

# Airplane Tours for Meeting Freeman Army and Organizing a Direct Crusading Policy

By E. Haldeman-Julius

Action that stimulates ideas, ideas that lead to action! This is the spirit in which I am now intensely devoting myself to the progress of *The Freeman Army*. I have just worked out the best idea—I am sure of it—for real Army effectiveness. Let me explain this idea in a few words:

If we succeed in our campaign to add 25,000 new readers to *The American Freeman* list during the month of June, I shall make a tour or tours of the United States and hold personal organization meetings with the Army groups in every large city and its surrounding territory. We shall really get together, face to face, and talk over big plans for the future. I shall set aside the last three days of each week—Friday, Saturday and Sunday—for these trips of personal meeting and conference with *The Freeman Army* groups.

This is the modern age when speed counts—so it is my plan to obtain an airplane for this fast-traveling purpose. Thus I can hold ten or a dozen Army meetings each week in as many different cities. Also it will be possible for me (in an up-to-date airplane having a comfortable passenger cabin) to keep steadily at my editorial and publicity work for *The American Freeman* and the other Haldeman-Julius Publications.

But the greatest work that I can do by means of these airplane tours will be to perfect a powerful organization of *The Freeman Army* so that we shall have the most intimate contact of working side by side and closely cooperating in our fighting crusades. This plan is simple and realistic because it is thoroughly modern. It offers the greatest possibilities of action.

There is an alternative condition: when the Army reaches the 10,000 mark I shall begin these organization tours. The first proposition, however,

is that I shall arrange special airplane trips to meet the Army groups if 25,000 new readers are added to *The Freeman* list during June. The alternative is that when there are 10,000 members of *The Freeman Army* I shall inaugurate this policy of personal contact, meeting and talking and planning with Army groups during three days of each week. I shall make this a permanent policy, too—I shall not stop at one meeting with each Army group but shall plan repeated conferences so that, in fact, three days each week will be definitely set aside for personal contact with the Army members.

We can make this idea yield greater results by holding public meetings as well as the more confidential Army meetings. I shall deliver lectures on important public questions—on the very issues which we are agitating in *The American Freeman*—and the Army members can sell sub cards which are also good for admission to these lectures. Say that I am to lecture in St. Louis on the taxation of church property or in Philadelphia on the Sunday blue law or in Atlanta on the unjust imprisonment of radicals for spreading propaganda against the unemployment evil or in Seattle on the Centralia case—then the Army workers in the city where I am to lecture (in that city and its surrounding territory) would sell sub cards in clubs of four at 25c each and each sub card would entitle the holder to hear the lecture and to receive *The American Freeman* for 25 weeks.

Thus three useful purposes would be served: 1. The organization of *The Freeman Army* would be developed remarkably, not only by this publicity work but first of all by the personal conferences we should hold in these cities before the public meetings. 2. Direct propaganda for our crusades would be gained in these public meetings, which would be well advertised and which would emphasize in each instance some challenging issue. 3. New readers would be obtained for *The American Freeman* and thus

our real publicity strength—which is founded in the fighting paper of *The Freeman Army*—would be continuously and widely increased. This would constitute a fighting program unequalled in the history of American publicity and propaganda. It would be an original and winning method of crusading organization.

The thought that is paramount with me and that is, I am sure, ever-present in the minds of *The Freeman Army* workers is that we must work night and day and unceasingly to extend our audience for the important messages we have to deliver. Thus the work of the Army, however varied it may be, has one central and significant aim: to increase the number of Americans who will read in *The American Freeman* the truth of just issues in which we interest ourselves militantly. This is of course the means to our greater end. The circulation of *The American Freeman* is important because the things for which this paper fights are important. The end we have constantly in view is to advance the cause of justice and freedom and enlightenment.

We want to reach the American people with inspiring messages of truth. We want to arouse the widest and profoundest concern for questions of social justice which are neglected or misrepresented by the ordinary press of the country. It is only through the activities of *The Freeman Army*, devoted to building up *The American Freeman* as their fighting paper, that we can achieve these great things in propaganda for liberty. Let me say in all seriousness that nothing is so important in determining the future of free policies in America as the work which *The Freeman Army* is doing right now—and the work which it is asked to do in a larger measure, so that our results can be counted tremendously. Obviously if free ideas and policies

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# Warren Billings--A Worker Loyal to His Class

## E. Haldeman-Julius Creates Sensation in Wichita, Kansas, by Attacking Blue Law

E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of *The American Freeman* and the Haldeman-Julius Publications, walked away with the headlines in an extraordinary triumph in Wichita, Kans., on Friday, June 6. He did it in a very simple and unusual fashion. He didn't stage any foolish publicity performance. He didn't talk bunk. He won the attention and the respect of this most important Kansas city by common sense, by plain speaking, by straight facts aimed openly and without reserve.

Invited as a special lecturer before the Kiwanis Club of Wichita, Mr. Haldeman-Julius chose to strike vigorously at a real issue in the state—namely, the issue of Sunday blue laws. He denounced the closed Sunday as the work of "ecclesiastical bigots." He condemned in sharp, direct language "all efforts to depress life by the bondage of puritanical and religious doctrines. He gave a bracing message of realism to Wichita—and the novelty of such plain speaking made a sensation.

### When a City Dies

The *Wichita Beacon*, leading daily newspaper of the city with a circulation of 60,000, published a special edition in which Mr. Haldeman-Julius' picture in several poses, his personality and his opinions were the exclusive features. He was photographed at a desk in the *Beacon* office writing an attack on the Sunday blue laws. He was quoted in a special interview which attacked puritanism and hailed the advance of civilized views concerning sex. "America is taking a more liberal attitude on sex, puritanism and the conspiracy of silence against love, passion and sex behavior," Mr. Haldeman-Julius told the *Beacon* readers. "It is not salacious treatment of facts that the people want, but honest views taken in the effort to improve their own lives. There is a continuing revolt against bigotry, and a cry for happy, useful lives by people who have been oppressed under a conspiracy of silence in vital matters."

But it was on the issue of Sunday freedom that Mr. Haldeman-Julius concentrated his challenging remarks. It was an outrage, he said, that Kansas should be

limited in its free life to six days a week and that one day in seven should be turned over slavishly to the rule of the clerical bigots. "Wichita dies every Saturday night," he declared graphically. "It seems as though one-half of the people in the city run away as if from a plague. I have spent only one Sunday in Wichita. You could shoot a cannon down the center of Douglas Avenue and never hit a person—except perhaps a bigot or two and they don't count."

