to believe they were and presented them as part of his public identity.

It is clear that Mazdaznan was central to the life of C. Leon de Aryan, and it was what drove him to come to America. Though it is highly possible that de Aryan changed much of his life story, his commitment to the religion cannot be denied. The philosophies of the Mazdaznan religion, as laid out by Dr. Ha'nish, influenced de Aryan's later involvement in politics, his

²¹² C. Leon de Aryan, "My Adventures in America," *The Broom* (January 31, 1944), 4.

²¹³ C. Leon de Aryan, "America First, So Help Me God!" *The Broom* (January 22, 1945), 1.

²¹⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, "Chats with Gladys," *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

career, and his everyday activities. His belief in Mazdaznan would be the main motivator for his his lifestyle and his career for many years to come.

Chapter Two

C. Leon de Aryan's first few years in America were seemingly uneventful compared to the next chapter in his life. He came to America between 1910 and 1912, worked a few odd jobs here and there, and served in the military for a short amount of time. Likely, he was learning English and studying Mazdaznan. De Aryan's last known job during his early period was as a guide in San Francisco, where he lived after his purported incarceration in Alcatraz. De Aryan spent at least two years in San Francisco. After America joined World War I in 1917, de Aryan fled to Mexico. While reasons behind his decision to leave are not entirely clear, it is likely he was afraid of being forced into supporting the war. Additionally, it is possible that de Aryan left to join others in Mexico who were like himself. They shared similar interests in regards to New Thought, politics, and freedom of the press, which was becoming a problem in America due to the war.

There are no public records regarding the whereabouts of de Aryan between late 1915 and early 1918. He likely left the United States for Mexico in 1918 to join Americans living there who were also pacifists; there were up to 30,000 "slackers" who fled to Mexico during World War I.²¹⁵ "Slacker" was an early term for "draft-dodger." Though it is uncertain whether de Aryan met one leading American draft dodger, Linn A. E. Gale, before or after entering Mexico, his relationship with Gale became extremely important. Because of de Aryan's association with this infamous socialist and draft-dodger, who the United States government felt

²¹⁵ Dan La Botz, "American 'Slackers' in the Mexican Revolution: International Proletarian Politics in the Midst of a National Revolution," *The Americas* Vol. 62, No. 4 (April 2006), 563.

was dangerous, much of de Aryan's life was documented by the government during the years 1917 to 1919.²¹⁶

As early as 1917, the Federal Bureau of Investigation became interested in the life of C. Leon de Aryan. They soon sent out an agent to interview his old friend and co-worker, Edward J. Braithwaite, whom the FBI identified as a "colored" man who at that time worked for the United Colored Democracy in Boston, Massachusetts.²¹⁷ It is unknown why the FBI conducted this initial interview, but they seemingly kept tabs on de Aryan afterwards, watching to see what he would do next.

According to the F.B.I., Koshti de Aryan, as he was known at the time, "slipped across the border unseen" at Douglas, Arizona and traveled to Nogales, Mexico in March 1918.²¹⁸ For draft-dodgers, Mexico was a very welcoming place. It was easy to cross the border without papers; Mexico was close and familiar to United States citizens, and it was inexpensive.²¹⁹ De Aryan later told an undercover Bureau agent that he had left the United States to avoid the draft because he did not want to be forced to fight for the country in what he believed was a financial war.²²⁰ He also was likely against the war due to his religious pacifism. Though he was dishonorably discharged and likely would not be used to fight in the war, it is possible that de

²¹⁶ Most of the information of this chapter was taken from Federal files, and was not taken from the later writings of de Aryan. Therefore, the information in this chapter is more conclusive because it comes from sources outside of the autobiographies later written by de Aryan. These early files help to confirm the thesis that C. Leon de Aryan wrote his later newspaper, *The Broom*, in order to spread Mazdaznan.

²¹⁷ Report by F.P. Scimid, "In re: Kosti Lee Aryan, German Neutrality Matter," Boston, Massachusetts, April 9, 1917; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 102.

²¹⁸ Report by R. Panster, "In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias "Koshty" Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor: Probable Bolshevist Agitator (Cont.)," Beaumont Texas, February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 79; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234456/>.

²¹⁹ Dan La Botz, "American 'Slackers' in the Mexican Revolution," 567.

²²⁰ Report by R. Panster, "In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias "Koshty" Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor: Probable Bolshevist Agitator (Cont.)," Beaumont Texas, February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 79.

Aryan did not know this or believed that he would somehow still be drafted by the government for another war-related job. De Aryan made his way into Mexico City, where he resided for about nine months. During this time period, Mexico City was a safe haven for American draft dodgers, conscientious objectors, and political rebels; de Aryan was amongst like-minded friends. While de Aryan resided in Mexico City, he claimed that he worked as a nurse.²²¹

Once he arrived in Mexico City, de Aryan befriended Linn A. E. Gale, who had been a publisher in New York and whose magazine had been suspended there in April 1918 for being too radical.²²² Gale was regarded by the Bureau as a “renegade American, slacker and communist,” however they probably were not aware that Gale considered the term “slacker” to be a compliment.²²³ While the term “slacker” was meant to be derogatory, the “slackers” themselves embraced the term and used it as a badge of honor. According to historian Dan La Botz, many of the “slackers” that were hiding in Mexico were against the war because of their socialist ideals; Gale was certainly one of these.²²⁴ After Gale moved to Mexico City, he started a new publication, *Gale’s Magazine*, in October of 1918.²²⁵ *Gale’s Magazine* was known for

²²¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Shockingly Unconventional: Once I was a Gentleman,” *The Broom* (May 10, 1943), 1.

²²² U.S. Postal Censorship, Letter From *Gale’s Magazine*, Mexico City, to Mother Earth Bulletin, New York City, September 26, 1918; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 24; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/833730/>.

²²³ Telegram from unknown author, “*Gale’s Magazine*, Mexico,” date presumed after June 5, 1920, Old German Files, 1909-1921, 24; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1314179/>.

²²⁴ La Botz, “American ‘Slackers’ in the Mexican Revolution,” 564.

²²⁵ “American Refugee Leads Mexico Reds,” *The New York Times* (December 26, 1919), 6.

being supportive of the Communist Party in Mexico.²²⁶ By 1919, Gale had seemingly become a communist, and even formed his own Communist organization that was supported by President Venustiano Carranza.²²⁷ The slackers were welcomed into Mexico because of their college education, experience with labor unions, and their socialist and/or communist ideals as well as their opposition to the American government.²²⁸

Gale had grown up in New York, and had even worked for the government for a time. Gale signed up for the draft, but the day before he was to appear before the draft board he mysteriously disappeared.²²⁹ Gale was one of several of the core Americans against the war that had come from New York.²³⁰ With his wife, Magdalena, first left New York for Louisiana, and then continued on to Mexico.²³¹ Some have argued that Gale changed his political philosophies from democratic to socialist after hiding out with a socialist commune in Louisiana before arriving in Mexico in the summer of 1918.²³²

Gale's Magazine brought Linn A.E. Gale and de Aryan together. The magazine was political and religious, it focused on both American and Mexican politics.²³³ Gale was a vocal radical and also an occult follower, and the slogan for his publication was "Socialism, New Thot

²²⁶ Report by S.D. Bennet, "K.L. Dearyan, Alias Koshty, Ellis Island, New York," Beaumont, Texas, February 6, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 6; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234138/>.

²²⁷ Letizia Argentero, *Tina Modotti: Between Art and Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 100.

²²⁸ La Botz, "American 'Slackers' in the Mexican Revolution," 576.

²²⁹ "Obregon to Deport Gale, American Red," *The New York Times* (April 3, 1921), 7.

²³⁰ La Botz, "American 'Slackers' in the Mexican Revolution," 571.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 574.

²³² *Ibid*.

²³³ *Gale's Magazine*, December 1918 and January 1919 issues focused on both American politics, while later issues focused more on Mexican politics.

[sic], Internationalism, Occultism.”²³⁴ Though Gale was very interested in alternative religions, he never seemed to be a follower of any one in particular. The wide variety of subjects, as well as the low price, certainly made his publication accessible.²³⁵

Gale’s articles were considered to be radical, and even called for African American rights in the United States.²³⁶ According to the FBI investigation, subscriptions for *Gale’s Magazine* were estimated at up to 20,000 in English and 5,000 in Spanish.²³⁷ The publication was soon barred in the United States for its radicalism.²³⁸ In Mexico, *Gale’s Magazine* was supported by Manuel Aguirre Berlanga, Carranza’s Minister of the Interior.²³⁹

Gale believed that his magazine was the only one that was not afraid to tell the truth, and that it was extremely important for United States citizens to subscribe to it and open their minds. Gale saw himself as a very important man and journalist, who was run out by the United States government out of fear of his influence. Gale edited and wrote many of the articles in the publication. Through his relationship with Linn A. E. Gale, de Aryan saw, firsthand, that publishing was the best way to spread your beliefs to the masses and to be heard.

²³⁴ Telegram from unknown author, “Gale’s Magazine, Mexico,” date presumed after June 5, 1920, Old German Files, 1909-1921, 24.

²³⁵ Argenteri, *Tina Modotti*, 45.

²³⁶ Linn A. E. Gale, “A Negro Martyr,” *Gale’s Magazine*, 22, date unknown; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 51; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/833907/>.

²³⁷ Report by A.G. Loula, “In re: Gale’s Magazine of Mexico, Anarchistic Matter,” Chicago, Illinois, September 25, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 66; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1314279/>.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ La Botz, “American ‘Slackers’ in the Mexican Revolution,” 576.

De Aryan began spreading Mazdaznan immediately. By 1918 he was without a doubt deeply committed to the religion. Upon arrival in Mexico City and meeting Gale, de Aryan advertised in *Gale's Magazine*. His ad claimed as "Professor Koshti L. de Aryan," he could teach the "Mazdaznan System of Right Living" in either English, French, or German.²⁴⁰ It is unclear whether his role as a Mazdaznan teacher was supported by Ha'nish and the Mazdaznan sect. However, he did list his address as the official Mazdaznan Headquarters of Mexico.²⁴¹ It remains unclear whether de Aryan brought Mazdaznan to Mexico City or if Mazdaznan followers were already living there before he arrived. However, de Aryan was certainly involved in the conversion of followers in the area and Mazdaznan continued to be popular in Mexico City for many years after he left.²⁴²

Soon after Gale and de Aryan met in 1918, de Aryan wrote an article about Mazdaznan for Gale.²⁴³ De Aryan's article, entitled "The Mazdaznan Philosophy," was published in full, though Gale claimed he was not a Mazdaznan follower in the preface of the article.²⁴⁴ The article revealed what de Aryan believed at the time. The article detailed the history of the "extensively organized" Mazdaznan, and claimed the religion was not part of the occult because

²⁴⁰ *Gale's Magazine*, date unknown, presumably 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 42; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/833854/>.

²⁴¹ Koshti L. de Aryan, "The Mazdaznan Philosophy," *Gale's Magazine*, 9, date unknown; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 63; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/833979/>.

²⁴² Portillo, Ernesto Jr. "Mazdaznans ready to leave lofty retreat," B-1.

²⁴³ Koshti de Aryan, "The Mazdaznan Philosophy," *Gale's Magazine*, 9.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

it was Christian.²⁴⁵ According to de Aryan, Mazdaznan was about as old as the white race (which he believed to be 9,000 years old), and its purpose was to “lay the foundations of the New Race.”²⁴⁶ He condemned Catholicism, claiming that Catholics were only concerned with “the betterment and vitalization of the individual.”²⁴⁷ According to de Aryan, Mazdaznan also condemned “governmental hypocrisy.”²⁴⁸ De Aryan explained that “Mazdaznan is for the girl, for the boy, for the man and for the woman at any age and in every condition of life.”²⁴⁹

The tone of the article made clear that de Aryan was showcasing what he considered the best attributes of Mazdaznan; he wanted to gain followers. By this point in his life, de Aryan’s religious and political ideas are clear. De Aryan clearly believed in Mazdaznan’s version of New Thought and white supremacy and he claimed he was against all forms of what he saw as “governmental hypocrisy.” It is difficult to determine whether or not de Aryan agreed with Linn A. E. Gale’s politics, but it can be speculated that he was, at this point, critical of American politicians and the American government.

While living in Mexico in 1918, de Aryan also became acquainted with Julia Alonso, though it is difficult to determine whether it was friendly relationship or of a more romantic nature. Alonso was also a follower of Mazdaznan, and they reportedly had many religious

²⁴⁵ Koshti de Aryan, “The Mazdaznan Philosophy,” *Gale’s Magazine*, 24, date unknown; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 49; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/833897/>.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Koshti de Aryan, “The Mazdaznan Philosophy,” *Gale’s Magazine*, 9.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

discussions.²⁵⁰ It also remains unclear whether de Aryan converted her or if she was a follower before they met. Alonso signed letters to de Aryan as “the most loving of your daughters;” which implied that Alonso saw de Aryan as her mentor in Mazdaznan.²⁵¹ The relationship between de Aryan and Julia Alonso alerted authorities because they believed that she possibly had familial connections to President Carranza.²⁵² Their friendship was important because Alonso was close to Gale, and her association with de Aryan indicated he was accomplishing what he believed was his mission, to spread Mazdaznan.

In December of 1918, shortly after World War I’s end, de Aryan left Mexico City. He traveled from Mexico City to San Luis, Potosi, Santillo, Monterrey, and Matamoros. From there, according to governmental sources, de Aryan swam across the Rio Grande to Brownsville, Texas with the aid of Rodolfo Fragosa, an employee of the Mexican Customs Office and a “mutual friend” of de Aryan and Gale.²⁵³ After arriving in the United States, de Aryan moved to Saratoga, Texas in early January of 1919 with a companion named A.E. Yates.²⁵⁴ He resumed his communication with Gale soon after returning to the United States, much of which was observed

²⁵⁰ Letter from Julia to K. L. de Aryan, Socialist Correspondence, Postal Censorship Report, Brownsville, Texas February 7, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 38; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234285/>.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Report to W.E. Allen, Acting Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C., February 19, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 38; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234285/>.

²⁵³ Report by R. Panster, “In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias “Koshty”, Attempt to Evade Censor, Probable Bolshevik Agitator,” Beaumont Texas, February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 78; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, Accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234454/>.

²⁵⁴ Report by H.W. Perkins, “In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor, Probable Bolshevik Agitator,” Beaumont, Texas, February 6, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 77; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, Accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234447/>.

by the censorship division of the Postal Service, which had been established during the war to prevent subversive activity. In an attempt to avoid interception of their letters, most of the correspondence between Gale and de Aryan was sent under pseudonyms.²⁵⁵ De Aryan instructed Gale to write through the “Censor way” and to sign as “C. Gomez.”²⁵⁶ This loyalty to Gale and de Aryan’s willingness to risk prosecution demonstrates the possibility that he shared at least some of Gale’s political ideals. If de Aryan was not a supporter of Gale, he likely would not have gone to the trouble of continuing his relationship with the publisher.

In January of 1919, de Aryan became an official agent for *Gale’s magazine*.²⁵⁷ Although it had been banned by the government, he was in charge of obtaining both subscriptions and advertisements for the magazine in the United States.²⁵⁸ Gale believed that de Aryan would make a good representative because he could appeal to “occultists and theosophists.”²⁵⁹ Gale explained in great detail to de Aryan who he should contact in order to gain advertisements for *Gale’s Magazine*; he wanted de Aryan to focus on hotels in New York City.²⁶⁰ However, scholar

²⁵⁵ Letter from Julia to K. L. de Aryan, Socialist Correspondence, Postal Censorship Report, Brownsville, Texas February 7, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 38.

²⁵⁶ Letter to “My dear Gale”, from Koshty, Saratoga, Texas, January 24, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 617; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1315004/>.

²⁵⁷ Letter from *Gale’s Magazine*, Mexico City, to K. L. de Aryan, Saratoga, Texas, U.S. Postal Censorship, San Antonio Texas, January 5, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 52; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234328/>.

²⁵⁸ Letter from Julia to K. L. de Aryan, Socialist Correspondence, Postal Censorship Report, Brownsville, Texas February 7, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 38.

²⁵⁹ Letter from Linn A.E. Gale, Editor and Publisher of *Gale’s Magazine*, Mexico City, Mexico, to Mr. K.L. de Aryan, Saratoga, Texas, February 5, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 59; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234353/>.

²⁶⁰ Letter To P.H. Hagerson, Esquire, New York City, from unknown author, March 10, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 68; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234393/>.