### Free Spirit Grows

Kansas has a state law prohibiting Sunday shows, ball games, dances and similar amusements. Whether popular feeling is for or against the law, nobody can say with full authority—because the people have never been given the opportunity to vote on this important question. It is certain that there is a great deal of restiveness under the law and, especially in towns and cities of fair size, the sentiment for a free Sunday finds open expression and is probably growing. The cities should decide, Mr. Haldeman-Julius told Wichitans. "No group of farmers ten miles from Wichita has any right to tell Wichita what she shall do on Sundays," he asserted. Cities and towns that want Sunday shows should have them. To deny this right, said Mr. Haldeman-Julius, is sheer tyranny which has no other motive than religious intolerance.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius told about the poll recently taken by the *Philadelphia Record*, which showed that in Pennsylvania's largest city the old Sunday blue law is disliked by a tremendous majority. "In this newspaper poll of 289,268 ballots," he said, "there was a 5-to-1 majority for repeal of the Sunday blue laws. The vote was 235,344 for complete repeal; 11,834 for modification, to permit amateur sports; and 42,090 to keep the blue laws as they are. Even the preachers favored repeal by a slight majority. Lawyers voted nearly 7 to 1 for repeal; physicians voted more than 5 to 1 for repeal; teachers voted nearly 2 to 1 for repeal."

### Organize for Rights

Mr. Haldeman-Julius urged that

liberal sentiment should express itself courageously on this issue. Many Kansans, particularly in the cities, are opposed to the blue laws; but there has been an excess of timidity in approaching the question; it seems that the liberals don't realize their own strength and are afraid of expressing themselves and thus antagonizing the gentlemen of the pulpits who presume to dictate Kansas' behavior on Sunday. Open crusading against this intolerance was demanded by Mr. Haldeman-Julius and, after they had recovered from their first momentary surprise at such forthright utterance, his hearers were favorably interested by this point of view.

Avoiding vagueness and exhibiting the frankness which characterized his address throughout, Mr. Haldeman-Julius said that he would personally organize an Association Opposed to Blue Laws and lead the fight first of all in Kansas, which suffers so unreasonably from this tyranny. It would be an organization without dues or salaries, its sole purpose being to wage a militant crusade for free Sundays in the state. "It is time to bring this matter to a head," he declared, "and for that reason I am pushing the organization of the association. There will be no dues or salaries in the association. I am giving my time gratis and will spend my week-ends working for the repeal of this unfair law. It is time that public officials come to the realization that the people want this law repealed. Times have changed. We no longer live simply. Life has become complex. Autos and good roads are in part responsible. Rural America has no right to dictate to urban America."

### Triumph of Candor

Plain speaking won. Wichita sat up and listened—and will continue to think seriously about Mr. Haldeman-Julius' uncompromising remarks. The *Beacon* printed an extra in red, with the whole front page given to Mr. Haldeman-Julius' speech and portraits of him and interviews with him. It was honest, courageous dealing with a big issue that triumphed on this occasion. With so much bunk on all sides, intelligent and truthful utterance is a novelty. It sur-

prised Wichita and interested Wichita. Of course it shocked a number of Wichitans—one preacher accused Mr. Haldeman-Julius of having been subsidized by the movie interests but later retracted his statement with apologies—but the shock of truth is good for people.

Now that Mr. Haldeman-Julius has broken the way by a *tour de force* of straight-from-the-shoulder lecturing, we are sure that Wichita will give more spirited attention to the issue of a free Sunday. This is another reminder that when one man dares to speak frankly, other men gain courage from his statements. If Wichita has free Sundays—and, greater, if Kansas is relieved from this tyranny—it will thank E. Haldeman-Julius.

HENRY H. CURRAN, president of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, has sent a questionnaire to each member of Congress, explaining that "the time has come when the people of our country wish to know the attitude of their representatives toward this great question." Mr. Curran's aim is laudable. But the trouble is that we can't be sure what a congressman's attitude is, even after he has spoken. It has been known that politicians have admitted a wide range of variation between their speech and their action.

News reports say that President Hoover has given his o. k. to the flexible provision of the tariff. It is a compromise; Hoover wanted it more flexible. However, its present flexibility is enough and it demonstrated by the fact that it can be stretched to accommodate the demands of big industry and will always hit the common man a stiff economic blow in the rebound.

"Throng in Church Cheers Miracle of Boiling Blood," says a headline in a newspaper that prints a cablegram from Naples. To read the report one would imagine we were living in the eleventh century. Catholicism has been untouched by modern knowledge. It belongs in the Dark Ages.

"After discussing all sides of religion, who can say which is right?" asks Clarence Darrow. Quite true. After listening to all sides one feels justified in saying they are all wrong.

Since long before the dawn of history, tradition and progress have been in conflict.

## By Marcet Haldeman-Julius

Staff Correspondent of The American Freeman

All the time Tom Mooney was in Milwaukee at the International Molders' Convention, the *Milwaukee Leader* treated him fairly, publishing the material he sent to it and which presented his angle on the different issues for which he was fighting. Although none of these issues carried, he left an indelible impression as a young man of conviction who would have to be reckoned with in the labor movement.

After the convention he visited the big shops and foundries in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Erie, Philadelphia, Boston, Schenectady and other cities—everywhere that he thought would give him an insight into the latest improvements in machinery. When he again reached San Francisco he told the men in the different unions in that vicinity what he thought these improvements were going to mean in the lives of the workers. His opponents called him a "calamity howler."

Just fifteen years later (in 1927) when people were discussing the rapid inroads machinery was making on labor, Frank Gorman spoke up. He had been one of Mooney's staunchest advocates, to decide whether Tom would, or would not, go to Milwaukee. Gorman said: "Tom Mooney told us all this fifteen years ago—that is one of the reasons he is in San Quentin." Gorman meant, of course, that his far-sightedness was one of the ways in which Mooney had antagonized the conservative labor leaders.

In 1912 Tom, back in San Francisco in a foundry, started in renewed earnest, and with all the vigor of his mature manhood, to help the workingman better his conditions. Mark him well, for a new period in his eventful life was about to begin. Practically, up to this time, all of his efforts had been among, and for, the workmen of his own trade—iron molders. Now for the first time he was asked to help an outside organization.

### An Episode of Strikebreakers

The shoemakers in one of the factories were striking because their employers were attempting to reduce the wages of both men and women by a dollar a day. The strikers were having a militant picket line which means that, instead of simply carrying banners or placards as they walked back and forth quietly in front of the factory, the strikers were talking to the scabs, arguing with them, and trying hard to get them to "come out." Six uniformed policemen protected the factory when the strikebreakers arrived in the morning and prevented the strikers from holding any conversation with the scabs. All day there were two or three policemen stationed there to achieve the same purposes. Night and day there was one paid gunman on hand. The strikers were most anxious to find out where the scabs lived so that they could approach them outside of working hours.

Every morning the boss brought the strikebreakers to work in a big car and every evening he would convey them to a considerable distance from the factory and from this point they would scatter. Tom took the same old motorcycle that had helped him win his trip to the International Socialist Convention in Europe and

on which he had tried so hard to keep alive the little, left-wing radical paper, *The Revolt*. On the old motorcycle he began scouting around following the scabs after they scattered until he discovered where some of them lived. He first located two and persuaded one of them to quit. The other refused. Soon he located a young couple who had just been married and were spending their honeymoon strikebreaking. When they refused to listen to argument, although he pointed out it was a very sorry way to begin married life—by undermining their own real interests merely to secure a "temporary" advantage for themselves—Tom, with his usual sense for the dramatic, took the picket line out to the house where they roomed. Presently a row of strikers were promenading in front of it. They bore cards on which were printed "A scab lives in this house" and other similar statements.