Letizia Argentero found that most of the advertisements in the publication were not for marketing goods but rather were political in nature.²⁶¹ De Aryan likely saw this new opportunity as a way to make connections in the world of alternative religions and to spread Mazdaznan. Gale and de Aryan were clearly close friends, as the letters obtained by the Postal censor were not formal in nature; Gale addressed de Aryan by his nickname, Koshty.²⁶²

De Aryan was not only in charge of subscriptions and advertisements for *Gale's Magazine*, but was also aiding in smuggling Gale's publications across the border.²⁶³ It is probable that Customs Agent Fragosa helped de Aryan smuggle letters and magazines between the United States and Mexico. However, this smuggling was short lived. After less than a month, de Aryan and Fragosa realized exactly how dangerous their activities were, and stopped the smuggling. In a letter, de Aryan explained to Gale just how difficult it was to smuggle newspapers, as not even their "friend" was willing to do it because of the risk involved.²⁶⁴ Evidently, at least some of the magazines went through, as Gale wrote to de Aryan about their success in getting the publication across the border.²⁶⁵

De Aryan also continued his contact with Julia Alonso after he left Mexico City; they communicated through correspondence at the beginning of 1919. De Aryan may have left

²⁶¹ Argentero, *Tina Modotti*, 46; Argentero studied *Gale's Magazine* artist Robo de Richey and his contribution to the radical publication.

²⁶² Letter from *Gale's Magazine*, Mexico City, to K.L. de Aryan, Saratoga, Texas, U.S. Postal Censorship, San Antonio Texas, January 5, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 52.

²⁶³ Letter To P.H. Hagerson, Esquire, New York City, from unknown author, March 10, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 68.

²⁶⁴ Letter to "My dear Gale", from Koshty, Saratoga, Texas, January 24, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 617.

²⁶⁵ Report by Holman Cook, "In Re: Linn A. E. Gale, Editor and Publ'r, *Gale's Magazine*, Mexico City- Notorious Propagandist and Draft Evader from Albany, New York," Beaumont, Texas, March 11, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 382, Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case number 69957; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1314769/>.

Mexico City, but the Mazdaznan presence remained. Julia Alonso continued to spread Mazdaznan in Mexico City, and taught classes of up to thirty people on the subject for at least a month after de Aryan left the city.²⁶⁶ Alonso wrote to de Aryan to ask his advice on leading the followers of Mazdaznan; it is clear that de Aryan was, at least to Alonso, an authority on the subject. Alonso was religiously obsessed in her letters; she wrote to de Aryan of her visions, where she saw the struggles that took place between blacks and whites that would happen 27,000 years into the future.²⁶⁷ She, too, believed in white supremacy and dreamed of the Aryan race controlling the world, indicating the continuing racist nature of Mazdaznan and its spread.

In February of 1919, de Aryan wrote another article for *Gale's Magazine*, this one on the subject of birth control.²⁶⁸ In the article, de Aryan contended that it was possible to avoid pregnancy not only through new birth control methods, but also through spiritual connection.²⁶⁹ De Aryan did not support artificial birth control. However, de Aryan was very supportive of natural birth control measures, and saw it as a way of keeping non-Aryan races from reproducing, and likely a way of keeping non-Aryans from continuing to populate the earth. This article was the first of his writings to have a direct white supremacist and eugenicist tone; he clearly only wanted Aryans to reproduce. This pro-aryan viewpoint was not only held by de

²⁶⁶ Letter from Julia to K. L. de Aryan, Socialist Correspondence, Postal Censorship Report, Brownsville, Texas February 7, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 38.

²⁶⁷ Letter to Koshty de Aryan, from Julia Alonso, Centro Mazdaznan, Mexico, January 16, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 92; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234490/>.

²⁶⁸ To Linn A.E. Gale, Mexico City, Mexico from Koshty de Aryan, Saratoga, Texas, January 24, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 99; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234510/>.

²⁶⁹ K. Leon de Aryan, "What Kind of Birth Control?," *Gale's Magazine*, 7, Old German Files, 1909-1921, 484; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1314871/>.

Aryan but by a number of other groups of the early twentieth century, when the intolerance of other races, religions, and ethnic groups saw a resurgence. While the most studied example of this is the reemergence of the Klu Klux Klan, many other groups with like-minded prejudices also came into power during this time period, advocating the use of eugenics as a primary way to reach their goal.²⁷⁰

In February 1919, Gale instructed de Aryan to go to New York to obtain advertisements and to make contact with Gale's socialist friends.²⁷¹ For unknown reasons, de Aryan never made the trip. Seemingly, de Aryan's contact with Gale ended about this time. Seemingly, they never spoke again.

Upon de Aryan's arrival in Texas in early 1919, he immediately began bragging to others about his draft-dodging, and concerned citizens alerted the Bureau about de Aryan soon after.²⁷² After the initial interview with Braithwaite 1917, the F.B.I. began to become more interested in de Aryan once they had been alerted that he had he reentered the United States. His relationship with Gale, his attempt to avoid postal censorship, and his activities in the United States led the Bureau to believe that de Aryan was in the United States with radical motives and Bolshevik ties, and they began to build a case against him to have him deported.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Betty A. Dobratz, "The Role of Religion in the Collective Identity of the White Racialist Movement," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (June 2001), 287.

²⁷¹ Letter to W.E. Allen, Acting Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C. from John Dunn, Colonel, Acting Director of Military Intelligence, March 1, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 54; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234338/>.

²⁷² Report by H.W. Perkins, "In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor, Probable Bolshevik Agitator," February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 72; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234413/>.

²⁷³ Report by Holman Cook, "In re: K.L. de Aryan Etc.," Beaumont Texas, March 25, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 34; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234268/>.

In February 1919, the Immigration authorities and the F.B.I. began to act against de Aryan. They decided to prosecute de Aryan for entering the United States illegally in 1912, evading the draft in 1917, and a passport violation for entering Mexico in 1918.²⁷⁴ An undercover agent, R. Panster, was sent to Saratoga, Texas in order to find out more about de Aryan's activities and motives.²⁷⁵ Once he arrived, Panster posed as a worker at the Rio Brave Oil Company, where de Aryan worked.²⁷⁶ There, Panster began collecting evidence against de Aryan.

The undercover agent first interviewed de Aryan's supervisor, who claimed he was suspicious of the worker who wrote in his room all night. He stated that de Aryan knew nothing about his new line of work; his hands were not like a working man's, they were soft.²⁷⁷ This made the foreman believe that de Aryan had no business working at the oil company. However, he found him competent enough to be hired. Though the foreman knew de Aryan was from Romania when he hired him, de Aryan never mentioned his country of origin to the other workers.²⁷⁸ He recalled that de Aryan never expressed any loyalty towards his homeland of

²⁷⁴ Report by R. Panster, "In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator (Cont.)," Beaumont Texas, February 13, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 40; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234292/>.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Letter to Mr. Swift, Esquire, Beaumont Texas, from Special Agent W.W. Green, March 14, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 69; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234399/>.

²⁷⁷ Report by H.W. Perkins, "In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor, Probable Bolshevist Agitator," Beaumont, Texas, February 6, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 77.

²⁷⁸ Report by H.W. Perkins, "In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor, Probable Bolshevist Agitator," February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 72.

Romania. However, he stated that de Aryan's coworkers enjoyed his company.²⁷⁹ De Aryan was well liked by the men he worked with, who knew him as "Jack;" they were intrigued by his foreign accent and charm.²⁸⁰

After doing some preliminary interviews, Panster, still undercover, introduced himself to de Aryan. Panster found de Aryan to be very friendly, and when the agent claimed to not have the money to afford work clothes, de Aryan even loaned him money to buy new ones.²⁸¹ Though he did not know this "new worker" at all, de Aryan was ready and willing to divulge incriminating information about himself. He seemed to enjoy bragging about his accomplishments. De Aryan told his new friend that he went to Mexico to evade the draft.²⁸² De Aryan also confessed to the agent that when he first migrated to the United States he did not go through the immigrant inspection process, which may explain why there was no record of him initially entering the country.²⁸³ De Aryan called the immigration inspectors "fools" that anyone could "get by."²⁸⁴ De Aryan told Panster that this was his first time in Texas, having previously lived in New York, Minnesota, and Missouri.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Both Braitwaite and another coworker claimed that de Aryan was very likable when they worked with him in 1912, see Chapter 1.

²⁸⁰ Report by R. Panster, "In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator," Beaumont Texas, February 13, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 41; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234293/>.

²⁸¹ Report by R. Panster, "In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator, Beaumont Texas," February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 80; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234460/>.

²⁸² Report by R. Panster, "In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator," Beaumont Texas, February 13, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 41.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

After spending some time with de Aryan, it seemed to Panster that de Aryan was not there to influence the men politically, as he only interacted with them in a joking manner.²⁸⁶ However, the agent identified de Aryan as a “radical fanatic” who was too dangerous to be around the type of men, mostly working class, whom he believed were easily susceptible to revolutionary ideas.²⁸⁷ The agent stated he believed that if de Aryan knew English as well as he knew Spanish that the Mazdaznan missionary would be even more of a threat to the United States.²⁸⁸ It is possible that de Aryan was hiding his experience with the English language; he knew English quite well, and had just written an article in English a month prior. De Aryan may have been hiding his skills, but it is also possible that de Aryan spoke to the agent in Spanish because he believed that it was the agent’s language of choice. It is also possible that the cunning de Aryan did not trust Panster and kept his guard up with him.

When de Aryan left his room, Panster searched his belongings. Amongst de Aryan’s possessions there were many copies of the Los Angeles *Mazdaznan Magazine* and a draft of an article de Aryan was writing, entitled “The Melting Pot.”²⁸⁹ The agent that read the draft was the first to discern that de Aryan’s name came from Mazdaznan teachings; Panster believed that the *Mazdaznan Magazine* was socialist propaganda.²⁹⁰ In this unpublished work, de Aryan revealed more strident white supremacist views than in the article he published in *Gale’s Magazine* a few

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Report by R. Panster, “In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator, Beaumont Texas,” February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 78.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Report by H.W. Perkins, “In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator,” Beaumont Texas, February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 75; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234437/>.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

months earlier. De Aryan called the white man a “natural conquerer” and claimed that he was waiting for the “Savior Race” to come to the United States.²⁹¹ Oddly, this early article did not directly mention Mazdaznan, though it was clearly aligned with Mazdaznan thought and philosophy.

Though the Bureau had expressed interest in de Aryan because of his relationship with Linn A. E. Gale, the undercover agent’s report shows that they were also interested in de Aryan alone. Though de Aryan offered information about his time in Mexico freely, the agent did not ask any further questions about Gale or what de Aryan did while in Mexico. This indicates that the government saw de Aryan as a threat on his own.²⁹²

The government soon acted on their plans to deport Koshti de Aryan. He was jailed at the Jefferson County Jail in Beaumont, Texas in March of 1919.²⁹³ Seemingly, he was not jailed for long. Before the proceedings could take place, de Aryan obtained a seaman’s position on a ship bound for Belgium in order to avoid deportation.²⁹⁴ De Aryan sailed from Galveston, Texas on May 7, 1919 on the steamship S.S. Edgerfield.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Report by H.W. Perkins, “In re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Alleged Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator,” Beaumont, Texas, February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 74; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234427/>.

²⁹² Report by R. Panster, “In Re: K. Leon de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Attempt to Evade Censor; Probable Bolshevist Agitator, Beaumont Texas,” February 12, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 78.

²⁹³ Report by Holman Cook, “In re: K.L. de Aryan, Saratoga Texas, Alleged Illegal entry into U.S. and attempt to evade censorship,” Beaumont, Texas, March 11, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 60; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234359/>.

²⁹⁴ Letter from Louis DeNette, Acting Division Superintendent, to Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation, “K. L. de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Radical Alien,” San Antonio, February 4, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 2; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234127/>.

²⁹⁵ Report by S.D. Bennet “K .L. Dearyan, Alias Koshty, Ellis Island, New York: Bolshevist and Radical Agitator,” Beaumont, Texas, February 6, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 6.

While on board the ship, de Aryan claimed he was the only steward who was not “lazy and indifferent,” and he worked fifteen hours a day; the captain apparently even invited him to continue working for him.²⁹⁶ Because de Aryan did not have a passport issued by the Belgian Consul when the ship arrived there, he was denied entrance into the country.²⁹⁷ The ship then sailed back to New York City. De Aryan returned legally to the United States on July 1st, but was detained until July 22, 1919.²⁹⁸ Upon his return, de Aryan claimed that he had no relatives in his country of origin.²⁹⁹

Upon his return to the United States, de Aryan made the comment to an immigration officer that “Belgium is not starving” and was full of “profiteers...gouging their own countrymen.”³⁰⁰ De Aryan had stayed onboard the S.S. Edgerfield as a seaman, and used his sailor’s pass to leave the ship and to to Washington D.C. in order to request readmission to the United States.³⁰¹ He told authorities that he could not remain onboard and could not go back to Belgium, requesting the United States accept him so that he could return to make a living.³⁰² He convinced the Immigration Service agent that he was innocent of any crime, and the agent

²⁹⁶ Letter from K. Leon de Aryan to Mr. Bryan, New York City, July 1, 1919, Old German Files, 1909-1921, 17; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234207/>.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Letter from Louis DeNette, Acting Division Superintendent, to Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation, “K. L. de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Radical Alien,” San Antonio, February 4, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 2.

²⁹⁹ *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897*, Microfilm Publication M237. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36, Year: 1919, Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: T715; Microfilm Roll: 2657; Line: 1, Page Number: 75.

³⁰⁰ Letter from K. Leon de Aryan to Mr. Bryan, New York City, July 1, 1919, Old German Files, 1909-1921, 17.

³⁰¹ Letter from Byrne H. Uhi, Assistant Commissioner Immigration Service Ellis Island, New York, to Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington D.C., July 16, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 11; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234168/>.

³⁰² Ibid.

advised the Commissioner-General of Immigration to allow him into the country.³⁰³ De Aryan was readmitted, but instructed to keep in touch with the office as to his whereabouts, since he was admitted in “good faith.”³⁰⁴ The Immigration Service immediately informed the F.B.I. of de Aryan’s return.

By the fall of 1919, de Aryan had returned to Texas, and his movements were immediately followed by the Bureau. By this time he already had an “extensive file” in which he had been labeled a “Bolshevik and Radical Agitator.”³⁰⁵ He was described by a witness as being “intrepid, able, intelligent and energetic. Money can not buy him nor threats intimidate him. He will carry forward an important work in the foundation of the new civilization. The world is going to know all of him.”³⁰⁶ It is unknown who inside the F.B.I. made this description. Yet another agent believed that de Aryan was “very dangerous” and “should be closely observed.”³⁰⁷

By 1920, de Aryan was labeled by the Bureau as a “radical alien.”³⁰⁸ The Bureau believed that he was “engaged in disseminating radical doctrine among oil workers in the oil

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Letter from James B. Bryan, Inspector in Charge Immigration Service, to K. Leon de Aryan, New York City, July 9, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 16; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234204/>.

³⁰⁵ Report by S.D. Bennet, “In Re: K.L. de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Bolshevik and Radical Agitator,” Beaumont, Texas, November 14, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 21; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234228/>.

³⁰⁶ Report by Louis Denette, “In re: K.L. de Aryan, alias ‘Koshty,’” September 8, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 24; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 21466; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/2234238/>.

³⁰⁷ Report by S.D. Bennet, “In Re: K.L. de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Bolshevik and Radical Agitator,” Beaumont, Texas, November 14, 1919; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 21.

³⁰⁸ Letter from Louis DeNette, Acting Division Superintendent, to Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation, “K. L. de Aryan, Alias Koshty, Radical Alien,” San Antonio, February 4, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 2.

fields of East Texas.”³⁰⁹ In February of 1920, an agent suggested that “Every effort should be made to locate this man and if he is located he should be kept under the strictest surveillance to determine whether or not he is engaged in radical activities. If so, these should be made the subject of close investigation and exhaustive reports.”³¹⁰ For unknown reasons the trail of C. Leon de Aryan seemed to have gone cold.

It is possible that the F.B.I.’s continued interest in de Aryan stemmed in part from his past association with Linn A. E. Gale. It appeared that the two men, in reality, were no longer in contact. But the F.B.I.’s interest in Gale had grown and it is likely they intended to leave no stone unturned. By 1920, the F.B.I. came to believe that *Gale’s Magazine* was being supported by German funds.³¹¹ Gale’s publication ran until March of 1921, though the name changed to *Gale’s International Monthly of Revolutionary Communism*.³¹² In the later issues of *Gale’s Magazine*, more focus was placed on Mexican politics, and the issues were mainly published in Spanish.

With the election of the new President Obregón in 1920 came the end of Gale’s welcome in Mexico City. Mexico no longer tolerated the communist foreigners, they wanted to become a nationalist government, not a communist one. Obregón had Gale deported in the Spring of 1921.³¹³ Gale was one of the many political agitators that Mexico no longer welcomed

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Unknown author, Subject: Linn A.E. Gale, September 8, 1920; Old German Files, 1909-1921, 445; Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922; Case Number 69957; Suspect Name: Linn A. E. Gale; National Archives publication number M1085, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/1314832/>; The Bureau believed this because Gale’s printer, Manuel Leon Sanchez, was a well-known German propagandist who appeared on the enemy list and because Gale used a known German agent, Herman Ruekheim, to forward the magazine into the United States.