A crowd began to gather, although the strikers were not doing anything except walking slowly up and down. As the number of onlookers increased, a patrol wagon backed up in preparation for trouble, but none occurred, for presently the young bride burst into tears and the

couple promised to leave town the next day, which they did.

### Warren Billings Enters the Story

One of the young striking shoemakers drifted up to Murray's and Ready's Employment Agency. There he met a young, sandy-brown-haired, blue-eyed fellow on his way to join Villa's army in Mexico. Finding he was a shoe-cutter, the striker said to feel him out: "Why don't you go to the shoe factory? You can get a job there."

"Hell, no," was the quick answer, "I'm no strikebreaker."

The result of the conversation which followed was that the striker brought the stranger to Tom Mooney.

The youth was Warren K. Billings.

From this time on Billings' life was so closely interwoven with Tom Mooney's that it seems to me best to pause and introduce you to Billings himself.

I write about him with much hesitation because, although there is a lot of the adventurer in him, he is deeply shy and over-sensitive. There is more than a dash of the artist in his makeup. I am quite sure that nothing I will say about him will entirely suit him. I am positive he would rather have me stick to the technicalities of the case and leave him quite out of it. This can't be done. His personality and the fact that he has served a previous sentence because of his labor activities during the Electrical Workers' Union strike of 1913 have too material a bearing on the case.

Folsom, where Billings is so unjustly imprisoned, is a great gray-blue pile of native rock, quarried out of the hillside on which it stands by the prisoners themselves, and overlooks the beautiful American River which flows into the Sacramento. As the men work in the quarry, there is no wall to prevent them from a high dive into the river, but in the sinister towers that command the wide-fungus view are guards with machine guns and their eyes trained always on possible escaping prisoners. To my way of thinking, the external surroundings of this prison are more beautiful than those at San Quentin. They are at least not so bleak and depressing. But within the walls there prevails a different atmosphere.

This is due to the fact that everyone at San Quentin is serv-

ing a first sentence, while every one at Folsom either is serving a second sentence or has broken or forfeited his parole from San Quentin.

At Folsom Prison

It is rather difficult for any woman to see a prisoner who is not her own relative and to save me time and inconvenience Mr. Fremont Older, editor of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, very kindly made the appointment for me with Billings through Mr. Court Smith, the warden. In this way I was able to have a good talk, at least a long talk, with Billings. Even so, we were under several disadvantages which I did not encounter at San Quentin. There, while Tom Mooney discussed with me in detail the many things which I asked him, no one was listening. The one guard kept a general eye on everyone, and the couple to the left paid no more attention to our conversation than we to theirs. (I cannot even remember what they looked like.) Although there were at least forty people in the room we were quite free to say whatever we pleased, although we could not pass to each other anything—not even a newspaper clipping or a pencil.

But at Folsom a big, hulking guard in khaki-colored uniform sat at the end of the broad, flat, golden oak table with its solid dividing base—and he listened, or

tried his best to listen, to every single word that we said. Moreover besides myself three others had made the four-hour motor trip from San Francisco to Folsom—Mary Gallagher (indefatigable secretary of the Tom Mooney Defense Molders' Committee), who next to Fremont Older had done perhaps more than any other one person in the effort to bring about Mooney's and Billings' pardons. Art Shields, long associated with labor movements, and the young chap who drove us, —so that there were several personalities to whom Billings was obliged to adjust himself. (I am not sure how to spell Orin's last name but will have it correctly by the time this is put into a Big Blue Book.)

The warden sent his car and secretary to the gate to take us to the Administration Building, one of the oldest buildings—and the only one which is not thoroughly fireproof. There, at one side of the long wide hall, through whose door the river sparkled and one could see the rolling hills, was the long table. Presently the big guard of whom I have spoken came in with Billings, a slight man a little below medium height dressed in the usual blue prison uniform. It took me a moment to realize that this was he, because there is a much more animated expression in his face than his picture had led me to expect.

He shook hands with us, and took his seat on the side of the table next to the wall. We sat down on the long bench on the other side, and this brought me, through the conversation that was to last three hours and a half, directly opposite him. At the end of the table the big guard seated himself, toothpick in hand.

Billings' Work in Prison

Because there were several of us, and two of us strangers to Billings, the conversation was general at first. He told us, at my request, of the five years during which he was not permitted to have a single visitor except his lawyer. For the first seven years and four months he worked in the granite quarry, most of that time in the cutting shift, then for the next three years in the shoe factory as a shoe-cutter. This was his trade before he was railroaded into Folsom on a new well-known frameup charge and sustained by admitted perjurers.

The next eight months found him on a pick and shovel job. His blue eyes twinkled as he said, "I was a land anchor artist." From this he was transferred to the vegetable garden, and from there went to be a house gardener for eight months at the State Clerk's home. It happened that a Chinese prisoner, serving a sentence for some Tong trouble, was the cook for this same household.

and he and Billings just didn't hit it off, and their general incompatibility culminated in an argument that meant that one of them had to leave. It would not be hard for any woman to understand why the Clerk's wife preferred to let her gardener go rather than an A-1 cook. There was no hard feeling in the matter, and Billings says, frankly that he preferred to give up this "trusty" job rather than go on working with the "chink."

Up to now you will see all of Billings' jobs have been out of doors, and I think that accounts in some measure for his good color and fine healthy appearance. A long and useful life is obviously ahead if he gets simple justice. At present he is working in the laundry as a checker and in the pocket of his blue shirt open at the throat were a fountain pen and Eversharp pencil besides several ordinary ones. He must, during work hours, stay in the laundry, but within it he has more liberty of movement than some of the men at other jobs. I thought, as I looked at him, how like his coloring is to that of Sinclair Lewis'. As he talked he kept the palms of his strong-fingered, freckled hands flat on the table and his fingers interlaced.

He talked well. His sentences flowed along grammatically, easily and colorfully. He has the kind of mind which remembers details

accurately. I realized as we talked that he thoroughly grasped every technical and legal point of his own case. He thinks clearly and concisely and that is the way he talks. In short, he has a factual mind. I was not surprised to learn that he plays chess well, and sometimes has as many as twenty correspondence games going at a time. He has made himself a book, the pages of which are four inches by four inches square, and on each page he has a chess board of the type that one can fold and take along when traveling. On these boards he makes his moves. He belongs to the American Correspondence Chess League and in the Liese Memorial Tournament his official score will be five and one half to one-half. That is to say, that out of six games, he won five and drew one. One of these games was called for adjudication, because the man with whom he played (W. DeLacy Robbins) lives three thousand miles from Folsom. The game was in Billings' favor, then he made a move and lost a piece and he himself was not convinced that he really would have won, although it was officially decided that it was his game; so he and Mr. Robbins are playing it out for their own mutual satisfaction. As it stands now, Billings has a Rook and two Pawns, against his opponent's Queen and one Pawn.

The Mind of Billings

I can well believe that with his keen, quick mind Billings is a good player. But do not get the impression that he is an intellectual chap, for he is not. When I asked him what he liked to read, he said honestly with a winning smile that made little wrinkles come to the corners of his eyes, that he didn't read anything. This, of course, must be taken with a grain of salt, but it is true that Billings does not turn to books. In his spare time, he likes to repair watches and clocks, model in clay and make little wax figures, or carve them from bars of soap; also he does quite a bit of landscape painting. He is not permitted to sell any of his productions and is allowed to send his paintings outside the walls only as Christmas cards and calendars. Those strong, square-fingered hands of his look capable. (At one time he was a very clever boxer.) One gets the impression that he would do quickly and deftly anything he undertook.

But when it comes to abstract thinking, he is quite at sea. He has, for instance, not thought his way to any definite, clear conclusions in religion.

"If I prayed," he said, "I would have to pray to all the Gods."

Yet he insists that he is not a free thinker, nor even an agnostic. This is partly because, like many people, he does not want

to label himself.

"I don't like labels," he declared. What he means is that he doesn't want to wear any label in this connection—he is willing enough to wear proudly the label of dependable trade unionist. The fact is that he is quite indifferent to theistic and non-theistic philosophies.

He has never, he tells me, been a Socialist, much less a Communist, or an I. W. W. Billings, you see, was born into the working class and has, therefore, always been loyal to it. Had he been born into the employer class it is probable he would have been just as loyal to it. But the chances are that Tom Mooney, no matter where the accident of birth had placed him, would have pondered his way to the conclusions for which he (like Billings) has suffered so much. Yet it is easy to see just how Billings, once his faith in Mooney was established, was always his loyal lieutenant in labor activities, for Billings too has the cause of all workmen deeply and sincerely at heart.

He told me that one reason he did not join the Socialist party was because, at a Socialist meeting in San Francisco in 1913, he was asked: "Do you believe in direct action?"

"I told them 'yes,'" he said. [Please turn to page three]

America Needs the Brave Crusading of The Freeman Army

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are to win in America, there must be first won and held by active work a large audience which is interested in these free ideas and policies. We must at the same time obtain this audience and arouse this interest.

It is no trifling effort that The Freeman Army is urged to make—but rather this is an immense, far-reaching, superbly vital effort which is worthy of the spirit that brings the members of The Freeman Army together in this new movement of militant crusading. We don't want to waste our energies in aimless talk. We don't want to be lost in a stream of little and unimportant things. We want to do big things in a way that will gain permanent values of liberty and happy, just civilization for the future. It is not our desire to drift with the stream of events, but to influence that stream and to guide our course and the course of our fellow Americans in the direction of an idealism that is at once forward-looking and realistic.

Yes, real issues engage our earnest attention. We are not dealing in abstractions. Our interest is not in argument about ideas as an intellectual pastime; but we are concerned with ideas very realistically as they affect the rights and the welfare of men and women. For example, in our proposal for a Church Taxation Special Edition and a thorough campaign against the exemption of billions of dollars of church wealth from taxation we are not trying to be profound and abstract and discuss academic phases of the religious question. We are denouncing a definite injustice. We are attacking the graft which is involved in this amazing favoritism shown to the churches. We are insisting that a fair deal shall be given and that the churches shall be made to pay honestly for the public services which they now enjoy for nothing and which the rest of us must pay for. In fine, we are attacking a particularly aggravating form of special privilege.

Churches are enormous business institutions. They have wealth and investments that are stupendous. They represent a kind of trade in which many preachers and church officials engage very profitably; and this is a kind of trade which, after all, serves private aims and interests in that it is not a state institution which is frankly designed and accepted for the public good. Those citizens who want churches and religious institutions should honestly support them—and that support must include the fair amount of taxation which the churches should pay if they are assessed in the same way

as other business institutions. It is not merely the church buildings that at present escape taxation. The churches in our larger cities own immense properties, office buildings, tenements and the like; and they hold all these properties absolutely tax-free. Theodore Dreiser recently described the Roman Catholic Church as "the world's largest real estate organization." So are all the leading church organizations heavily interested in real estate that is untaxed.

Common sense emphasizes the fact that this rank discrimination in favor of the churches imposes a heavier burden upon the whole people. We are all being made to pay for the upkeep of churches whether we believe in their activities or not and even though the churches engage in anti-social policies directed at the crushing of our liberties. It is a very serious kind of irony, for instance, that the churches are demanding or maintaining laws that rob us of the right to spend Sundays as we please and that they are supported in this policy by the state which should protect our rights. In other words, we are forced to help in strengthening the very institutions that scheme to take away our pleasures and liberties. We pay to maintain not only the Church as Parasite; we also pay to maintain the Church as Tyrant and Anti-Social Dictator: we are doubly cheated and abused by this special privilege given to the Church.

This is not the only issue which calls for the action of The American Freeman and The Freeman Army, but it serves as a timely illustration of the concrete, deliberate methods which we pursue in our new crusading enterprise. We point out that in most realistic effect the people are being robbed for the benefit of the churches. We want to conduct a strong fight against this outrage, without detracting proper interest from our other crusades. Whether we now plunge into this fight or into some other fight is for The Freeman Army to decide—but my emphasis in this article is upon the general principle that we are engaging in concrete crusades for the common good.

For this reason—because all our issues are important—I want to build up the Army to a fighting strength of 10,000 members and I want immediately, during the month of June, to build up the circulation of The American Freeman by adding 25,000 new readers to the list. The members of The Freeman Army are not working blindly in this cause of educational pub-

licity, for they know that these 25,000 new readers will be aroused with important truths and appeals in The American Freeman. This paper is engaged in real crusading and it is carrying to its thousands of readers messages that are humane, that are civilized, and that are liberating. This paper is published for those who dare the risk of knowing; and each week we devote our columns to an exposure of conditions which should be known to the American people.

Our crusade in the Tom Mooney case is a good example. The articles by Marcell Haldeman-Julius have put this case in a clear light of understanding for readers of The American Freeman; and these articles, as they continue, will leave no corner of the Mooney frameup unexposed. I know that through The Freeman crusade the facts of the Mooney case have been freshly and impressively brought to thousands, who are impelled by power of truth to consider what this injustice signifies. We have made the Mooney case a fighting issue in the columns of The Freeman—and this means that it is a fighting issue in the minds of The Freeman readers. It is the high privilege and duty of us who enjoy our freedom to wage a struggle in behalf of our fellows who are denied their freedom; and we shall not drop the Mooney case until the just truth emerges triumphant in official action.