³¹² Letizia Argenterì, *Tina Modotti: Between Art and Revolution*, 45.

³¹³ “Linn A. E. Gale Sent Here to be Tried,” *The New York Times* (June 29, 1921), 8.

under the new regime, because the country wanted to improve relations with the United States. Gale was sent back to the United States and apprehended in Laredo, Texas, on April 22, 1921.³¹⁴ While he was held there, the newspapers claimed that Gale offered to give the government all of the information he had on radicals hiding in Mexico.³¹⁵ After he was transported to await trial in New York, Gale also threatened a hunger strike.³¹⁶ He was brought to trial on October 17, 1921.³¹⁷ He was charged with draft evasion, publishing articles against President Wilson during the war, and glorifying the desertion of the army.³¹⁸ He was convicted on all counts.³¹⁹ He was sentenced to seven years in Fort Leavenworth.³²⁰

By 1920, when Gale was sent back to the United States, de Aryan was living in the Jefferson Hotel in Dallas with seemingly no ties to the now famous publisher.³²¹ In February 19, 1920, de Aryan applied for naturalization there.³²² In his Declaration of Intention, de Aryan claimed that he had emigrated from Antwerp, Belgium in 1919 (though he was never accepted

³¹⁴ “Linn Gale, Writer, Faces Army Court,” *The New York Times* (October 18, 1921), 12; Gale claimed he was not deported, but instead kidnaped by agents of the Department of Justice.

³¹⁵ “Linn Gale Offers to Inform on Reds,” *The New York Times* (September 18, 1921), 25.

³¹⁶ “Gale, Draft Dodger, Held; Threatens a Hunger Strike,” *The New York Times* (April 24, 1921), 1.

³¹⁷ “Linn Gale, Writer, Faces Army Court,” *The New York Times* (October 18, 1921), 12.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ “Gale is Convicted by Military Court,” *The New York Times* (October 29, 1921), 18.

³²⁰ “Army Deserters Abroad Lead Lives of Trouble,” *The New York Times* (September 2, 1923), X14.

³²¹ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization Records of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Central Division (Los Angeles)*, 1887-1940; Microfilm Serial: M1524; Microfilm Roll: 113, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

³²² U.S Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992 [database on-line], National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization Index Cards of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Central Division (Los Angeles)*, 1915-1976 (M1525); Microfilm Serial: M1525; Microfilm Roll: 40, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com

into that country) and that he first arrived in the United States much earlier.³²³ He signed a required legal document that stated that he was “not an anarchist” or “polygamist.”³²⁴

In early 1921, de Aryan published a small paragraph in the *Mazdaznan* magazine.³²⁵ In it he requested information on canvas shoes that would wear well, since leather shoes went against the pacifist and vegetarian tradition of *Mazdaznan*. This small article revealed that de Aryan was in contact with the *Mazdaznan* headquarters in Los Angeles, though he was living in Texas at the time. It is likely that his communication with them never stopped. Later that year, de Aryan had moved to Amarillo, Texas, where he advertised lessons in psychology.³²⁶

In 1923, de Aryan married Emily Labelle in Albuquerque, New Mexico.³²⁷ By this time, he was going by the name C. Leon de Aryan, instead of Koshti he as he had been known in Mexico. He never mentioned Emily Labelle in any of his later writings, and there are no official divorce proceedings between the two. Their relationship did not last long, as de Aryan was married to Genevieve Feeley on May 31, 1924.³²⁸ Genevieve was later described by de Aryan as a “red-headed Irish-English offshoot who proved the adage about red-heads.”³²⁹ It is unknown where or how they met, or if his new wife knew of de Aryan’s previous marriage.

³²³ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization Records of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Central Division (Los Angeles)*, 1887-1940; Microfilm Serial: M1524; Microfilm Roll: 113, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ *Mazdaznan* v. 20, no 1 (January, 1921), 670, New York Public Library, accessed via Hathi Trust digital library.

³²⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, *Amarillo Daily News* (May 14, 1921), Part II, 3, The Library of Congress, accessed September 4, 2013, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov.

³²⁷ *Bernalillo County, New Mexico, Marriage Index, 1888-2011* [database on-line], accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

³²⁸ “Breaking Matrimonial Change,” reprinted in *The Broom* (December 16, 1940), 4.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1926, de Aryan reemerged in historical record. By then, de Aryan was living in Los Angeles and working as a “civil engineer.” He was living with Genevieve and one year old son.³³⁰ Los Angeles was a logical choice for a religious seeker like de Aryan, as it had become a popular place for Christian alternative religions.³³¹ His application for naturalization that he had submitted in 1920 was finally approved, and de Aryan was now officially a citizen of the United States. It is likely that while de Aryan was living in Los Angeles he was active in the local Mazdaznan sect. However, since his relationship with Dr. Ha’nish was complicated, it is hard to judge just how involved he was in what had become the United States’ Mazdaznan headquarters.

By 1928, de Aryan had moved to Laguna Beach and was actively involved in local religious discussions. In late January of that year, de Aryan participated in a public debate with E. Haldeman Julius with the topic “is there a God?”³³² Julius was a famed Jewish-born atheist and socialist who published the “Little Blue Book,” a series that was popular among the working class.³³³ Though it is unknown what happened during this debate, it is important that de Aryan was active in the religious community during this time. His debate with Julius indicated that by this time, de Aryan was positively against socialism, and in defense of religion. Within two years, de Aryan left Los Angeles to move to his future home of San Diego.

³³⁰ U.S Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992 [database on-line], National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization Index Cards of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Central Division (Los Angeles)*, 1915-1976 (M1525); Microfilm Serial: M1525; Microfilm Roll: 40, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

³³¹ see Singleton, *Religion in the City of Angels*.

³³² “Challenge Publisher to Debate: Woman’s Club Demands That Haldeman-Julius ‘Come into the Open’”, *The Los Angeles Times* (January 30, 1928), A8.

³³³ Eric Schocket, “Proletarian Paperbacks: The Little Blue Books and Working-Class Culture,” *College Literature* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Fall 2002), 69.

The years between 1917 and 1928 demonstrate the development of de Aryan's philosophies at an early stage, making them extremely important to understanding his later ideas and activities. De Aryan's relationship with Linn A. E. Gale was extremely important to his later career. Gale was not only a friend and ally to de Aryan, but was, at least in part, his inspiration for his next move in life: creating *The Broom*. These formative years while de Aryan was away from the official Mazdaznan headquarters contributed greatly to de Aryan's interpretation of Mazdaznan. Once he returned to California with his new family, he again submerged himself in Ha'nish's Mazdaznan. However, this close relationship with the Mazdaznan headquarters in Los Angeles was short lived.

Chapter Three

By 1930, C. Leon de Aryan had made his way south to San Diego, California. Scholar Jon Stephen Strebler theorized that many immigrants came to San Diego between 1920 and 1930 because the property in San Diego was half the price of that in Los Angeles.³³⁴ In 1930, San Diego had a population of 147, 995.³³⁵ Though it had a beautiful climate, San Diego's isolation due to the mountains surrounding the city made it less accessible than its northern neighbor, Los Angeles.³³⁶ The early leaders of the city decided that the only way to transform San Diego into a viable urban area was to give away large tracts of land to the Navy, making San Diego an invaluable source during wartime.³³⁷

De Aryan arrived in San Diego with a wife, Genevieve, and two sons, five-year old David and two-year old Frederick.³³⁸ De Aryan lived the rest of his life in San Diego, establishing a weekly newspaper, which he entitled *The Broom*, soon after arriving to the city. The newspaper was called *The Broom* because, according to de Aryan, it swept away everything but the truth. De Aryan claimed that his idea for running his own newspaper came in 1929, when "the bottom fell out" and he realized that he could not make a living in civil engineering.³³⁹ De

³³⁴ Jon Stephen Strebler, "San Diego Housing Prices, 1887-1989: The Myth of Invincibility," (MA Thesis, San Diego State University, Spring 1990), 37.

³³⁵ Shragge, "A Few Federal City': San Diego During World War II, 343.

³³⁶ Ibid, 335.

³³⁷ Ibid, 336.

³³⁸ 1930 United States Federal Census [database on-line], United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930. Year: 1930, San Diego, California, Roll: 191, Page: 5b, Enumeration District: 0066, Image: 544.0, FHL microfilm: 2339926, accessed September 4, 2013, ancestry.com.

³³⁹ "de Aryan Comments" aired on KGB January 16, 1942, reprinted in *The Broom* (January 19, 1942), 2.

Aryan later stated that he had wanted to publish a newspaper his entire life.³⁴⁰ However, it is also likely that de Aryan was one of the many who lost their jobs due to the extreme economic downturn during the Great Depression, which also began in 1929. After de Aryan realized he could not find a job as an engineer, he likely began his newspaper in order to earn a living for his family.

Like his upbringing in Europe, the Great Depression also left a lasting impression on de Aryan's life going forward. The Crash of 1929 led to an instability in the American economy and a record-breaking unemployment rate. Americans were desperate for any jobs they could get. Some blamed immigrants and outsiders, and many blamed President Herbert Hoover's administration's policies.³⁴¹ Because of the lack of jobs, de Aryan never worked as an engineer again, and he questioned the government's capability, something he would continue doing for the rest of his life.

De Aryan's idea for running a religious newspaper was greatly influenced by his previous experience with Linn A. E. Gale and his magazine. De Aryan's involvement with obtaining subscriptions and advertisements must have been invaluable when he decided to begin his own newspaper.³⁴² Like Gale, de Aryan saw his newspaper as a way to spread his own ideas. Also like Gale, de Aryan used his newspaper to voice his opinions on politics and religion. Another important influence on de Aryan's newspaper was the newspaper put out by the Mazdaznan Association in Los Angeles, which was likely ran by his mentor, Ha'nish.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 81.

³⁴² Interestingly, after de Aryan left Texas in 1920, he never mentioned his relationship with Linn A. E. Gale again, even when writing his autobiographical articles in *The Broom*.

Mazdaznan had a history in San Diego; this was likely one of the reasons that de Aryan moved to the area in 1930. Mazdaznan began to spread in San Diego starting in 1910, when a meeting was held with the theme, “Mazdaznan, Its Mission.”³⁴³ The subjects covered at the meeting were health and breath culture, and must have been held by a follower of Ha’nish.³⁴⁴ The next year, Ha’nish came to San Diego to speak to local Mazdaznans twice a week at the San Diego Clubhouse during the month of February, solidifying the movement in the city.³⁴⁵ Mazdaznan meetings were held in different locations throughout the city until 1914 when a Mazdaznan center was opened at Union and Fir Streets.³⁴⁶

In 1916, Ha’nish spoke in the San Diego Mazdaznan temple three times.³⁴⁷ In 1917, Dr. J. G. Beeler, described as an International Lecturer for the Mazdaznan Association, spoke to San Diegans on the topic of “The White Man’s Philosophy.”³⁴⁸ Dr. Ha’nish returned to San Diego to lecture in January of 1921, and again in March of 1923.³⁴⁹ Mazdaznan was even popular enough that Dr. Ha’nish spoke outside of the temple to the San Diego Woman’s Club in 1929.³⁵⁰ Later, after the religion had been established in San Diego for some time, on July 2, 1935, there was an

³⁴³ “Where to Worship,” *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (January 23, 1910), 7.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ “San Diego Club House,” *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (February 22, 1911), 2.

³⁴⁶ “San Diego City and County Directory: 1914,” 133, San Diego Directory, Co. University of California Library, accessed September 4, 2013, www.hathitrust.org; Advertisement, *San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (May 30, 1914), 11.

³⁴⁷ Advertisement, *The Evening Tribune*, San Diego (August 26, 1916), 10; Advertisement, *The Evening Tribune*, San Diego (October 21, 1916), 11.

³⁴⁸ Advertisement, *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (August 4, 1917), 8.

³⁴⁹ Advertisement, *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (January 29, 1921), 5; Advertisement, *The San Diego Union* (March 10, 1923), 16.

³⁵⁰ “Mazdaznan Society,” *The Evening Tribune*, San Diego (February 2, 1929), 8.

“Official Mazdaznan Day” at the San Diego Exposition, complete with an opera singer for entertainment after the lecture.³⁵¹

It would be difficult to pinpoint exactly how many San Diegans were followers of Mazdaznan, but it is clear that even if there were only a few, they were certainly devout and very interested in gaining more members, given the the amount of times they advertised in local newspapers. It is unknown why Dr. Ha'nish was seemingly so involved in the San Diego group of Mazdaznans. However, it is clear that there was a strong Mazdaznan following in San Diego before the arrival of de Aryan in 1930.³⁵²

Mazdaznan was not the only alternative religion in San Diego at the time. In fact there were many that were advertised in the local newspapers, showing that San Diegans, like Los Angelenos and other Southern Californians, were interested in new and alternative religions. Among these religions were Christian Science, Unity Spiritualist, Progressive Spiritualist, and the First Spiritual Society; there was even a Metaphysical Library.³⁵³ Perhaps these religions were drawn to San Diego for its climate and proximity to Los Angeles, the region's mecca for alternative religions.

De Aryan claimed to the *San Diego Union* that he moved to San Diego to be an engineer, but there is no record of him ever holding an engineering job in San Diego.³⁵⁴ The Naval presence and defense industry in San Diego might have led de Aryan believe that there would be multiple job opportunities for him. Unfortunately, with the economic downturn, it is possible

³⁵¹ “Official Mazdaznan Day,” *San Diego Union* (June 30, 1935), 2.

³⁵² The First advertisement for Mazdaznan was in the *San Diego Union and Daily Bee* on January 23, 1910, there were over one-hundred advertisements between the years 1910 and 1922 alone in both the *San Diego Union and Daily Bee* and the *Evening Tribune*.

³⁵³ “At the Churches,” *The San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (August 18, 1917), 8.

³⁵⁴ “Weekly Editor Files for County Assessor,” *San Diego Union* (June 6, 1934), 2.

that there just were not many available. However, with the presence of both a Mazdaznan fellowship and a multitude of other alternative religions, de Aryan instead established *The Broom* to comment on local politics and spread the ideology of Mazdaznan.

In its beginnings, *The Broom* had two goals: to analyze local politicians and politics, and to spread the word of Mazdaznan through weekly articles taken from the teachings of Dr. Ha'nish. Though de Aryan clearly learned much from his association with Linn A. E. Gale, de Aryan's *The Broom* had a more religious aspect than a political one. In the first years of the newspaper, de Aryan wrote frequently about Mazdaznan, though he presented the religion as a Christian one, and focused more on the Christian qualities of the religion, possibly in an attempt to make the religion more acceptable to readers.

The first known issue of *The Broom* appeared on October 6, 1930. Its first few pages were dedicated to local politics, with headlines such as "Our Civic Center" and "Where Our Tax Money Goes." There were many articles in the paper that were written by authors other than de Aryan; they, too, focused on exposing the "truth" about local politics. Advertisements in the paper were local and diverse, and included the Piggly Wiggly, a local boot shop, and vegetarian eateries.³⁵⁵ After this first issue, *The Broom* was printed every Monday, without fail, and sold on newspaper stands and to subscribers.

In December of 1930, de Aryan outlined his beliefs in Aryan supremacy in a discussion with his son, David, about a New Year's resolution:

Now you listen to your daddy. You are the son of a white man and woman. Our race is the most highly advanced race on this earth. Resolve to be a true man of your race, to be wholesome and fearlessly white and you have the best resolution in a nutshell.

³⁵⁵ In later issues, most advertisements were for alternative or underground religious, antisemitic, or radical right-wing publications.

All right, dad, now what do I have to do to be white?

To be white means to be noble-hearted and considerate of the rights of others. You must put human rights above greed, lust for power, notoriety, or even fear of death. To be wholesome you must have the courage to love the truth regardless of what it may bring you.

Thanks daddy. Then I resolve to be a white man, so you and mamma shall be proud of me.

That's it, David. That is just what we need in this world and so the white race came forth to fill the demand. Now we have to improve upon it and make this life worth while.³⁵⁶

This early racism and intolerance set the stage for many of de Aryan's writings, and clearly and publicly set out his beliefs about white supremacy. De Aryan's supposed "Mission"--to set up the United States to become an Aryan country--was highlighted very early in the publication. For any San Diegan familiar with *The Broom*, they knew well that de Aryan exposed a philosophy of racism and white supremacy.

The early issues of *The Broom* featured the ideology of the Mazdaznan religion, though de Aryan did not use the term "Mazdaznan," and instead presented the religion's ideology in a more covert fashion, without using its name. Columns were entitled "In The Master's Service," and featured writings by Mazdaznan leader Dr. Ha'nish, and his advice on vegetarianism, breathing techniques, and prayers. Though de Aryan did not mention Mazdaznan by name, Ha'nish's name was often used in the paper, and anyone who had read about Ha'nish's legal problems would recognize the now famous name. Though it is likely by this point there was tension between the two men, de Aryan still considered Dr. Ha'nish knowledgeable when it came

³⁵⁶ C. Leon and Genevieve de Aryan, "Kiddies Column," *The Broom* (December 29, 1930), 4.

to the principles of Mazdaznan, since he believed Mazdaznan's leader to be one of the nine Zoroasters, described as a leader or teacher, on the same level as Jesus Christ.³⁵⁷

After moving to the city, de Aryan immediately became involved in San Diegan life and politics. In 1930, de Aryan began a Civic Forum in order to "give the common people the opportunity to gather together, becoming acquainted with one another and discuss all problems vital to them and the community."³⁵⁸ Topics included "The Latest World News," "Unemployment," and "Immigration."³⁵⁹ De Aryan stated that one of the aims of the Civic Forum was to bring together candidates for public office so that the voters could get to know them better and could make more informed decisions.³⁶⁰ City Councilmen, Assemblymen, professors, and candidates for state senator spoke to the Forum, giving de Aryan access to many important men.³⁶¹ In a Forum on the topic of "Militarism in Schools," which de Aryan was seemingly in favor of, de Aryan declared himself a pacifist.³⁶² De Aryan also used the Civic Forum to urge San Diegans to buy from local industries and support local business; this support was likely so that San Diegan businesses would support de Aryan later. One meeting had a representative of the Globe Milling company give away two-pound sacks of flour to all audience

³⁵⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, "What the Poor Devil Fears," *The Broom* (August 4, 1947), 3; In 1944, de Aryan claimed that Dr. Ha'nish and himself always had a strained relationship due to de Aryan refusing an early order by Ha'nish.

³⁵⁸ "Will Train Open Forum Leaders," *The San Diego Union* (March 2, 1930), 9.

³⁵⁹ "Bryson to Speak on 'World News,' *The San Diego Union* (April 22, 1930), 22; "Unemployment to be Topic at Forum," *Evening Tribune* (April 28, 1930), 3; "Dowell Next Speaker at Civic Forum," *Evening Tribune* (May 5, 1930), 20.

³⁶⁰ "Dowell Next Speaker at Civic Forum," *Evening Tribune* (May 5, 1930), 20.

³⁶¹ "Dowell to Talk on 'Immigration,' *The San Diego Union* (May 6, 1930), 11.

³⁶² "R.O.T.C. Debate Set for June 13: Legion and Women's League for Peace to Continue Discussion on Militarism," *The San Diego Union* (June 6, 1930), 6.

members.³⁶³ At another, candy made by a San Diego confectioner was given to the audience.³⁶⁴ De Aryan was using his medium to promote struggling small businesses.

C. Leon de Aryan was not the only de Aryan involved in San Diegan life in 1930. His wife, Genevieve de Aryan, sang for the Civic Forum and was involved in an opera performance in Balboa Park that was not associated with Mazdaznan.³⁶⁵ Genevieve de Aryan, it seems, was also determined to charm the citizens of her new town. Articles in the San Diego newspapers in 1930 used a tone of praise of de Aryan for his creation and his leadership of the Civic Forum. Nothing critical about him was printed, and the articles did not discuss *The Broom* at all. Articles that appeared about him during this early period, indicate that de Aryan was seen as a productive San Diego citizen, who was intelligent and was doing good things for the city and its businesses.

Likely, de Aryan began the Civic Forum with his motives in mind; he wanted the city to get to know *him* before he ran for public office. In May of 1930, de Aryan stated that, “One of the aims of the Civic Forum is to bring candidates for public office and the voters together to become acquainted with one another. This will enable voters to make their choice intelligently when they go to the polls, having had the opportunity to discuss matters of importance on the floor of the Forum.”³⁶⁶ De Aryan ran for City Council in March of 1931, where he asked citizens to “vote for the best man” and stated he did not spend a dime on the campaign, unlike the other candidates.³⁶⁷ De Aryan was likely disappointed with the results of the race after all of the work he had put into courting the politicians and citizens of San Diego; he only received 626

³⁶³ Johnson Assails Taxation System,” *The San Diego Union* (July 3, 1930), 10.

³⁶⁴ “Home Buying Topic at Printers’ Meet,” *Evening Tribune* (August 4, 1930), 15.

³⁶⁵ “Music Program to be Offered at Meeting,” *Evening Tribune* (November 8, 1930), 11.

³⁶⁶ “Dowell Next Speaker at Civic Forum,” *Evening Tribune* (May 5, 1930), 20.

³⁶⁷ “25 in Race for Council Posts,” *Evening Tribune* (March 7, 1931), 2.

out of 26,020 votes.³⁶⁸ De Aryan lost the race, but he received a consolation prize: the mayor made de Aryan the President of the County and Civic Buildings Association.³⁶⁹ Though it does not seem that the job came with much political power, it did help to make de Aryan a name that the citizens of San Diego knew.

In 1931, de Aryan also spoke publicly about religion; he delivered a message at the Metaphysical Hall on “Mental Bombs” in January of that year.³⁷⁰ He again addressed an audience at the Metaphysical Hall in March, with the topic “The Living God.”³⁷¹ Less than a week later, he made a more public speech on the same topic in front of his own Civic Forum, which had previously only been used to discuss political matters.³⁷² After a year of establishing himself as an integral part of San Diego society and politics, de Aryan finally exposed his passion to the citizens; he turned his political forum into a religious one. Undoubtedly, de Aryan spoke of Mazdaznan at this meeting. The religious nature of the talks increased, with de Aryan giving a speech on “Is Creation Past or Present,” in July of 1931.³⁷³ *The San Diego Union* stated that “The constantly increasing attendance at these interesting meetings show that all thinkers and students are having a good time in the exchange of views on the subjects presented.”³⁷⁴

In the summer of 1931, de Aryan found himself in legal trouble. He was sued by Dr. B. B. Mason of Laguna Beach hospital for a medical bill of one-hundred dollars for the birth of de

³⁶⁸ “Declaring the Result of the Municipal Primary Election held in the City of San Diego, California, on Tuesday, the 28th Day of March, A.D. 1931,” *Evening Tribune* (March 27, 1931), 12.

³⁶⁹ “De Aryan Named Leader of Group,” *The San Diego Union* (March 23, 1931), 7.

³⁷⁰ Advertisement for Metaphysical Hall, *The San Diego Union* (January 17, 1931), 8.

³⁷¹ Advertisement for Metaphysical Hall, *The San Diego Union* (March 28, 1931), 15.

³⁷² “De Aryan Will Talk at Meeting of Forum,” *The San Diego Union* (March 30, 1931), 4.

³⁷³ “Editor to Address Lundkwist Friends,” *The San Diego Union* (July 8, 1931), 9.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Aryan's son; the court gave Mason de Aryan's car as a repayment.³⁷⁵ De Aryan attempted to keep the car, saying he needed it for his job, but the court determined otherwise.³⁷⁶ As this shows, de Aryan had financial troubles early in his time in San Diego. Even with these problems, C. Leon de Aryan was at least mildly socially accepted by the community. For instance, de Aryan had a forty-sixth birthday party in 1931 where Mayor Alexander, Supervisor McMullen, Assessor Johnson, and State Senator Bowers spoke; de Aryan also spoke on the subject of "Better Political Leadership."³⁷⁷

In October of 1931, de Aryan had an altercation with a Chula Vista editor, named Lawrence L. Thompson.³⁷⁸ Thompson had removed *The Broom* from the Chula Vista paper's exchange list. De Aryan confronted Thompson, who physically assaulted him.³⁷⁹ Even so, de Aryan was arrested, and soon released.³⁸⁰

De Aryan did not give up on his hopes for political office in San Diego, and continued to make his name a public one by being involved in San Diego politics. De Aryan ran for Mayor of San Diego in April of 1932, and he received only 305 votes through write-in ballots; he did not have enough money for a true campaign.³⁸¹ It is likely that, by this time, de Aryan's personality

³⁷⁵ "Court Will Decide on Importance of Editor's Car in Work," *Evening Tribune* (June 30, 1931) 19; "Court Rules Car Not 'Tool of Trade' for Scribe ruled against De Aryan," *Evening Tribune* (July 9, 1931), 20; "Well, Anyway the Editor Has No Auto," *The San Diego Union* (July 15, 1931), 12.

³⁷⁶ Ibid..

³⁷⁷ "Announce Birthday Dinner for Tuesday," *The San Diego Union* (August 14, 1931), 10.

³⁷⁸ "Battling Editors Must Spare Ink and Tell Judge," *The San Diego Union* (October 15, 1931), 24.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ "Forward Leads Mayor's Race," *The Los Angeles Times* (April 27, 1932), 11.

had come to light in the eyes of San Diegans. De Aryan was clearly argumentative and very opinionated.

In *The Broom*, de Aryan continued to promote a religious philosophy that was based on white supremacy. The Aryan race was mentioned in *The Broom* in 1932, where de Aryan stated that “America was not made by Americans. America was made by the Aryan advance guard that was determined to leave the old world conditions behind and create a better future for the race.”³⁸² This statement coincided with the reason that de Aryan gave for coming to the United States: preparing the country for the Aryan race. Though de Aryan did not mention Mazdaznan in this article, it is clear that the philosophy of the religion was behind the statement. It is probable that de Aryan wanted to write about Mazdaznan, but to also keep the paper from being too religiously controversial until he established a strong reader base.

In the summer of 1932, de Aryan began a radio show on KFSD, where he first spoke on “Wage Cuts Make Matters Worse.”³⁸³ That same year, de Aryan began writing articles that criticized Assessor James Hervey Johnson and his stance on taxes in San Diego. De Aryan argued that the assessor had no right to collect more than one year’s taxes at one time period: Johnson had collected more than double the taxes on one woman’s automobile.³⁸⁴ After a face-to-face argument with de Aryan, Johnson stated, “I’ll not stay here and be insulted by that slob.”³⁸⁵

³⁸² C. Leon de Aryan, “Pioneering American,” *The Broom* (June 27, 1932), 1.

³⁸³ Advertisement, *The San Diego Union* (August 26, 1932), 10.

³⁸⁴ “Board Denies Plea for Tax Cut After Hearing Featured by Row Between Johnson and Hurley,” *Evening Tribune* (September 13, 1932), 13.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Less than a year after de Aryan's altercation with Thompson, de Aryan again had conflict with a newspaper editor who went against him. While originally de Aryan had supported the election of Johnson, they soon got into another public argument when Johnson, who was also an editor of a newspaper in Chula Vista, published the article, "The Biography and Biology of *The Broom*," which gave a scandalous history of de Aryan's life in Europe before he came to the United States.³⁸⁶ De Aryan sued Johnson for criminal libel immediately following, and de Aryan represented himself in the trial.³⁸⁷ The two men got into a physical altercation, when Johnson allegedly forcibly ejected de Aryan from his newspaper office, and then further manhandled him on the streets of Chula Vista.³⁸⁸ During the trial, Johnson's lawyer suggested that de Aryan be examined by a psychiatrist.³⁸⁹ After months of hearings, Johnson was found guilty and ordered to pay a \$500 fine.³⁹⁰

De Aryan did not only comment about local politics in *The Broom*, but spoke of them openly in public. Early in 1933, San Diego laid off sixty-one employees in order to increase the city manager's salary from \$550 a month to \$883 per month. In an interview with *The Evening Tribune* de Aryan opposed this move, criticizing the city for "throwing 200 dependent families upon the welfare board."³⁹¹ Other city employees that were not fired also saw a raise in salaries.

³⁸⁶ "Freed Sans Bail; Case Brought by de Aryan," *Evening Tribune* (September 14, 1932), 1.

³⁸⁷ "May Dismiss Case Brought by de Aryan," *Evening Tribune* (September 23, 1932), 2.

³⁸⁸ "Johnson Named in Assault Complaint," *Evening Tribune* (October 22, 1932), 1.

³⁸⁹ "'Criminal Libel' Trial May End," *San Diego Union* (November 30, 1932), 3.

³⁹⁰ "Johnson Penalty \$500 Fine or Six Months; Appeal Not Decided," *Evening Tribune* (December 3, 1932), 1.

³⁹¹ "Job, Salary Issues Vex Council," *Evening Tribune* (January 31, 1933), 14.

By 1933 he was also debating against socialism in San Diego.³⁹² That same year, de Aryan applied for the San Diego City Manager job. He was not hired and he complained that the council did not seriously consider his candidacy.³⁹³ However, *The San Diego Union* claimed that de Aryan, unlike the other candidates, had no past experience as a manager of a city with over 70,000 people.³⁹⁴

The summer of 1933 brought retaliation from de Aryan's old nemesis, Assessor James Hervey Johnson, who sued de Aryan for libel over an article about him that appeared in *The Broom*.³⁹⁵ During this case, it was proven that de Aryan had not committed libel, and that the Assessor had used city employees to distribute his own newspaper as well as given "prizes" to his employees in the Assessor's office.³⁹⁶ After twenty-four hours of deliberation, the jury acquitted de Aryan.³⁹⁷ De Aryan claimed he had published the story about Johnson because the people of San Diego deserved to know who their elected official really was.³⁹⁸

In October of 1933 de Aryan began a new radio show on Radio Station XEFD; his show ran three times a week on Thursday evenings and Saturday and Monday mornings.³⁹⁹ Topics

³⁹² "De Aryan to Debate," *Evening Tribune* (March 10, 1933), 11.

³⁹³ "Council to Hear Applicants for Manager Today," *San Diego Union* (May 17, 1933), 7.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ "Johnson Gave Prize Money, Testimony," *Evening Tribune* (August 31, 1933), 6.

³⁹⁶ "Johnson Gave Prize Money, Testimony," *Evening Tribune* (August 31, 1933), 6; "de Aryan Takes Stand at Trial," *The San Diego Union* (September 1, 1933), 12.

³⁹⁷ "Acquit de Aryan of Libel Charge After 24 Hours' Deliberation," *Evening Tribune* (September 8, 1933), 1.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ Advertisement, *The San Diego Union* (October 12, 1933), 9.

included “This United States Constitution and What It Means to Us.”⁴⁰⁰ Much of de Aryan’s purpose on the radio was to promote himself and his newspaper.

In the first three years of *The Broom*, the articles did not often mention Jews per se or contain many examples of overt antisemitism, though they often discussed the Aryan race. However, de Aryan began including more antisemitism in his articles as the years went by. During this time period, there were approximately 2,000 Jews living in San Diego.⁴⁰¹ In 1934, de Aryan claimed that Jews in San Diego were killing Gentiles and using their blood for rituals.⁴⁰² This article clearly intended to invoke fear and hatred in the non-Jewish readers of the newspaper. Though de Aryan was fundamentally antisemitic, he claimed to be against Hitler very early on, and insisted he did not support persecution of any kind; he clearly was a persecutor himself.⁴⁰³ By spreading hate language, de Aryan was instrumental in encouraging discrimination against the Jewish population. In this same article, de Aryan denounced Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his politics, claiming he was a poor leader for the United States.⁴⁰⁴ Part of his attack on F.D.R. came from de Aryan’s belief that the president was a supporter of Jews, many of whom were in political positions under him.⁴⁰⁵ This reflected a national trend among the extreme right who rejected F.D.R. as pro-Jewish and a socialist. By this time, many Americans were questioning the administration and the New Deal, which was unsuccessful.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Baron, “From Minyan To Matriculation,” 136.

⁴⁰² C. Leon de Aryan, “Jewish Ritual Murder in San Diego,” *The Broom* (February 12, 1934), 1.

⁴⁰³ C. Leon de Aryan, “Aryan Justice,” *The Broom* (February 12, 1934), 3.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Richard Breitman and Allan J. Lichtman, *FDR and the Jews* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 2.

⁴⁰⁶ Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 3.

This lack of trust in the government's capabilities led to an opportunity for extremists, like de Aryan, to gain supporters in their reactionary politics.

De Aryan was not the only antisemitic presence in San Diego. The Silver Shirt Legion, established by William Dudley Pelley, was popular in San Diego as well. The group invited de Aryan to attend a meeting in March of 1934, with about forty members.⁴⁰⁷ Though it is clear that de Aryan and the Silver Shirts shared many similar views, it seems that at this meeting there was an altercation, as de Aryan was forcibly ejected by members.⁴⁰⁸ De Aryan filed a suit against the Silver Shirts. The district attorney dismissed the case, stating that he believed that no crime had been committed.⁴⁰⁹ Though this was likely de Aryan's first contact with The Silver Shirt Legion and William Dudley Pelley, it would not be his last. Scholar Scott Beekman claims that William Dudley Pelley actively sought out a relationship with de Aryan, though he does not say what year that began.⁴¹⁰

C. Leon de Aryan nominated himself for the job of Assessor in June of 1934.⁴¹¹ De Aryan claimed he had been in the city for seven years, and that his experience as a civil engineer made him qualified to "do any and all work in the assessor's office."⁴¹² Though documents do not place de Aryan in San Diego until 1930, it is possible he was here before then. De Aryan's campaign centered on his belief that taxes should be "an insurance premium and not robbery."⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ "De Aryan Says He Will Charge Assault," *The San Diego Union* (March 4, 1934), 10.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ "Complaint of Editor Rejected by Whelan," *The San Diego Union* (March 7, 1934), 14.