At the same time I realize that the Tom Mooney case is not the sole concern of The Freeman Army; while keeping it before our readers, we must give fair attention to other cases of definite injustice; and sometimes these cases will involve directly only a few persons, as in the Centralia, Wash., case, while at other times we shall be fighting an injustice that is a burden to the people as a whole—for instance, in a crusade against the exemption of church property from taxation or in a crusade against the Sunday blue laws or in our attacks upon war and intolerance and class or race oppression and unjust economic policies. But whether a crusade seems to be personal or impersonal (thoughtfully considered, any case of justice is both personal and impersonal), we have the encouragement of knowing that we are fighting on the right side and that if we are persistently active we can reach the American people with our messages.

There was never a time when the American people were more in need [Please turn to page four]

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ramblings

Isaac Goldberg

POINT OF INFORMATION

This is to inform our vast family of readers that I am completing work upon a book to be called Ten Pan Alley, or a Chronicle of the American Popular Music Racket. The book is intended to be chiefly a story of our popular song, together with an account of the evolution from ragtime to jazz. It concerns a variety of subjects: coon shouters, jazz babies, burlesque queens, minstrels, song-pluggers, and the noisy world in which they had their being. Now, among the great army of Haldeman-Julius readers there must be many who lived through this era and perhaps took active part in it as composers, lyric writers, singers, pluggers and so on. I am looking for anecdotes, statistics as to sales and income, memoirs such as Charles K. Harris has written in his "After The Ball, or Forty Years of Melody"—in fact, anything authentic that can throw light on the period. For later days, such topics as the origin of the theme song, and specific examples of the song racket as applied to the audible films, claim my attention and I should be glad to receive information on these points, too. I may be addressed directly at:

65 Crawford Street, Roxbury, Mass. Ordinarily, letters meant for me, especially such as deal with books reviewed for or published by the Haldeman-Julius Company, should be sent to that company at Girard, Kans. For this particular purpose, however, my home address is more convenient.

Whatever any reader may have for me should be sent as soon as possible. In case there are documents, I prefer copies; in any event, I will insure all material both ways and read it immediately upon receipt.

THE NEW MASCULINISM

About Women. By John Macy. William Morrow & Company, New York. \$2.50.

Mr. Macy thinks that it is high time for a reevaluation of feminine values. Together with many of the rest of us he does not look upon woman suffrage as a miracle; it simply has doubled the number of votes, thereby doubling our human stupidity and leaving democracy about where it was at the beginning. The fallacy of democracy is that it counts heads instead of brains. Macy believes that perhaps a generous dose of what he calls masculinism may serve as a much-needed corrective.

But if you gather from this that Mr. Macy, once a notable radical, has soured into a fog in his old age, you are mistaken. He is concerned chiefly with the exaggerated, hysterical feminist. His particular abomination is the type of woman who, mistaking beyond all common sense the aims and possibilities of feminism,

maintains that woman is not only as good as man, but in every respect his physical and mental equal, not say superior. This, of course, is stupid. It is not even desirable. The sexes complement each other; they are only superficially antagonistic, and the forms which that antagonism often takes are but added proof of the irreplaceable need that one has for the other. There has been a great deal of blabber about the sex war; Aristophanes, in his Lysistrata, has made a very comical picture of a band of pacifist women who go on a sex strike until their husbands get sense enough to cease their strife and return to gentler activities. Practically speaking, however, sex is a duet and not a duel.

Man and woman, from the very distinctness of their constitution, do not seem to have been meant to be the same. Macy tries to show the wilder of the feminist species that they have nothing to gain and many things to lose by de-sexing themselves and becoming termagants: something that has ceased to be woman and that never can be man.

Really he has little to say that is new, but what he says is stated with engaging clearness and with persuasiveness. We have all become a little bit sick of obstreperous he-men, and even sicker of loud-mouthed she-men. What Macy is after is a restoration of balance. He evidently likes his men to be men and his women to be women. What the future may hold is problematical. Statistics seem to reveal that in the creative arts, outside of fiction, woman is dis-

tinctly less productive than man. Her great function, again according to Macy, is literal and metaphorical motherhood. She is at her noblest as mother, nurse, protective companion. That begins to sound old-fashioned, but not everything old-fashioned is silly any more than everything novel is good.

About Women is, if only by implication, also about men. Perhaps it will call forth from some able woman a refutation with this title. If so, I wish for her a generous measure of Macy's wit, his shrewdness and his unpartisan sincerity.

BROADWAY PHOTOMAT

Times Square Tintypes. Being Typewriter Caricatures of Those Who Made Their Names Along the Not So Straight And Very Narrow Path of Broadway. By Sidney Skolsky. Illustrated by Gird. New York. Ives Washburn. \$2.50.

If you have ever gazed at Sardi's on 46th Street, New York, you will have noticed the walls covered with small colored cartoons. Here Caruso once-ate, and the memory of him still stirs the diners. Here, too, the theatrical folk of Broadway are wont to gather, and be pointed out by the hard-boiled frequenters to gullible visitors from the provinces. Knowing who's who is one of New York's endemic diseases. Gossip is the life of all conversations. The whole metropolis is a magnified edition of Sardi's, and, in this instance, Mr. Skolsky performs the office of cicerone. To complete matters, that same Gard who

framed caricatures enliven the walls of Sardi's enlivens also the pages of this miniature Broadway on parade.

There are 50 tintypes, each with its accompanying sketch. Skolsky knows that he is writing for a hurried public, so he catches facts on the wing and serves them up with no other sauce than the occasional irony of their juxtaposition. Here, for example, are a few of the gossipy details that I dish up at random from the savory stew:

Ziegfeld's telephone bill is \$50 a day and he can't keep a secret. . . . Belasco never has his shoes shined. . . . Gershwin loves to shop, suffers from indigestion and hates cards. Occasionally he shoots craps and—as I may now inform Mr. Skolsky—he has become a convert to golf. . . . Texas Guinan never touches liquor and frequently wears red stockings. . . . Samuel Shipman never goes out with a lady under 35. . . . The moon makes Fanny Brice serious. . . . George M. Cohan's middle name is Michael. . . . Helen Westley washes herself in oil. . . . Elmer Rice thinks Broadway is the cheapest place in the world. . . . (I agree with him). Eddie Cantor's real name is Izzy Iskovich. . . .

But enough. There's plenty more like this in the book for the asking. AN EXCELLENT DICTIONARY. The Winston Simplified Dictionary. Encyclopedic Edition. The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. \$5. 1,491 pages, plus Atlas of 32 maps. Edited by Wm. Dodge Lewis, Henry

Seidel Canby and Thomas Kite Brown. Three thousand illustrations.

For the past month or more I have been trying out this dictionary as a handy substitute to my large Webster's New International. For the more specialized aspects of my work I need as large a dictionary as I can have. Always, at the public library, there is the Oxford as court of last appeal. But even in the work of a highly specialized student there are many moments—a majority of moments to tell the truth—in which his purposes are answered by a smaller dictionary. What is desired in such cases is a succinct definition rather than the history of a word or a usage.