⁴¹⁰ Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley*, 98.

⁴¹¹ "Weekly Editor Files for County Assessor," *The San Diego Union* (June 6, 1934), 2.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ "De Aryan in Race for Assessor Post; Outlines Program," *Evening Tribune* (June 7, 1934), 3.

De Aryan's plan was to convince the San Diegans that he was more like them than the other candidates who came from wealthy beginnings. De Aryan lost again with 2,751 votes to James Hervey Johnson's 30,734.⁴¹⁴

By 1935, de Aryan's religion became more prominently featured in *The Broom*. Before 1935, he had simply reprinted writings by Dr. Ha'nish, usually not using the word Mazdaznan, but clearly laying out the principles of the religion though the explanation of dietary restrictions and the principles of Aryan supremacy. However, as de Aryan and *The Broom* became more established and gained a larger audience de Aryan began writing more frequently about Mazdaznan, identifying the religion by name. In September of 1935, de Aryan began the column "The Sun Work Shop," so called because Mazdaznans considered themselves sun-worshipers, who gained strength through the power of the sun.⁴¹⁵ This column developed from the earlier "In The Master's Service" column that focused on Ha'nish. However, there were two differences between the two columns. First, "The Sun Work Shop" often contained writings by Ha'nish, but also had writings by de Aryan himself, where he explained Mazdaznan through his own words, and not just those of the leader. Secondly, this new column was much more overtly about Mazdaznan, and was prominent in *The Broom* from this date forward. This new column marked a change in *The Broom* that would continue for the rest of its publication: de Aryan's main goal was now to overtly spread Mazdaznan, his idea of white supremacy, and his political ideology, to his readers.

⁴¹⁴ "10 Contestants Win Offices in San Diego County Primaries; Five More Await Run-Off," *The San Diego Union* (August 30, 1934), 3.

⁴¹⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Sun Work Shop," *The Broom* (September 29, 1935), 3.

Though Mazdaznan became more prominent in *The Broom* beginning in 1935, a break between de Aryan and the Mazdaznan leader, Dr. Ha'nish, also occurred in that year, which was evident in the new "Sun Work Shop" column. De Aryan claimed that he and Ha'nish had an argument after the Mazdaznan day at the San Diego Exposition, where de Aryan did not agree with the speakers or their message.⁴¹⁶ De Aryan stopped publishing writings by Ha'nish for three months after the clash. De Aryan claimed that he learned a great deal through Ha'nish, but then stepped out on his own and practiced his religion without the "hero worship" that he believed was occurring with Ha'nish's followers.⁴¹⁷ Though de Aryan believed that Dr. Ha'nish was a valuable person to the religion, he did not believe that Ha'nish was a god, and stated that there was "no reason why one should accept all of his notions of the gospel truth."⁴¹⁸

Later that year, in a long front page article about a conversation between de Aryan and his son, de Aryan explained that a true Mazdaznan is "a person who has no master, save God. In that way that person becomes his own master and does not let anybody rule him or order him about. He does his own thinking, know what he is about and goes ahead and does it."⁴¹⁹ This definition explained de Aryan's separation from both Dr. Ha'nish and the Mazdaznan sect of Los Angeles; clearly de Aryan believed that true Mazdaznans were individuals who answered to no one.

In 1935, as the world grew ever closer to an impending war, de Aryan became more radically conservative in his political views, even calling for F.D.R.'s impeachment in June of

⁴¹⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Sun-Work Shop," *The Broom* (September 29, 1935), 3.

⁴¹⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, no title, *The Broom* (August 12, 1935), 4.

⁴¹⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, "Royal Democracy vs. Real Democracy," *The Broom* (July 15, 1935), 2.

⁴¹⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Should Children Salute the Flag?," *The Broom* (November 18, 1935), 1.

that year.⁴²⁰ He argued that President Roosevelt did not follow the constitution.⁴²¹ De Aryan became more paranoid and national and international politics became more prominent in *The Broom*. He believed that everyone in political office was a fool at best, a “communist Jew” at worst.⁴²² Throughout 1935, de Aryan became critical of both American leadership and the rise of the Nazis in Germany, though he shared many of the Nazis beliefs about race.

That same year, de Aryan was elected to the San Diego Republican League, which met weekly to discuss local politics.⁴²³ De Aryan’s many failures in running for public office did not deter him from running for Mayor again in 1935. Before the race began, de Aryan attempted to amend the San Diego charter so that the police department would be under the control of the mayor.⁴²⁴ His main platform for his campaign was to tax the saloons so heavily that they would go out of existance.⁴²⁵ De Aryan again attempted to earn the vote of the working man, this time he promised that he would raise the city employee minimum wage to five-dollars, since city employees were more likely to spend their money in San Diego.⁴²⁶ De Aryan’s wife was socially active during the campaign, singing publicly and attending both bunco and tea parties.⁴²⁷ By this time, de Aryan had begun to be gossiped about in San Diego life, and he used it for his

⁴²⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “Roosevelt Must be Impeached,” *The Broom* (June 3, 1935), 2.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² C. Leon de Aryan, “THEY Vant Var,” *The Broom* (October 13, 1941), 2.

⁴²³ “S.D. Republicans Elect Officers,” *The San Diego Union* (January 20, 1935), 2.

⁴²⁴ “City Councilmen Yesterday,” *The San Diego Union* (January 16, 1935), 5.

⁴²⁵ “C. Leon de Aryan,” *Evening Tribune* (February 1, 1935), 15.

⁴²⁶ “De Aryan Gives Campaign Plan,” *The San Diego Union* (February 13, 1935), 18.

⁴²⁷ “Bunco Party Given,” *Evening Tribune* (February 21, 1935), 13; Advertisement, *Evening Tribune* (February 22, 1935), 6; “P.T.A. Group Feted By Member with Tea,” *The San Diego Union* (March 23, 1935), 9.

campaign; one slogan he had was “They call me CRAZY, for telling the Truth.”⁴²⁸ Seemingly, de Aryan’s popularity with San Diegans was lessening, he was defending his sanity publicly. De Aryan lost with 338 votes to another Republican Percy J. Benbough’s 12,447 votes.⁴²⁹ He attributed this loss to only spending \$250 on his campaign, which was not much compared to the winner, who spend four times that amount.⁴³⁰

Between 1930 and the end of 1935, de Aryan’s popularity in the local media waned. Where the local San Diego newspapers started off speaking of C. Leon de Aryan in more positive terms, as the years wore on they began treating him as more of a joke. However, this did not seem to be the case for Genevieve de Aryan, who was not criticized in the local newspapers. This was possibly because of her singing career and her involvement in local organizations such as the Euclid P.T.A., as well as her position as a woman.⁴³¹

In February of 1936, Mazdaznan leader Dr. Ha’nish died. De Aryan published an article about his death, praising his accomplishments on behalf of the religion.⁴³² The death of Ha’nish further strained the relationship between de Aryan and the Los Angeles Mazdaznan followers. He rejected the new leaders of the Mazdaznan Temple in Los Angeles by calling them Jews, again showing his deep intolerance for the Jewish people.⁴³³

⁴²⁸ Advertisement, *The San Diego Union* (March 24, 1935), 16.

⁴²⁹ “Declaring the Result of the Municipal Primary Held in the City of San Diego, California, On the 26th Day of March, A. D., 1935,” *The San Diego Union* (April 4, 1935), 17.

⁴³⁰ “Six More Candidates File Expense Lists,” *San Diego Union* (April 2, 1935), 5.

⁴³¹ Genevieve sang in many local plays and performed publicly often beginning in 1930, she was also in charge of publicity for the Euclid Elementary School; *The San Diego Union* (September 15, 1935), 8; *The San Diego Union* (July 22, 1938), 28.

⁴³² C. Leon de Aryan, “In Memoriam,” *The Broom* (March 16, 1936), 1.

⁴³³ C. Leon de Aryan, “Blackmail of Mazdaznan Association Backfires,” *The Broom* (August 4, 1941), 2; C. Leon de Aryan, “Hanish-Parrots vs. Mazda Worship,” *The Broom* (February 3, 1947), 3.

It is possible that de Aryan's decline in popularity was a result of his increasingly radical right wing political stance, which appeared often in his newspaper. De Aryan was against employee strikes and unions, which de Aryan believed were run by Jews. In the 1936 shipping strike in San Diego, de Aryan heavily criticized the strikers for trying up shipping in the area.⁴³⁴ De Aryan claimed that four men confronted him in front of a freighter and they questioned him about his columns against their strike. When de Aryan told the men they needed to buy *The Broom* to find out, they threw him into the bay. De Aryan charged them with assault and battery; they were convicted but did not serve jail time.⁴³⁵ The news of the altercation even made the *Los Angeles Times*.⁴³⁶ Soon after, de Aryan attempted to make the laws against picketing more harsh.⁴³⁷

De Aryan's views must have been deemed interesting if not acceptable to some, because de Aryan was never wanting for invitations to speak publicly. In 1937, the President of San Diego State college invited de Aryan to address an economics class on the issue of "How to Settle Strikes Without Violence and Eliminate Unemployment Without Packing the Supreme Court."⁴³⁸ In the lecture, de Aryan claimed that the

Henry George single-tax system would banish poverty in the midst of plenty, abolish depressions and bring a tax less prosperity such as man hitherto has only dreamed about...the single tax would affect only common property such as land and those commodities that no man can legally claim to be produced by labor...improvement stores, labor and machinery would be tax free.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁴ "Editor is Decker: Four Men Sought," *The San Diego Union* (November 25, 1936), 15.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ "Editor's Assailants Will Seek New Trial," *The Los Angeles Times* (January 9, 1937), 5.

⁴³⁷ "Move to Tighten Labor Picking Here Thrown Out," *The San Diego Union* (September 1, 1937), 6.

⁴³⁸ "Students to Hear De Aryan," *The San Diego Union* (March 30, 1937), 13.

⁴³⁹ "Single Tax is Poverty Cure, Aztec Class Told," *San Diego Union* (April 1, 1937), 3.

This statement coincided with de Aryan's earlier statements about the legality of taxes in the United States.

In June of 1937, de Aryan again denounced President Roosevelt's leadership and his New Deal. De Aryan claimed that Roosevelt had too much power that really belonged to the American people; de Aryan believed that Roosevelt was as much of a dictator as Germany's Hitler.⁴⁴⁰ De Aryan criticized the New Deal for being supported by collecting taxes that de Aryan believed to be illegal to collect; he also believed that the New Deal was responsible for making alcohol legal again.⁴⁴¹

In 1938 de Aryan joined the race for the California Assemblyman from the 79th district.⁴⁴² De Aryan had become more politically right-wing as the years went on, and it is not surprising that he ran as a conservative.⁴⁴³ In an article for the *San Diego Union*, de Aryan detailed his thoughts about labor:

If elected, I will introduce measures which will conserve for the people the bill of rights now being abrogated by labor racketeers. Labor unions may legally conspire to destroy the business of any citizen by irresponsible boycotting and picketing without having to answer in a court of law for the damage inflicted. This condition is subversive to the principle of equal rights of all citizens before the law. The best safeguard against the abuse of a right is the coupling of a responsibility of that right. I maintain that California has power to protect its citizens against irresponsible mobs. If we as Californians do not choose to exercise our rights, privileges and powers, we neglect our duty and have none but ourselves to blame."⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, "Roosevelt on Morality," *The Broom* (June 14, 1937), 1.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² "De Aryan Enters Race for Assembly," *San Diego Union* (April 15, 1938), 3.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

It is clear through this speech and his previous actions that de Aryan was very much against picketing, strikes, and labor unions. De Aryan was even shown in a photo a few weeks later where he was picketing the picketers.⁴⁴⁵ In the end, he lost the Assemblyman post to Lester J. Penry by a vote of 4,585 to 2,526, which was much closer than any of the other elections in had ran in.⁴⁴⁶

Genevieve de Aryan sued C. Leon de Aryan for divorce in March of 1938, stating that de Aryan had abandoned her in 1936, though he remained under the same roof for the sake of their two children.⁴⁴⁷ The courts would not let them formally divorce because of the children involved in the marriage.⁴⁴⁸ De Aryan later claimed that they parted because Genevieve joined Mazdaznan because of their relationship, but did not truly understand it herself.⁴⁴⁹

While *The Broom* addressed many topics, de Aryan focused much of the articles on the Jewish American community, whom he believed were against him. In these articles, de Aryan exhibited a great personal prejudice against the Jewish population. Though *The Broom* was not overtly antisemitic during its first few years, it is clear what de Aryan's views on Jews were during this time period. De Aryan's antisemitism was a part of the larger trend of antisemitism that resurged in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. This modern antisemitism stemmed from a reaction to the increased Jewish immigration of the 1890s. This large group of Jewish immigrants, combined with worsening economic conditions and social problems, led to more

⁴⁴⁵ Photo, *San Diego Union* (October 21, 1938), 28.

⁴⁴⁶ *San Diego Union* (September 1, 1938), 2.

⁴⁴⁷ "Reconciliation Impossible DeAryans Tell Judge," *The San Diego Union* (December 19, 1940), 6.

⁴⁴⁸ "Breaking Matrimonial Change," reprinted in *The Broom* (December 16, 1940), 4.

⁴⁴⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Chats with Gladys: Stupidity of Striking," *The Broom* (June 17, 1946), 3.

antisemitic attitudes and discrimination.⁴⁵⁰ In the 1920s, antisemitism again grew in popularity, due in part to a conservative resurgence and anti-immigrant attitudes. Leonard Dinnerstein held that antisemitism grew in the 1920s but accelerated more in the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁵¹ Nationally, Father Coughlin's radio program helped to spread antisemitism, and one poll in 1938 noted that as much as one-third of the American public backed Coughlin's antisemitic ideas.⁴⁵² In San Diego, social antisemitism was prominent, and Jews were not accepted into fraternities or sororities on college campuses.⁴⁵³ There was also a "gentile-only!" San Diego Social Club that advertised in *The Broom*.⁴⁵⁴

De Aryan's views on Jews were very clear in his publication *The Broom*. It is difficult to discern whether Mazdaznan followers were all as antisemitic as de Aryan. It is likely that they held their own individual views on the subject. However, their teachings were clearly antisemitic in nature. However, Dr. Ha'nish stated on at least one occasion that Jews and Mazdaznan were the same, since they were both pacifists.⁴⁵⁵ Leonard Dinnerstein theorized that much of America's antisemitism came from European roots, where the image of the Jew as a clever and dishonest businessperson originated.⁴⁵⁶ Dinnerstein also believed that in the early 20th century American antisemitism was spread by newspapers, who began advertising for

⁴⁵⁰ Robert Michael, *A Concise History of American Antisemitism* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 97.

⁴⁵¹ Leonard Dinnerstein, *Uneasy at Home* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 178.

⁴⁵² Marc Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 85.

⁴⁵³ Baron, "From Minyan to Matriculation," 136.

⁴⁵⁴ Advertisement, *The Broom* (October 13, 1941), 3.

⁴⁵⁵ Dr. Ha'nish, "Jewish New Year," *The Broom* (January 6, 1936), 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in the United States*, (New York: Hold, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971), 2.

“Christians only.”⁴⁵⁷ De Aryan and *The Broom* were certainly a part of this long-standing tradition. One of the fundamental ways that de Aryan attempted to spread antisemitism was to claim that Jews were persecuting him personally, thereby making the “Jews” as a group the enemy to the common working man.⁴⁵⁸

In 1940, *The Broom* was banned by the country of Canada, who saw it as a subversive newspaper.⁴⁵⁹ De Aryan believed this was evidence that his paper was gaining in popularity, and Canada saw it as a threat. By the middle of 1940, de Aryan claimed there were 1750 subscriptions to *The Broom*.⁴⁶⁰ By 1946, reporter John Roy Carlson claimed there were 7,500 subscribers to the weekly.⁴⁶¹ *The Broom* was gaining in popularity, presumably amongst the radical right and those who believed in alternative religion.⁴⁶²

De Aryan’s political ideology is difficult to discern fully. He was an advocate of American democracy, and did not support socialism or communism, and claimed not to support facism. However, with his aggressive antisemitic views, and Mazdaznan’s teachings on an Aryan-only world, his concept of democracy was limited to whites only. He supported Capitalism and small business. De Aryan was supportive of taxes, but not of what he believed was “over-taxing.” He was not supportive of unions, yet considered himself to be helping the every man. His views and political writings are inconsistent. However, one thing is clear: de Aryan believed that his views are important and “the truth.”