It is here that I have found Winston's Simplified Dictionary most handy. The page, about 6 by 8 1/2, is an ideal size; the print, even on the India paper, is clear; the words to be defined are in a large, black type that sets them off boldly against their definitions; and, very important for the average reader, these definitions are couched in simple, succinct language.

The Winston Simplified Dictionary, then, has a place in the library of every reader, whether specialist or not. For those who need only a moderately-priced dictionary, this will more than answer the purpose. I was surprised to discover, for myself, how convenient it was even for those who must use, in their work, the larger-sized tomes.

I happen to be of those who regard the dictionary not only as a place in which to hunt up the meanings of words, but as a book to be read. There are idle moments in which I pick it up and let myself stray here and there aimlessly. I tried this out on the Winston, too, and found that it made good reading as well as good defining.

DEATH OF G. D. EATON

We are very sorry to hear of the death of G. D. Eaton, editor of Plain Talk. Septicemia was the cause of death. An ardent young iconoclast in his college days in Michigan, he quickly found his way to New York City, where he served as literary critic of the Telegram. He wrote a realistic novel, Backfurrow, which won praise from Mencken and other critics. His culminating venture was the founding of Plain Talk, in which he gave free vent to his strong opinions and invited others to write unconventional articles. There was a daring about him that was admirable and his point of view was in the main soundly modern. He was among the debunkers. We felt that he had a friendly spirit toward all enterprises of truth and freedom; and he always had the mark of genuineness. For some months Burton Rascoe had been associated with Eaton in the editing of Plain Talk and we presume that Rascoe will continue in charge of the magazine.

If men considered less what they have been told they owe to a God who is non-existent and considered more what they owe in justice and toleration and civilized cooperation, to their fellow men—what an infinitely superior world this world would be!

Do your friends a favor by having them become readers of this fighting paper. Duty, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder.

Concluded from page two) "and they ran me right out of the Socialist hall."

The School of Hard Knocks

Perhaps at this point I should pause to explain this often-misused term, "direct action." It does not necessarily—although it may—imply violence.

To understand Billings, you should know something of his background. His mother, whose parents were from Frankfurt, Germany, was herself born on Avenue A in New York City.

As we listened to his description of the way he learned his trade—shoe cutting—both Art Shields and I were impressed with how typical it was of the fashion in which the average young American "steals his trade" instead of being properly apprenticed to one.

After he had worked in five or six different factories, the brother-in-law, with whom he lived, retired from the police force in Brooklyn to do small farming in New Jersey.

A Self-Reliant Young Man

He assimilated, too, a lot of facts on all sorts of subjects. I assure you that Warren K. Billings is nobody's fool. He can be, too, wonderfully kind. On one occasion, when he had traveled from St. Louis to Kansas, by riding freights, he met a youngster there who had had some very trying experiences on the road and had lost his nerve.

his way, in San Francisco on the 12th of March, 1918.

Rather half-heartedly looking for work, he drifted to the office of Murray's and Ready's employment agency. There he met the shoe factory striker who suggested, in order to feel him out, that Billings be a strike-breaker and who, when Billings refused, took him to Tom Mooney.

[To be continued in the next issue.]

The Freeman Army Roll

BY E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS (Commander-in-Chief of The Freeman Army.)

I feel like a Mussolini right now. It's that line I put under my name—Commander-in-Chief of The Freeman Army. But that is one act of usurpation that I believe I can allow myself, for I am sure the readers of The American Freeman feel I will direct this new and active Army with a view to greater service in the cause of humanity and not with the ulterior view of tyranny and persecution.

So, I shall let that title stand—Commander-in-Chief of The Freeman Army. This Army is being led to bring about unity and cooperation in America among a growing minority of men and women who want to see the forces of reaction and hypocrisy and superstition driven out of their positions of command over the people.

Here is the situation: An Army has suddenly sprung into existence as a result of a short and vigorous drive in The American Freeman. The Army came into action almost overnight. We didn't realize the response would be so enthusiastic. We didn't dream the Army's numbers would grow so rapidly.

As I have already explained, one becomes a member of The Freeman Army by the service he gives our cause. He pays no dues. The officers get no salaries. This Army is not an excuse for a soft snap. It is a movement for emancipation. The man or woman who brings another to The American Freeman becomes a member of The Freeman Army. The person who orders a bundle of Freeman's becomes a member of The Bundle Brigade and also a member of The Freeman Army.

The person who does something definite for the cause, who helps the Freeman to increase its influence or who helps the Freeman put across its message, becomes an Armyite. That is the only test. That is the only obligation. You help in the cause, and that help means that you are standing in the ranks with The Freeman Army.

The Freeman Army is going to make history. We have started off

in the right manner. We have been systematic from the very first day. Our office has established a special, separate file, in which we give each member of The Freeman Army his own card and number, and on that card we enter everything he or she does for the good of the cause.

Yes, The Freeman Army is "keeping books." This record will go down in history. It will be a Roll of Honor. It will be the list of those men and women who did their share in the immortal, glorious fight of ridding this world of humbugs, grafters, tyrants, exploiters, censors, meddlers, suppressionists, bigots and hypocrites.

It's glorious fun and I am having the time of my life. The new job of Commander-in-Chief of The Freeman Army seems to have made me ten years younger. I have new pep in me, and I am aching to get more work done. We'll all work together and make The Freeman Army something to be reckoned with.

We don't want this Army to be composed of one officer—the Commander-in-Chief—and a vast body of Privates. We need Privates, of course, but we have a wonderful plan for making officers out of the humblest Privates.

I have worked the matter out very carefully and want to submit my plan. As already stated, the principle of membership in the Army is work done. The remittances sent in for our various drives will naturally serve as the yardstick, as the means of ranking our men and women. Here is what I mean:

If the Army file in The Freeman office shows that you have sent in the sinews of war from \$1 to \$5 you are considered a Private.

If the card shows your record is from \$6 to \$10, then you are a Corporal.

An Army worker has to send in a total of from \$11 to \$15 to be considered eligible to Sergeantship.

When the total sent in reaches from \$16 to \$20, you are a Second Lieutenant.

A First Lieutenant gets commissioned when he has a total of from \$21 to 25 marked up on his card in the Army file.

A Captaincy goes with \$26 to \$30. It may take a while to get there, but once the card shows that your grand total to a certain date is between \$31 and \$40, you become a Major.

From \$41 to \$50 will make you a Colonel.

From \$51 to \$75 will make you a Brigadier General.

From \$76 to \$100 will make you a Major General.

And anything above \$100 will make you a General. Of course, this does not mean you have to do the work in one spell. That's where our record comes in perfectly. It may take you months to become a General, or it may take you days—depending on the speed with which you join in the work.

Right now we are mostly Privates. But there are some officers, and I want to see that list grow. Upton Sinclair became a First Lieutenant at one shot, because he sent in \$25 for the Mooney Special Edition. Dr. Robert Grees, of California, has \$9 to his credit on the Army file—he is a Corporal. The next time he joins one of our battles and sends in anything above \$2 he will become a Sergeant—maybe something higher.

Dr. W. S. Fogg, California, has sent in \$8—he is a Corporal. Promotion is right around the corner for Dr. Fogg, California Sector. Charles S. Gause, Pennsylvania Sector, has three separate entries, totaling \$8—so he is a Corporal. The same goes for L. H. Hendon, Kansas Sector, who also has \$8 marked on his record, also in three contributions. When we come to A. M. Hanna, of Newport News, Va., we find \$12, and that means he is a Sergeant. B. B. Kelley, Nebraska Sector, is a Sergeant because his record is \$14, and he has only \$2 to go to become a Second Lieutenant. Roy Lilla, Illinois Sector, is a Corporal with \$11 to his credit. Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Pennsylvania Sector, is a Corporal, with \$10 marked to her credit, and she is headed for a Sergeantship with the very next ef-

fort. W. G. Pope, of Pennsylvania, has \$7 checked up, which makes him a Corporal. We feel sure he will soon have a higher commission.

And there's Charles Rutrick, of Pennsylvania, with \$9—only \$2 more and he will be a Sergeant. F. J. Rappold has sent in \$10, so he is just on the line—another dollar and he becomes a Sergeant. F. L. Shunk, Washington Sector, is in the same boat with Mr. Rappold—exactly \$10 on his card. Now we come up in rank—John N. Tanck, California Sector, has four contributions to his credit, making a total of \$17.50, which makes him a Second Lieutenant, and I'll bet my commission he won't wait long before he qualifies as a General, nothing less. By the way, while Mr. Tanck has not sent in the largest amount, he has come in the oftenest—four different times. Come often, Officer Tanck! H. O. Weltmer, Illinois Sector, has \$15 chalked up, which makes him a Sergeant and ready for Second Lieutenant. And here are Gerard Kirk, of California, and Wilbur Lichtwad, of Virginia, each credited with \$5. They are still Privates. Will they want to remain there very long? I hope not. We need them in the higher ranks. The Freeman Sub Cards offer one way of getting them into the officer class.

That's the situation now. Will the Army's roll grow? I am sure it will. And many of its Privates will become high officers. You will see how right I am. And by the way, the first man or woman to become a General will have his or her picture published in The Freeman. That's a promise, and I'll keep it. When you reach the \$101 goal I'll ask you for your photograph.

That's all for today.

"NOT OBSCENE"

"Not obscene," said the United States Court of Appeals in New York, when a few months ago it announced a decision in favor of Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, author of a pamphlet entitled The Sex Side of Life. A jury in a lower court had found Mrs. Dennett guilty of violating the federal law which prohibits the sending of obscene matter through the mails.

Now the government has just issued a statement that the case will not be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The decision of the New York federal court stands, making it legal to publish candid, educational discussions of sex. The hypocritical trap of "obscenity" so called by prejudice and not by intelligent definition, has been smashed. We don't know what other traps will be devised. Meanwhile, in the light of this intelligent court decision, sane sex literature cannot be placed in the category of "obscenity."

The pamphlet in dispute was written by Mrs. Dennett many years ago for the instruction of her sons. Of late years it has been widely circulated by welfare organizations. Only a stupid jury and a prejudiced judge—in other words, a jury and a judge steeped in the false notions of puritanism—could have found the work "obscene." True, Mrs. Dennett's pamphlet discusses sex candidly. But it cannot be called "obscene" unless sex itself is given this label of false shame.

We are encouraged by this victory for truth and common sense. We may also be pardoned for pointing out that this high federal court decision in favor of the view which has consistently been emphasized by The American Freeman.

Nietzsche's The Antichrist has become one of our best sellers. The orders for this new book come pouring in every day. We are happy to see this great masterpiece get the circulation it deserves. And we are glad to realize that we issued it in such a beautiful format. It is really a joy to the eye—the best kind of paper, large, clear type, and a handsome cover. A copy costs only 50 cents. We want to see a million copies go out of the plant of the Haldeman-Julius Publications. Have you ordered your copy?

"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—that guarantee of our federal constitution certainly is a mockery to Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. They have life, yes—but Tom Mooney barely escaped being murdered by the state of California. They have been robbed all these years of what counts most in life: namely, liberty and the right to pursue happiness in their own way.

TOM MOONEY was a labor leader, Warren Billings, his friend, was a radical. Was their labor radicalism—their unorthodoxy in economic opinion—a crime? Apparently that is the amazing attitude of California politicians, who have kept Mooney and Billings in prison for years when no other crimes, excepting the "crime" of their opinions, stood against them.

A Successful Idea Joseph McCabe Magazine Wins

A good idea doesn't always win. But we are happy to say that one good idea—namely, The Joseph McCabe Magazine, every line written by the world's greatest scholar—has been inaugurated with a gratifying measure of triumph.

Others would call it a "venture." It did seem like a bold venture when the idea was first proposed by E. Haldeman-Julius. Would there be enough readers, in this day of so many cheap and superficial magazines catering to ephemeral bunk and faddism, to support a really progressive magazine of sound knowledge and stimulating thought for a better understanding of this human world?

It was certainly a daring departure from the conventional magazine field when Mr. Haldeman-Julius decided to give a magazine wholly twice a month to the authorship of a single man. But the fact that this man is Joseph McCabe has made all the difference.

The Haldeman-Julius readers include thousands of fervent admirers of Joseph McCabe, who have learned the truth of what we have just said—namely, that McCabe's name is a guarantee of the best in modern culture. These McCabe admirers or "fans" have already made it certain that this "venture," which seemed so daring and which is unconventional, will establish a new record of triumph.

Let us again emphasize that only regular yearly subscribers will get The Joseph McCabe Magazine. Single copies of the magazine are worth 50 cents—but they will not be sold singly, for the reason that the benefits of McCabe's writing will not be obtained save by reading every issue of this magazine.

We know and our readers know that they cannot possibly be disappointed in The Joseph McCabe Magazine. The first two numbers will fulfill the best expectations of the readers. These numbers—No. 1 and No. 2 of The Joseph McCabe Magazine, issued on July 1 and July 15—represent the well-known McCabe standard, and this standard will be maintained in all the numbers.

This Is Our Guarantee

We Will See That You Get First Numbers

NOW we can make this guarantee: Every person who subscribes NOW to The Joseph McCabe Magazine will be started with the very first number and will thus be able to keep a complete file of this unusual publication. You will want to read all that McCabe writes for this (his very own) magazine.

The first number of the magazine, issued July 1, is a very necessary preparation for the numbers which are to follow. It is entitled "The Morals of the Savage"; but it is like nothing that you have ever read in the way of popular literature on this subject. It is a subject which is seemingly remote; but McCabe makes it all very familiar; he really makes it possible for the reader to envisage with impressive clearness the environment and character of the very first members of the human race.

In the second number of The Joseph McCabe Magazine, issued July 15, McCabe uprolls the colorful panorama of "Morals in the Ancient World," revealing the intimate and characteristic attitudes toward life which prevailed in the old, half-fabulous and yet historically well-evidenced civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and Judea.