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁵⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “We Must Solve the Jewish Problem,” *The Broom* (February 7, 1944), 2.

⁴⁵⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Broom ‘Verboten’ in Canada,” *The Broom* (May 27, 1940), 1.

⁴⁶⁰ *The Broom* (May 6, 1940), 1.

⁴⁶¹ John Roy Carlson, “The Nine Men Against America,” *The Pageant*, reprinted in *The Broom* (March 25, 1946), 2.

⁴⁶² See Appendix.

De Aryan had spent nearly ten years in San Diego establishing *The Broom* and making himself a well-known citizen. De Aryan's unique views began to make him unpopular in local media. However, seemingly San Diego citizens were still at least mildly welcoming to de Aryan and to other radical right groups such as the KKK and the Silver Shirts. Though the media did not seem to support him, his political popularity grew, and he did well in an election. This tolerance of de Aryan and the other groups give an insight to San Diego during the time period; the city tolerated the right wing agenda.

Even with his local reputation waning, his newspaper was growing at a steady rate. It seems that though not all of San Diego agreed with him, nationally there were many who did. Towards the end of the 1930s, de Aryan's paper began to make the change from being a local newspaper to being a national newspaper, and de Aryan was a part of the larger trend of radical right newspapers that criticized the United States government. During the first ten years of the publication, *The Broom* also focused more and more on Mazdaznan, with "The Sun-Work Shop" becoming an integral part of the weekly, along with his critical political commentary. As de Aryan became more radical in his politics and his antisemitism, the government again began to take a renewed interest in him, and he would soon again be on their radar.

Chapter Four

By 1941, C. Leon de Aryan was well established in San Diego, California. His newspaper, *The Broom*, had been running for about ten years. De Aryan was fully supporting his family solely on the funds from *The Broom*, which indicates its, at least, marginal success. De Aryan had run, unsuccessfully, for political office multiple times. He had become a journalist of note in San Diego and a part of the world of politics in San Diego. However, between the years of 1930 and 1941, the public's opinion of C. Leon de Aryan had changed, if the tone of the articles in the local newspapers were truly reflecting the opinions of the town in general. When de Aryan first arrived in San Diego, he was praised for starting the Civic Forum and he and his wife were invited to many social functions. However, by 1941, de Aryan had become less popular with the city of San Diego, was mocked for his clashes with local politicians.

One example of the change in the way de Aryan was portrayed in the newspapers occurred in 1941. In the spring of that year it was reported that de Aryan had made a citizen's arrest, attempting to send a young waitress, who was also a picketer, to jail over a parking ticket.⁴⁶³ De Aryan apparently felt that the local police were not doing their jobs, and that he should step in. De Aryan stated that he made the arrest "because the police, having been notified, refused for a month and a half to give tickets to the [strikers] for overparking [sic] in that district."⁴⁶⁴ The woman later paid a one-dollar fine to avoid a court hearing.⁴⁶⁵ There were three articles on the incident, and the newspaper, it seemed, no longer took de Aryan seriously in his quests to bring justice to San Diego. Instead of his previous focus on important political

⁴⁶³ "Picket Faces Parking Charge," *The San Diego Union* (April 30, 1941), 7.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ "Overparking Admitted; Woman Pays \$1 Fine," *The San Diego Union* (June 14, 1941), 4.

matters, de Aryan had begun focusing on petty matters such as over parking. De Aryan may have claimed he arrested the girl to prevent over parking, but likely he was doing so because he was fundamentally against picketing and labor unions.

The world had also changed. With America entering World War II in 1941, de Aryan objected to the war. This made him a minority in San Diego, whose economy depended upon the business brought by the war. Possibly, the rejection of his persona stemmed from his criticizing of American involvement in the war. Overnight, San Diego had had gone from a sleepy Navy town to a metropolis.⁴⁶⁶ The population of San Diego increased by forty-three percent between 1940 and 1942 alone.⁴⁶⁷ Though San Diego had begun to view de Aryan as an outsider during the second half of the 1930s, his stance against the war solidified this attitude toward him because San Diego was a conservative and patriotic community.

Beginning in 1941, *The Broom* focused more on international affairs and the war; de Aryan wrote very little about Mazdaznan or himself that year, and even stopped writing the column “The Sun Work Shop.” He explained the change in the theme of the newspaper by stating that that his “duty is to show what produced the war, WHO produced the war and what the PURPOSE of the war is...”⁴⁶⁸ De Aryan’s antisemitism grew more harsh in 1941 and he began using the word “kike.”⁴⁶⁹ Many of the articles in 1941 focused on the war or on the Jews

⁴⁶⁶ Shragge, “‘A New Federal City’: San Diego During World War II,” 334.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 343; 1940 population of 192,486 and 1942 population of 276,00 residents.

⁴⁶⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “Lindbergh Tells the Truth,” *The Broom* (July 7, 1941), 1.

⁴⁶⁹ “Fastest Thing on Wheels,” a poem with three lines, “A Kike, Through the Reich, on a Bike,” *The Broom* (August 4, 1941), 3; C. Leon de Aryan, “Blackmail of Mazdaznan Association Backfires,” *The Broom* (August 4, 1941), 2.

and their “control” over the war that was being fought in Europe and Asia.⁴⁷⁰ There was even a short-run column entitled “Jews in Key-Positions,” where de Aryan detailed new jobs that “Jews” had acquired in high political position under President Roosevelt. De Aryan believed that the Jews had created the war for profit, and that they were also at fault for the ending of his contract with local radio station KGB, who fired him for his antisemitic remarks in May of 1941.⁴⁷¹

In October of 1941, de Aryan detailed his support of Charles Lindbergh, who was also antisemitic and antiwar, where he stated that “Lindbergh is not going to be bothered by the Jews because if anything befell that young man it would be the beginning of American pogroms, believe it or not.”⁴⁷² He continued with, “...you must not say anything about the Jews, no matter how rotten their conduct is, how arrogant their usurpation and how criminal their subversion of the Constitution. Jews must be permitted to make wars in Europe and draft us to fight wars for them.”⁴⁷³ Despite de Aryan’s professed pacificism, his incendiary language threatens violence and genocide.

Though de Aryan was more violent than he claimed, he was contradictory in his writings. De Aryan denounced Hitler, stating that “The Aryan is not a murderer. Hitler, as well as Moses, place their faith in violence. Neither of them Aryan, but represents the mongrel breeds as well, naturally, their attitudes towards life. Both of them are using force to overcome their own

⁴⁷⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “Jews are Mongolians or Negroids,” *The Broom* (September 22, 1941), 2; C. Leon de Aryan, “Was Jesus Christ an anti-Semite Also? Who Spreads Antisemitism,” *The Broom* (November 10, 1941), 1; C. Leon de Aryan, untitled, *The Broom* (October 13, 1941), 2; C. Leon de Aryan, “Jews Ask for It,” *The Broom* (August 11, 1941), 1.

⁴⁷¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “‘Broom’ Off the Air: Anti Defamation League Wants Broom Silenced,” *The Broom* (June 2, 1941), 1.

⁴⁷² *The Broom* (October 13, 1941), 3.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

inferiority complexes, not being pure Aryan, in flesh or spirit.⁴⁷⁴ Despite the conflict with Hitler and the Nazis and the rejection of Hitler's notions of Aryan Supremacy (not believing it to be the same as Mazdaznan's), de Aryan's antisemitism did not subside. In fact, it seemingly increased.

De Aryan wholeheartedly believed that Jews were also at fault for antisemitism:

The real anti-Semite is the Jew who is hateful, spiteful, vengeful, purblind and betrays his public trust. Were it not for the large number of Jews, who are aided and abetted by the wily "smart" Jews, dealers in usury and in capitalized and commercialized vice, there would be no anti-Semitism. They create it, they spread it, and they finally become the victims of their own viciousness, dragging the whole clan with them because Jews are clannish and not individualistic.⁴⁷⁵

According to historian Marc Dollinger, the opposition to Hitler had no effect on domestic antisemitism, which was worse during the war years than it was previously.⁴⁷⁶ De Aryan was clearly a part of this trend. Dollinger attributed this to the fears that Americans felt during the wartime, which led Americans to reverting to old stereotypes and hatreds.⁴⁷⁷ Leonard Dinnerstein agreed that antisemitism intensified during periods of social and economic crises.⁴⁷⁸

De Aryan's antisemitism stemmed from his interpretation of the Mazdaznan religion.

Mazdaznan taught race purity, stating that:

Each race must keep itself free from intermixing with other races, that each may bring out the best so they won't interfere with each other. It is not a teaching of race hatred but a teaching of race respect. No self-respecting racial

⁴⁷⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, "'Mein Kampf,' Hebraic Not Aryan," *The Broom* (October 2, 1944), 5.

⁴⁷⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, "Was Jesus Christ an anti-Semite Also? Who Spreads Anti-Semitism?" *The Broom*, (November 10, 1941), 1.

⁴⁷⁶ Dollinger, *The Quest for Inclusion*, 78.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Dinnerstein, *Uneasy at Home*, 259.

look for a mate except to one who is his equal. In this way each race fulfills the purpose God gave it when He created them different and distinct. Mazdaznan does not teach race hatred. Mazdaznan does not teach race supremacy of the white man over the colored man. Mazdaznan teaches non-encroachment of one race into the realm of the other. It teaches respect, self respect, for each race, because God made them different and distinct and gave them different ways of life.⁴⁷⁹

Yet, he believed he was defending the Jews against Hitler and condemned violence against them.

Still, his tone suggested otherwise:

Contrary to the teachings of the Nazis, Himmler and the Gestapo, the Aryan does not hate the Jew, even though he refuses to submit to his arrogance where it attacks the white man. The Mazdaznan Aryan does not have to submit to Jewish rule because in competition he can run circles around the Kike. He does not have to use violence and concentration camps to protect himself against the vily [sic] and unscrupulous Kike, because he can trip him up before the poor witted Jew can reach him effectively. Superior people prove it by the use of their mind. Only inferiority complexes react violently.⁴⁸⁰

From this quote, it is easy to see that de Aryan believed Jews to be reaching above their station.

De Aryan believed that the Jew should be brought down and humbled.

While de Aryan was certainly right-wing and antisemitic, that did not make him a Nazi. Though they are often intertwined, antisemitism and Nazism are too often regarded as being the same ideology, which they were not. The Nazis were in power for a little over ten years, antisemitism existed centuries before them and continued to exist after their defeat. Though de Aryan clearly agreed with the Nazis ideas of white supremacy and the Aryan race, de Aryan did not agree with their political agenda. De Aryan was against big government, against a state-run economy, against totalitarianism, and he was a pacifist due to his religious beliefs.

⁴⁷⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Blackmail of Mazdaznan Association Backfires," *The Broom* (August 4, 1941), 2.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

De Aryan believed that the Nazis were just “mongrels” posing as Aryans; he even claimed that the Nazis were funded by the Jews.⁴⁸¹ Though this distinction does not mean that de Aryan was not highly antisemitic, it does suggest that those who have written de Aryan off as a Nazi were incorrect in their assumptions.

De Aryan not only denounced Nazism, but Communism and Socialism as well, because he thought them to be a “remnant of Mongolian herd-tendencies.”⁴⁸² Because Mazdaznan believed in individualism, de Aryan saw these political beliefs as the beliefs of followers, not leaders. He did not believe that any of the leaders of the time were correct, but that true Aryans did not need to be led by “Hirohito, Chiang-Kai-Shek, Stalin, Hitler, Churchill or Roosevelt.”⁴⁸³

Additionally, Mazdaznan, de Aryan’s faith, was officially regarded as an enemy by the Nazi regime, which banned the religion early on. According to scholar Peter Soudenmaier, In 1941 the Nazis began an anti-occult campaign, where they targeted the cults that they thought went against their ideology.⁴⁸⁴ Interestingly, he found that through his extensive research that, “official Nazi hostility toward organized occult groups depended as much on underlying ideological similarity as on overt ideological distance.”⁴⁸⁵ Meaning that they targeted both ideologies that were dissimilar or even too similar to their own. Mazdaznan and the Aryan supremacy idolized by the Nazi Regime were similar in many ways. But, Nazis attempted to stamp out the religion due both to this similarity and to their two ideological differences:

⁴⁸¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “No Jew Domination,” *The Broom* (March 24, 1941), 3.

⁴⁸² C. Leon de Aryan, “The Sun Work Shop: America’s Destiny,” *The Broom* (September 27, 1943), 3.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ Peter Soudenmaier, “Between Occultism and Fascism: Anthroposophy and Politics of Race and Nation in Germany and Italy, 1900-1945” (PhD Dissertation, Cornell University, 2010), 355.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Mazdaznan worshipped a God, not Hitler, and Mazdaznan did not openly support the killing of Jews in their writings. The Gestapo had banned Mazdaznan officially on November 5, 1935, labeling it a competitor to “Nazi efforts to appropriate and assimilate alternative spiritual tendencies.”⁴⁸⁶

From the start, de Aryan was vocally against United States involvement in World War II and Present Roosevelt’s administration’s support of it. He was seemingly against war of any type, and he fervently believed that the United States should stay out of the war with the Axis powers. As a result, de Aryan’s politics led to his interrogation by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in 1941.⁴⁸⁷

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was created on January 27, 1941, with the mission to “investigate, ascertain, collate, and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National Defense Program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially.”⁴⁸⁸ The questioning focused on the issues of German and Japanese infiltration into American life. The committee conducted public hearings between 1941 and 1943.⁴⁸⁹ There were 3,980 pages of testimony recorded before the report was made to the California Senate in March of 1943.⁴⁹⁰ De Aryan would not have been a part of the questioning if California’s government officials did not consider him an important player in the extreme right politics of the time.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 381.

⁴⁸⁷ “Voices of Defeat,” *Life* (April 13, 1942), 86.

⁴⁸⁸ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 7.

In early 1942, de Aryan was deposed in the city council chamber at the San Diego Civic Center as part of the investigation of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities.⁴⁹¹ The committee consisted of Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, Assemblyman Hugh Burns, Nelson Dillworth, and R. E. Combs.⁴⁹² This fact finding committee found that “Anti-Semitism is growing in California” and they believed that de Aryan was a part of this problem.⁴⁹³ The committee was suspicious of antisemitism because it was both difficult to combat and created opportunity for Nazism to infiltrate The United States. The committee aimed at battling Nazism both abroad and on the home front. The introduction explains why this report was so important to the committee at the time:

This global conflict is a *two front* war. It is a war of ships and tanks, of bombers and guns. It is also a war of *ideas*. In the final analysis the conflict is not simply to determine the victorious nation or nations, but to determine what *ideas* will rule the world.⁴⁹⁴

The committee questioned de Aryan in categories ranging from Un-American Activities in California, Anti-Semitism, and Nazi Activities. The committee called *The Broom* “notoriously anti-Semitic, isolationist and anti-Roosevelt.”⁴⁹⁵ During this questioning, de Aryan admitted to attending at least one meeting of the Friends of Progress and two meetings of the German Bund; he claimed he attended both as a reporter only.⁴⁹⁶ He also stated that he only met Robert Noble,

⁴⁹¹ “Bund Meetings Told at Local Anti-Axis Probe: Witness Admits Bias Against Jews to Assemblymen,” *The San Diego Union* (February 20, 1942), 1.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 248.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.

a Friends of Progress member, because he was trying to find a way to be helpful to the war even though he was a conscientious objector.⁴⁹⁷ However, this was likely just an excuse.

The committee had zeroed in on two groups during the investigation, the Friends of Progress and the German American Bund, because they believed them to be Nazi supporters. The German American Bund began in 1924 in Chicago, and flourished throughout the Depression.⁴⁹⁸ The Bund was backed by Nazi money, and in turn spread Nazi propaganda throughout the United States.⁴⁹⁹ According to journalist John Roy Carlson, the Bund also claimed that Jesus was not a Jew.⁵⁰⁰ The Friends of Progress was run by Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones, a journalist who later wrote for *The Broom*.⁵⁰¹ The group was firmly against the war effort, and also radically right wing as well as Nazi supporters.

In response to the committee's questioning, de Aryan claimed to be the only person responsible for *The Broom*, which he argued was against Communism and Marxism.⁵⁰² De Aryan stated that he was so anti-Communist that leftists in the San Diego area had been slandering him for years; occasionally they even called him and made death threats.⁵⁰³ According to de Aryan, he knew when a Communist called him on the phone, because the "guttural sound" in their voices gave them away.⁵⁰⁴ It seems as though de Aryan's assessment of

⁴⁹⁷ "Pro-Axis Meetings Described to Legislators in S.D. Query," *The San Diego Union* (February 20, 1942), 3.

⁴⁹⁸ John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover: My Four Years in the Nazi Underworld of America* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc, 1943), 111.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover*, 114.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 277.

⁵⁰² *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

the “sound” of communists was not all that impressive to the committee or to journalists, who mocked him for it. *The San Diego Union* stated that laughter at de Aryan’s statement “almost disrupted the meeting.”⁵⁰⁵

During the questioning, de Aryan was often called a fascist by newspapers such as the *PM*, a leftist national newspaper out of New York, but de Aryan claimed he was actually “an ultra-conservative Republican.”⁵⁰⁶ In his explanation of his antipathy for Jews, de Aryan stated that there were too many Jews in government for it to truly represent the American people, but that he was opposed to all persecution.⁵⁰⁷ Of course, de Aryan’s verbal persecution of Jews in his newspaper went against this statement.

Though anyone who had read *The Broom* would have known that de Aryan was antisemitic, this was the first time that the San Diego papers spoke of his antisemitism. Possibly, it was acceptable locally before the war started and the government declared antisemitism to be a threat to United States’ involvement in the war. De Aryan’s questioning made his antisemitism a topic of interest to the San Diego papers for the first time, because it called into question de Aryan’s loyalty to the country during wartime.

The questioning of de Aryan in the Tenney meetings further eroded his reputation amongst San Diegans, who were generally very patriotic and supportive of the war effort. Less than a month after the deposition, de Aryan was relieved of his duties as an air raid warden of the civilian defense.⁵⁰⁸ The official reason given for his dismissal was that de Aryan had been “out

⁵⁰⁵ “Bund Meetings Told at Local Anti-Axis Probe: Witness Admits Bias Against Jews to Assemblymen,” *The San Diego Union* (February 20, 1942), 1.

⁵⁰⁶ “Will Sue ‘P.M’ for Libel,” *The Broom* (March 23, 1942), 1; The *PM* was a leftists national newspaper based out of New York City that was published between 1940 and 1948.

⁵⁰⁷ “Pro-Axis Meetings Described to Legislators in S.D. Query,” *The San Diego Union* (February 20, 1942), 3.

⁵⁰⁸ “De Aryan Fired as Raid Warden,” *The San Diego Union* (March 14, 1942), 5.

of harmony with other members of the group.”⁵⁰⁹ Likely, it was more due to his waning popularity, combative personality, and his opposition to the war. Though the city had grown increasingly cold towards de Aryan by 1935, they began actively snubbing the “crackpot” after the indictment.

Though local support waned, de Aryan was not friendless during the questioning. Eightieth District Assemblyman Paul A. Richie wrote a letter in May of 1942 defending de Aryan while he was being questioned by the Un-American Activities Committee. Richie stated that even though he did not agree with de Aryan and his Jewish prejudice, de Aryan was not a dangerous or disloyal man.⁵¹⁰ Richie defended de Aryan’s acquaintance with Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones; Richie himself revealed he had met the men, and that did not make him dangerous. Richie stated that “I am simply on de Aryan’s side in the face of petty--or perhaps more serious--persecution. If he is in any manner a criminal or dangerous man, then I am a Hindu prophet, and you are the Queen of Sheba.”⁵¹¹

Local banker J. W. Sefton even praised de Aryan; he stated that though he did not always agree with him, but that de Aryan was “completely honest and incorruptible.”⁵¹² District Attorney Thomas Whelan also defended de Aryan, stating that although the journalist had “taken extreme views on many public subjects” he had never “doubted his honesty or sincerity of purpose.”⁵¹³ Superior Court Judge Edward J. Kelly, Manager of KGB, S. W. Fuller, and Joe L.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Paul A. Richie, “Hindu Prophet and Queen of Sheba,” *The Broom* (May 4, 1942), 4.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² “San Diego Men Come to Aid of De Aryan,” *The San Diego Union* (March 19, 1942), 10.

⁵¹³ “Who is Un-American? Prominent San Diegan’s Defend de Aryan’s Rights,” *The Broom* (March 23, 1942), 1.

Shell, Judge of Municipal Court, also wrote letters in de Aryan's defense.⁵¹⁴ This local support shows that San Diegan politicians were not alarmed by de Aryan's antisemitism and ideologies.

Even after de Aryan was deposed and he knew that the government was interested in his politics, he still often spoke and wrote negatively of Jews; he believed that the Jews were threatening his advertisers with boycotts.⁵¹⁵ In early May of 1942, de Aryan argued with those who called him antisemitic. He claimed that "[his] work is being described as 'anti-Semitic'" but "it becomes anti-Semitic only in the eyes of the type of Jews who still worship Mammon above God" and that "trouble with the Jew is he insists in being 'a race apart' from us Americans."⁵¹⁶ According to de Aryan, "The Jew insists on being a Jew, in place of being an American."⁵¹⁷ A few weeks later, de Aryan wrote, "In HIS heart there is not hate for any for any of his children, be they Jews or Japs."⁵¹⁸ This fits with de Aryan's writings on Jews overall: he was obviously antisemitic, but he believed that he was really in support of the "right" kind of Jews.

In May of 1942, despite his decline in public status, de Aryan announced his candidacy for United States Congress.⁵¹⁹ In his campaign, he promised to "protect the rights of all American citizens, regardless of their origin or nativity, religion or political affiliation or non-affiliation."⁵²⁰ However, this campaign had no chance from the start given de Aryan's recent

⁵¹⁴ *The Broom*, (March 23, 1942), 1, 3.

⁵¹⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, "The Picture is Clearing: The American Way of Life," *The Broom* (May 4, 1942), 2.

⁵¹⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, "Saturday Evening Post Fired Editor Stout," *The Broom* (May 11, 1942), 2.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid*

⁵¹⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, "Thy Will Be Done on Earth," *The Broom* (May 25, 1942), 3.

⁵¹⁹ "De Aryan Opens Congress Race," *The San Diego Union* (May 5, 1942), 10.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid*.

questioning and the implication that he was affiliated with such radical groups as the German American Bund and the Friends of Progress. Even though he denied it, the public now associated him with these criminal subversives.

The government's interest in de Aryan was not over. After facing questioning by the state, de Aryan was included in a federal indictment for conspiracy. He became one of the twenty-eight men and women arrested for sedition on July 22, 1942.⁵²¹ Of the twenty-eight arrested, eight were from Southern California.⁵²² De Aryan was charged with "conspiracy to demoralize the armed forces," which by definition included attempts at undermining the war effort with all males ages eighteen to forty-four, even if they were not enlisted.⁵²³ The official reason for the arrest was that de Aryan had mailed two issues of *The Broom* to Washington, D. C.; this made him eligible for the sedition trial because all twenty-eight of those arrested had sent materials to the capital.⁵²⁴ De Aryan was seen as a part of a larger conspiracy. Other defendants believed that they were being tried due to their antisemitism and their blatant criticism of the New Deal.⁵²⁵ De Aryan was booked into the San Diego County jail without bail.⁵²⁶ He alleged that the people behind his arrest were not the U.S. Government but the Anti-Defamation Committee of the B'nai B'rith.⁵²⁷

⁵²¹ "De Aryan Jailed on Federal Warrant Charging Sedition: Take on Telegraphic Request After Investigation, Editor Held Without Bail," *The San Diego Union* (July 23, 1942), 1.

⁵²² "U.S. Indicts 28 in Morale Plot," *The Los Angeles Times* (July 23, 1942), 1.

⁵²³ C. Leon de Aryan, "The 'Sabotaging' Of the American Press," *The Broom* (April 19, 1943), 1.

⁵²⁴ "De Aryan Goes on Food Strike; Denies Guilt," *The San Diego Union* (July 24, 1942), 4.

⁵²⁵ Glen Jeansonne, *Women of the Far Right: The Mothers' Movement and World War II* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 156.

⁵²⁶ "U.S. Indicts 28 in Morale Plot," *The Los Angeles Times* (July 23, 1942), 1.

⁵²⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, "Story of My Incarceration," *The Broom* (May 24, 1943), 1.

After his arrest, de Aryan pled not guilty and was held under a \$5,000 bond.⁵²⁸ Following in his old friend Linn A. E. Gale's footsteps, de Aryan immediately decided to go on a hunger strike until he made bail.⁵²⁹ De Aryan stated: "I came to the United States because I hate European tyrannies, Communism, Nazism, Fascism, totalitarianism. Now they try to make me a conspirator for the very things I hate and despise."⁵³⁰

De Aryan's bail was refused because of his dishonorable discharge from the U.S. Army.⁵³¹ Three people swore he would not flee if this were reversed: Edgar A. Luce, a former superior court judge, Superior Court Judge Edward J. Kelly, and U.S. Commissioner George Baird.⁵³² San Diegan local and former judge Edgar Hervey stated that he did not believe that de Aryan would intentionally harm the United States, but that his articles were not conducive to the best interests of the country.⁵³³ It is unknown why these men supported de Aryan. The government argued that it had "secret information" about de Aryan beginning in 1917 that would not be made available to the public but that would prevent de Aryan's release on bail.⁵³⁴ Undoubtedly they meant the information gathered earlier by the F.B.I.

De Aryan had other supporters as well. The editor of the *Vista Press*, a town about twenty miles from San Diego, wrote that "de Aryan has always appeared to the writer to be a man who is a crusader without a governor. You cannot remove a strong wall by butting your

⁵²⁸ "De Aryan Goes on Food Strike: Pleads Innocence At Arraignment," *The San Diego Union* (July 24, 1942), 1.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ "De Aryan Goes on Food Strike; Denies Guilt," *The San Diego Union* (July 24, 1942), 4.

⁵³¹ "Many Testify as to de Aryan's Trustworthiness," *The Broom* (August 3, 1942), 1.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ "De Aryan Loses Appeal for Bail Reduction," *The San Diego Union* (July 31, 1942), 7.

⁵³⁴ "De Aryan Bond Jumping Feared If Bail Lowered," *The San Diego Union* (July 30, 1942), 13.

head against it...*The Broom* has various statements that should class its editor as a patriotic American citizen.”⁵³⁵ This local support indicates that others were sympathetic to de Aryan and not particularly disturbed by his ideas of antisemitism.

De Aryan believed that he was arrested for sedition because he was against Roosevelt and what de Aryan referred to as the “Jew Deal,” a phrase use commonly by those who did not support the president’s economic plans and opposed his relationship with Jews.⁵³⁶ De Aryan attempted to support his theory by stating that the government persecuted, “Anyone opposed to the Roosevelt, Rosenman, Lehman, Baruch, Moregenthau, Frankfurter and Rothschild dynasty in these U.S.A. IS a ‘Nazi,’” regardless of their patriotism.⁵³⁷

Journalists of the era differed on their view of de Aryan’s guilt in the Sedition indictments; some even questioned the validity of his inclusion altogether. Some saw de Aryan as just a nuisance, who was caught up in the trial because of his antisemitism. Others believed that de Aryan was truly a dangerous individual. Dillard Stokes of *The Washington Post* claimed that *The Broom* was one of many “verminous little sheets, each with a few thousand readers...gnawing away at the faith and unity of our people, whispering defeat and clamoring about ‘freedom of the press.’”⁵³⁸ Stokes believed that *The Broom* was monetarily backed by Germany, and its aim was to split America from the allies.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ “His ‘Newspaper Week’ In Jail,” *The Vista Press*, reprinted in *The Broom* (October 5, 1942), 4.

⁵³⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, “de Aryan, ‘Fugitive from Justice,’” *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 2; C. Leon de Aryan, “The ‘Sabotaging’ of the American Press,” *The Broom* (April 19, 1943), 1; Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 113.

⁵³⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, “de Aryan, ‘Fugitive from Justice,’” *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 2.

⁵³⁸ Dillard Stokes, “*The Broom*’s Editor Raises Dust of Lies,” reprinted from *Washington Post* Article on April 11, 1942, *The Broom* (April 20, 1942), 3.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

Despite his arrest, de Aryan attempted to continue his run for Congress. Before his incarceration in 1942, de Aryan had a weekly radio program on KGB entitled “de Aryan for Congress;” it ran Thursdays at five o’clock.⁵⁴⁰ Even after his arrest, de Aryan’s estranged wife, Genevieve, continued his campaign.⁵⁴¹ However, this election proved to be his worse loss yet; de Aryan received the lowest amount of votes among five candidates.⁵⁴² De Aryan received 683 votes, and James B. Abbey won with 10,373 votes.⁵⁴³

On September 28, 1942, C. Leon de Aryan was transported to Washington D.C..⁵⁴⁴ He had spent more than two months in jail in San Diego while awaiting the government’s next move. De Aryan was again indicted in January of 1943.⁵⁴⁵ His bail was reduced to \$1000, and he made bail and awaited the trial in Washington D.C..⁵⁴⁶

While de Aryan was detained on and off between July and January, his son Fred took over the day-to-day running of the newspaper.⁵⁴⁷ During this time period, de Aryan wrote letters from jail, but most of the articles were written by Fred and by the newspaper’s printer, Roy O. Akers. In these issues, there was a reduction in remarks regarding Jews. This possibly shows

⁵⁴⁰ De Aryan had previously been kicked off the station, but was allowed to return as long as he did not promote *The Broom*.

⁵⁴¹ “Many Testify as to de Aryan’s Trustworthiness,” *The Broom* (August 3, 1942), 1.

⁵⁴² “San Diego Results in Brief; Complete for 709 Precincts,” *The San Diego Union* (August 27, 1942), 2.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ “De Aryan Taken East for Trial,” *The San Diego Union* (September 29, 1942), 5.

⁵⁴⁵ “De Aryan Freed on \$1000 Bail to Await Trial,” *The San Diego Union* (January 19, 1943), 13; There were three separate indictments for the Sedition Trial because they continued to not come to trial, de Aryan was involved in the first two and was dropped in the third.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ “13th Year Being Entered By *The Broom*,” *The Broom* (August 28, 1942), 2.

either that de Aryan was more antisemitic than his son Fred and Akers, or that they were afraid of being indicted themselves.

The sedition case changed the format of *The Broom* drastically. Because of his arrest and the monetary problems that ensued, the paper was reduced to half the size from July 27, 1942 to the end of the year.⁵⁴⁸ These issues did not contain much about Mazdaznan, usually just a short prayer. They also contained a larger number of advertisements than usual, showing just how desperate for money *The Broom* was, or that advertisers were more willing to buy pages after de Aryan gave up the ownership. These local advertisements, including many for the Piggly Wiggly and Solar Aircraft Company, show that at least some of the locals did not hold issue with de Aryan and his newspaper.⁵⁴⁹

Another famous right-wing supporter, William Dudley Pelley, was also involved in the Sedition Trial. De Aryan and William Dudley Pelley met while they were jailed together in Washington D. C.⁵⁵⁰ De Aryan's friendship with William Dudley Pelley was an significant one. De Aryan claimed multiple times that he had no relationship with Pelley, and that he drove the Silver Legion, a local branch of Pelley's group, out of San Diego singlehandedly.⁵⁵¹ However, even before they met, de Aryan wrote many articles in *The Broom* in support of Pelley and his ideology.⁵⁵² De Aryan was aware of Pelley's beliefs and writings as early as 1935, and republished them in *The Broom*.⁵⁵³ Though there is no proof that de Aryan met or corresponded

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ *The Broom* (September 7, 1942), 2-3.

⁵⁵⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, "Manacled to William Dudley Pelley," *The Broom* (November 8, 1943), 1.

⁵⁵¹ *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, 249.

⁵⁵² The first was printed February 4, 1935.

⁵⁵³ *The Broom* (February 4, 1935), 2

with Pelley before their meeting during the Sedition trial, it can be speculated that he followed his career closely, since Pelley was a national figure.

Though they had differing beliefs, their religiosity was extremely similar. Both men claimed to be Christians, though their writings put forward a religion much more centered on mysticism than Jesus Christ.⁵⁵⁴ Both men saw themselves as extremely important to their religious movements. Both used their newspaper articles to further their “cause” and give people what they needed: the “truth.”

Pelley was often considered to be a supporter of Hitler, because he praised Hitler in his many publications. However, John McIntyre Werly’s dissertation “The Millenarian Right” argues that Pelley was fundamentally against Hitler, in part because of Pelly’s religious beliefs. The author argues that Pelley’s hatred of Jews and Communism, which combined Pelley saw as the ultimate threat, was the reason why most believed the Silver Shirt founder to be a Nazi follower. Instead, Werly views Pelley’s beliefs as a “paranoid style...deeply embedded in the American fabric.”⁵⁵⁵

After being dropped from the indictment in January 1944, de Aryan returned to San Diego.⁵⁵⁶ The original purpose of the indictment was to prove that all of the twenty-eight that were indicted were involved in a “conspiracy.” Since some of those indicted had never even met, this proved to be a weak case. De Aryan, who had no previous direct association with the others, was dropped from the case so that the government could have a better chance of convicting the others in the eventual trial. Even the papers in Washington did not believe in the

⁵⁵⁴ Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley*, 180.

⁵⁵⁵ Werly, “The Millenarian Right,” 142.

⁵⁵⁶ “De Aryan Awaiting Trial,” *The San Diego Union* (January 4, 1944), 3.

“conspiracy” charge. Once the trial went ahead, it was clear that many of those who remained involved had little contact with each other, and that the only reason the defendants were charged is that they were all antisemitic.⁵⁵⁷

De Aryan chose to look at his arrest in a positive way, seeing it as an opportunity for his name to become a public one, and he saw this exposure as God’s work.⁵⁵⁸ De Aryan believed that by this time, 100,000 people “looked upon [him] as a representative agent of constitutional freedoms.”⁵⁵⁹ He saw his escape from a trial and eventual release as proof that the government did not want the world to know how much control the Jewish organizations had over them.⁵⁶⁰ De Aryan also believed that the government arrested him in order to interfere with the distribution of *The Broom*.⁵⁶¹

After de Aryan was cleared and returned to San Diego, he resumed the daily duties of running *The Broom*. However, again the tone of the newspaper changed. After his return, *The Broom* became both much more personal and much more nationally oriented. De Aryan began writing the columns “Adventures in America” and “Chats with Gladys,” which was based on conversations between de Aryan and a mythical woman, nicknamed Gladys. During these “chats” the woman was very naive about politics, love, and Mazdaznan. De Aryan would explain to Gladys how she should feel about the situation, and Gladys would feel much better afterwards, praising de Aryan and his kindness. In one, he explained his split with Genevieve, stating that

⁵⁵⁷ “The anti-Semitic Indictments,” *Washington Newspaper*, reprinted by *The Broom* (April 24, 1944), 1.

⁵⁵⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventure in America,” *The Broom* (October 11, 1943), 3.

⁵⁵⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Truth Stranger than Fiction,” *The Broom* (September 13, 1943), 1.

⁵⁶⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “Why the Jews Persecute Me,” *The Broom* (September 20, 1943), 2.

⁵⁶¹ C. Leon de Aryan, “The First Law of Nature,” *The Broom* (March 11, 1946), 3.

Once a woman and a man mate sexually then the sense of equality operate. The exercise of sex functions bring forth the unfulfilled desires and ideas in both. Therefore the one who is not as highly developed mentally and spiritually resents it when the other disapproves of the half-baked notions which are so dear to the mentally immature.⁵⁶²

These “Chats” showcased de Aryan’s feelings of superiority, how much he considered himself to be important to both Mazdaznan and politics, and his instability. Through these chats, de Aryan gave much of his life story that was detailed in previous chapters.

De Aryan and *The Broom* seem to have thrived after his release in 1943, as the paper went from being four pages to six pages. De Aryan believed that the paper was becoming a national paper, instead of a local one.⁵⁶³ Mazdaznan was not featured as prominently in the issues starting in the latter part of 1944, and de Aryan more frequently spoke of “Christ” as opposed to “Mazda,” probably due to the fact that the paper was gaining more national attention. From late October to December 1944, de Aryan did not once mention Mazdaznan in *The Broom*.

His antisemitic remarks continued along with his attempts to argue he was not against all Jews. Some “good friends” who were not “common Jews,” he insisted, had actually helped him financially.⁵⁶⁴ In fact, “real smart Jews” always treated him “with great respect, even reverence.”⁵⁶⁵ Yet, de Aryan still believed that it was the Jews who were behind his arrest for sedition.⁵⁶⁶ De Aryan did not believe that he was antisemitic in any way, instead maintaining

⁵⁶² C. Leon de Aryan, “Chats with Gladys: Stupidity of Striking,” *The Broom* (June 17, 1946), 3.

⁵⁶³ C. Leon de Aryan, “To Our San Diego Subscribers,” *The Broom* (December 11, 1944), 2.

⁵⁶⁴ C. Leon de Aryan, “Why the Jews Persecute Me,” *The Broom* (September 20, 1943), 2.

⁵⁶⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, “My Adventures in America,” *The Broom* (January 3, 1944), 4.

⁵⁶⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, “Why the Jews Persecute Me,” *The Broom* (September 20, 1943), 2; C. Leon de Aryan, “Story of My Incarceration,” *The Broom* (May 24, 1943), 1.

that he loved the Jews, and so he “makes them behave...could anyone love them any better?”⁵⁶⁷

In order to defend himself against those who were offended by his writings, de Aryan rationalized his antisemitism by arguing it was only out of love that he persecuted Jews, because it would make them better American citizens. It was a patronizing attitude that only affirmed more deeply his antisemitism.

Though he had been dropped from the sedition trial, de Aryan continued to cover it extensively in *The Broom*'s issues in 1944. Letters and articles poured in from Elizabeth Dilling and Robert Noble, who were included in the third indictment. If someone was interested in knowing the opinion of the defendants, *The Broom* was certainly the place to find it. In July of 1944, Dilling claimed that she was being starved and that she was being tried not for sedition, but for antisemitism.⁵⁶⁸ De Aryan continued to comment on the trial, where he claimed that “The 29 are being tried for anti-Semitism because the Jews cannot get them legally on that issue...they have been dragged in on the phony charge of ‘Conspiring with the Nazis.’”⁵⁶⁹ Eventually, the federal case was dropped when the presiding Judge died unexpectedly.

Historian Glen Jeansonne theorized that the trial was dropped for multiple reasons. First, it had been demonstrated that Hitler was antisemitic and that the defendants were antisemitic, but that it had not been demonstrated that there was a link between the two.⁵⁷⁰ Second, that there was no law against antisemitism in the United States.⁵⁷¹ Thirdly, the government's charges were

⁵⁶⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, “I Love the Jews, now they must behave,” *The Broom* (February 7, 1944), 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Elizabeth Dilling, “Justice by Slow Starvation,” *The Broom* (July 10, 1944), 2.

⁵⁶⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “What Happened to D.C. Attorneys?,” *The Broom* (May 29, 1944), 1.

⁵⁷⁰ Glen Jeansonne, *Women of the Far Right: The Mothers' Movement and World War II* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 161.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

so vague that it was difficult to discern exactly what the defendants were being charged with.⁵⁷²

The case was unorganized, unclear, and did not produce enough evidence to prove that the defendants had attempted to hurt the morale of the military. Jeansonne argues that the defendants, however despicable, did not conspire with Hitler and since they wrote for an audience that agreed with them, they did not convert many others.⁵⁷³ Furthermore, Jeansonne argued that the case allowed the defendants to obtain more publicity and popularity than they would have otherwise.⁵⁷⁴

In 1946, de Aryan again had trouble with the official Mazdaznan sect of Los Angeles; he defended *The Broom's* involvement with Mazdaznan, calling it as important as any other activity that supported the movement.⁵⁷⁵ He claimed that Mazdaznan followers during the time period were not even true vegetarians, and they were giving up their divinity.⁵⁷⁶ According to de Aryan, the Los Angeles Mazdaznan following was putting the deceased Dr. Ha'nish on the same level as Jesus Christ, who even Ha'nish thought to be superior to himself.⁵⁷⁷ Here, de Aryan admitted that he followed neither Jesus nor Ha'nish, believing both to be men, who had faults.⁵⁷⁸ Though there were clearly issues between de Aryan and the official temple of Mazdaznan in Los Angeles, his son, Fred, spoke there more than once after this second dispute.⁵⁷⁹ De Aryan's other son,

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ibid, 164.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ C. Leon de Aryan, "Duties of the Covenanters," *The Broom* (March 18, 1946), 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, "Chats with Gladys," *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, "Fred to Speak at L.A. Temple." *The Broom* (January 28, 1946), 3.

David, registered as Mazdaznan during his work for the Civilian Public Service, an alternative to service in World War II.⁵⁸⁰ He entered into the CPS on March 5, 1945 as a Lab assistant, where he was part of the American Friends Service Committee camps; these camps were the most religiously diverse and had the highest education level.⁵⁸¹

In 1946, John Roy Carlson, an exposé journalist who often wrote about the seditionists and others he believed were American Nazis, wrote about C. Leon de Aryan. Carlson spent many years in undercover journalism following radical right groups, and his later book, *The Plotters*, resulted from his experiences in the first year after the war was over. In *The Plotters*, Carlson devoted two pages to de Aryan. He began by informing readers that de Aryan was one of the many “friends of Nazism” that were once wearers of their country’s uniforms.⁵⁸² Carlson did extensive research on de Aryan, even following his travels to Belgium and his career in Mexico City. Carlson claimed that “de Aryan has repaid his adopted country by becoming one of its leading merchants of hate and disunity.”⁵⁸³

Later that year, John Roy Carlson again wrote about de Aryan in national magazine *The Pageant*, calling him one of the “Nine Men Against America,” and even stated that he was “leading the parade.”⁵⁸⁴ In the article, Carlson claimed that *The Broom* “appeals to the fist-

⁵⁸⁰ “Workers”, *The Civilian Public Service Story*, 101, accessed March 2013, <http://civilianpublicservice.org/workers/>.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² John Roy Carlson, *The Plotters*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1946), 158.

⁵⁸³ Ibid, 159.

⁵⁸⁴ John Roy Carlson, “The Nine Men Against America” *The Pageant*, reprinted in *The Broom* (March 25, 1946), 2.

swinging element of the American fascist underworld; its circulation estimated at about 7,500.”⁵⁸⁵

The later issues of *The Broom* show de Aryan’s decline in popularity among local businesses, though it seems that as he became more reactionary he also became more rejected by the San Diego public. Local advertisements lessened year by year, as de Aryan attributed many times to the rise of Jewish organizations who were against him and who threatened the businesses and those who advertised with him, stating that “Those Kikes claim to stand up for Liberty but in Truth they stand for Jewish dictatorship.”⁵⁸⁶ Instead, advertisements were mainly for other right-wing newspapers, such as the *Gentile News*, an antisemitic publication, and religious booklets based on Mazdaznan.

The story of C. Leon de Aryan shows a different side to the history of antisemitism and the extreme right in San Diego. Seemingly, San Diego was accepting of both his antisemitism and his right-wing politics. De Aryan demonstrated that he was not the only antisemitic person in San Diego multiple times in his newspaper. In one instance in the April 1, 1946 issue, de Aryan claimed that there was a blackboard on Orange Avenue in Coronado that stated, “Why build a big Navy when the Jews don’t even own a canoe and they control the world.”⁵⁸⁷

Though de Aryan used *The Broom* to further his extreme political ideas, including antisemitism, the main purpose of the newspaper was to spread the teachings of Mazdaznan to the masses, often using politics to support and push his religious agenda. According to de Aryan, “Without it [The Sun Work Shop], I would not spend five minutes of my life editing a

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ C. Leon de Aryan, *The Broom* (July 22, 1946), 2.

⁵⁸⁷ C. Leon de Aryan, “He Ain’t So Crazy,” *The Broom* (April 1, 1946), 1.

paper...here I lay the heart bare before you that you may see for yourself what makes life tick.”⁵⁸⁸

In order to do this successfully, de Aryan emphasized the Christian aspect of Mazdaznan, and deemphasized the more radical, or occult-like, beliefs of the religion. While both religions believed in a monotheistic presence (God and Mazda are used interchangeably in de Aryan’s writings), de Aryan stated that he did not believe in The Bible, but instead in seeking God without it.⁵⁸⁹ De Aryan wrote about Mazdaznan in almost every issue of *The Broom*, often multiple times. De Aryan even stated, more than once, that “This Sun-Work-Shop department is the heart of our paper. The rest is the necessary organism needed to express what our destiny is here...”⁵⁹⁰ De Aryan saw Mazdaznan as the “DESTINY of America, of the Aryan, white race at its best...and the U.S.A. is white man’s country in spite of the fact that we have admitted other races to citizenship.”⁵⁹¹

De Aryan’s position against World War II and his vocal political ideologies changed his life. He, along with many others with similar views, were involved in the Sedition Case of the 1940s. Though he was eventually dropped from the case, de Aryan’s inclusion early on shows how seriously the government took him and his publication. The case created his connections with other extremists such as William Dudley Pelley and propelled *The Broom* from a local publication to a national one.

⁵⁸⁸ C. Leon de Aryan, “The Sun Work Shop: The Will to Victory,” *The Broom* (April 19, 1943), 3.

⁵⁸⁹ C. Leon de Aryan, “Who is the Sovereign?,” *The Broom* (October 4, 1943), 1.

⁵⁹⁰ C. Leon de Aryan, “The Sun Work Shop: America’s Destiny,” *The Broom* (September 27, 1943), 3.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

Conclusion

De Aryan's political involvement did not end with his inclusion in, and dismissal from, the sedition trial. In the 1950s, de Aryan unsuccessfully sued the City of San Diego in an attempt to halt fluoridation, which he saw as a violation of his religious and medical rights.⁵⁹²

According to the *San Diego Union*, "De Aryan contended that if the program went ahead, it could invade the constitutional rights of citizens by subjecting them to mass medication; that it would invade the right of religious freedom of those whose religious beliefs are opposed to the taking of medicine in any form."⁵⁹³ The case reached the Supreme Court, and was dismissed. However, San Diego did halt fluoridation, for a time. By this time, de Aryan's beliefs were similarly aligned with other radical conservatives like the John Birch Society.

Even with his involvement in fluoridation, de Aryan was unable to again make himself relevant to San Diego life. After World War II, C. Leon de Aryan's importance and influence in San Diego and nationally began to lessen. Though he continued to publish *The Broom*, the publication became even more obsessed with Jews and white supremacy, at a time when antisemitism began to lessen nationally. According to scholar Leonard Dinnerstein, nationally, antisemitism began to wane in the 1950s, when "a larger segment of the American public realized that bigotry and discrimination were not in the national interest."⁵⁹⁴ Though Dinnerstein saw this as a national trend, it was not necessarily the case in San Diego, where antisemitism in housing flourished in La Jolla and Rancho Sante Fe in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁵⁹² "Extra Time Granted," *The San Diego Union* (February 2, 1953), 23.

⁵⁹³ "Jude O.K.'s Start of Fluoridation," *The San Diego Union* (April 4, 1952), 1.

⁵⁹⁴ Dinnerstein, *Uneasy at Home*, 187.

Though it maintained a decent following during the first half of the twentieth century, Mazdaznan began to decline in popularity during the 1970s.⁵⁹⁵ The last “priest” of the Mazdaznan religion in the Southern California area was Alfonso R. Calderon, who sold off Mazdaznan properties in San Diego in 1997.⁵⁹⁶ Calderon was born in Mexico City, where he began following Mazdaznan.⁵⁹⁷ After the 1990s, Mazdaznan seemed to disappear in the United States, though it had followers in many other countries into the 21st century, with large amount of literature being available online. Studies show that there are fewer than one-thousand followers in the world.⁵⁹⁸

The Broom was many things. It was anti-Roosevelt, anti-labor, and antisemitic. Scholars have neglected to discuss the newspapers religious component, which was very important. De Aryan’s religion of Mazdaznan was integral to his life, his politics, and his publication. Through *The Broom*, it can be seen that de Aryan’s religion and his politics were intertwined, and one affected the other.

De Aryan was likely a “crackpot” as he has been described by journalists, government officials, and scholars alike. However, he had an influence, and was a larger part of the radical right-wing than previously discussed. He has been treated as only someone who was mentally disturbed, and not as the important and influential public figure that he was. This study hopes to lead to a larger understanding of the diversity of the radical right-wing, as well as an understanding as to why the country did not lean towards the right in the era: the members were

⁵⁹⁵ Michael Stausberg, “Para-Zoroastrianisms,” 242.

⁵⁹⁶ Portillo, Ernesto Jr. “Mazdaznans ready to leave lofty retreat,” B-1.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

too diverse in their politics and their ideologies. Though de Aryan, Pelley, and Jones were members of the radical right, they were extremely different. It is difficult to prove just how influential de Aryan and *The Broom* were, however, when grouped with the other radical right publications of the time, they can be seen as having a great influence on American politics. This study is important because it gives us insight into the history of the modern radical right and their influence.

San Diego's tolerance of de Aryan and his publication, as well as of other extreme reactionary groups such as the Silver Shirts and the KKK reveal that the city was at least somewhat welcoming towards these right-wing groups. The city harbored these groups, as well as de Aryan, even when he was being questioned by the government. Perhaps, San Diego has ignored de Aryan in an attempt to forget the tolerance they extended the radical right.

C. Leon de Aryan died on December 13, 1965.⁵⁹⁹ In his obituary in *The San Diego Union*, the paper described him as a "controversial editor."⁶⁰⁰ De Aryan had lived and published *The Broom* in San Diego for thirty-five years before his death. With his life and his work on *The Broom*, de Aryan has given insight to the politics in San Diego, the acceptance of the right-wing presence there, and the diversity of the right wing political leaders of the time period.

⁵⁹⁹ California, Death Index, 1940-1997 [database on-line], accessed via ancestry.com.

⁶⁰⁰ "Controversial Editor, C. L. de Aryan's Funeral Planned," *The San Diego Union* (December 16, 1965), 73.

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