A Special Feature—McCabe's Full Autobiography

One of the leading attractions for readers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine is the "Autobiography" of Joseph McCabe, which will run exclusively in this publication. No one has lived such an interesting life as this great modern scholar. He has traveled around the world a number of times, lecturing, observing, gathering material for his works of popular culture. He has studied the modern age in every phase, both in direct contact with the life of the age and in scientific and literary studies.

By the way, McCabe will also make a special tour of the world for the readers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine. This report of the world today, by the man best fitted to write such a report, will be another exclusive feature of this magazine. You will be going yourself in favor if you subscribe now. \$6 a year in payments of \$1 down and \$1 a month for five months. \$5 a year in advance.

Use This Order Blank

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas. I want to subscribe for The Joseph McCabe Magazine for a full year (24 issues, to be mailed on the 1st and the 15th of each month). I am to have my subscription begin with the first issue. I am using the plan checked below. ( ) 1. Enclosed find \$5 which is payment in advance for a year's subscription. (The regular price is \$6 per year, but I am to get this discount in view of the fact that I am paying for an entire year in advance.) ( ) 2. Enclosed find \$1, which is my first payment for a year's subscription, and I further agree to send you \$1 each month for five months, thus paying the full regular rate of \$6 per year in these convenient installments. Name Address City State

# Freethinkers Sue to Keep Bible Out of New York City's Schools

## Sidney Sutherland's Statement

In reply to Tom Mooney's Open Letter to the Publisher of Liberty

Among Mr. Mooney's many complaints against my story is the fact that while I was in California investigating the case I did not call on the defense committee or those persons friendly to his cause.

That is true. I saw no use in calling on partisans of Mr. Mooney, first, because I had access to all the documents they have put out, and second, because from them I could not get a fair, unbiased presentation of the case.

Nor did I, for the same reasons, call on the prosecution or anybody unfriendly to Mooney. District Attorney Fickert would be no more capable of giving me an impartial, unprejudiced view of the affair than, say, Fremont Older would. And nothing either side could say in 1930 would change what took place in 1916.

Consequently I confined myself solely to the court records, interminable as they are, and to later developments, all of them favorable to Mooney.

I made no accusations against Mooney; I don't know whether he is guilty or not; I simply stated what the prosecution claimed during the trials, what the defense contended, and such facts as both sides admit.

In this series of unsolved mysteries, as in the previous series run last year in Liberty, I have striven to condense in impartial manner all the facts brought out by each side and their interpretations thereof: I have not written anything from a sympathetic or hostile personal viewpoint. In none of these stories have I tried to solve the mystery, first, because I cannot, and, second, because that is not the purpose of the series.

I cannot help what conclusion readers draw from my stories—in this case they were invited to judge for themselves whether Mooney is guilty or innocent. My private opinion is not important one way or another, especially since I have never expressed it.

Of course I could not, while in California, investigate the charge that the "interests" exploded the bomb which killed ten men, women, and children and blamed the atrocity on Mooney so they could "get

him." I didn't look into that charge because until Mr. Mooney made it in the foregoing letter I had never heard it. I did, however, recite what the Mooney committee uncovered as time went by—namely, that every important prosecution witness at his trial was a liar.

In any event, the final decision as to a pardon for Mr. Mooney must be made by Governor Young, and I cannot believe that my summary of what the record contains will influence him either way, since he has the full record in his office at Sacramento.

SIDNEY SUTHERLAND.

## OUR JUNE SUB DRIVE

A number of Army workers realize the importance of our drive for 25,000 new readers during the month of June. We urge all the Army workers to put forth their greatest efforts in this drive: for a wide circulation of The Freeman is necessary for successful crusades. Join the early workers in this drive by sending in an order for four or more sub cards, at \$1, each sub card calling for a 25 weeks' subscription to The American Freeman. The following have ordered these special sub cards:

- \$1 H. D. Harkness, Wash.; Jo. Gunsterberger, Idaho; John M. Ditlear, Ohio; Albert E. Pape, Calif.; M. E. Wright, Wash.; Wm. J. Dale, Calif.; Franz Frank, N. Dak.; Fred Schafer, Iowa; G. E. Brooks, Nev.; Thos. J. Gould, Calif.; Willard McPherson, Pa.; Harper Ezra Wimer, Md.; Geo. Feisert, Mich.
- \$2 Alva J. Brusio, N. Dak.
- \$2.50 Jacob Wohld, Wis.

## THE FREEMAN ARMY NOTES

We submit below the final report of our Educational Broadside on the Tom Mooney Special Edition. This includes many orders for copies of the special edition as well as contributions to pay Marcell Haldeman-Julius' expenses in her California investigations. Those expenses were \$359. All over that amount, in the Educational Broadside fund, was used to send copies of the special edition to good names in our possession. We thank the Army

workers for their loyal cooperation in this important crusade (which of course is not yet ended on our part, as Marcell's articles will continue for some weeks). The report follows:

- \$2 L. P. Sorenson, N. Dak.
  - \$1 H. F. Unley, N. J.; Dr. Nettie Haight Stingle, Calif.; John Terly, Wash.; Thos. H. Pearson, Pa.; Morris Einhorn, N. Y.; E. A. Slater, Mich.; J. Collins, Canada; John Lush, Ore.; Mrs. Grace Wilmet, Calif.; Lawrence Newton, Mass.; B. W. Bailey, La.; A. B. Sanford, Calif.; Jos. Dan. Wubb, Ore.; E. H. Pratt, Calif.; Francis S. Leger, Fla.; John Osterberg, Calif.; R. T. Sawyer, Miss.; R. R. S. Long, Pa.; M. Gould, Ill.; Ernest R. Wolf, Mich.; Ed. E. Scovill, N. Y.; A. F. Walsiak, Ohio; John Barrowman, Mont.; Richard P. Druce, Ohio; R. A. McKinney, Calif.
  - 28c L. B. Ross, N. Y.; \$2.68 Dr. Marjan S. Swiont, Ill.; \$3.60 W. H. Sikes, Kansas; 15c Joseph Holowoch, Pa.; 50c Maude Overey, Wash.
- Previously reported, \$878.98. Final figures, \$912.04.

## THE CENTRALIA CASE

Our new plan is to send Marcell Haldeman-Julius to the state of Washington to investigate thoroughly the Centralia case. This case of eight workmen, who have been in prison for ten years although guilty of no "crime" save defending their lives against a reactionary mob, is fully as important as the Tom Mooney case. In some ways it raises more challenging issues.

We have asked the Army workers to help in a campaign of Educational Broadside on the Centralia case, and the following have responded instantly to our appeal:

- \$10 John N. Tanck, Calif.
- \$5 Chas. G. Gause, Pa.
- \$2 Geo. Feisert, Mich.
- \$2 O. H. Peterson, Mo.; Millard Swen, Ill.; Paul L. Corbin, Ill.; Joe W. Waldner, Mont.
- \$1 R. A. Glick, Mo.; Jordan McShane, Ill.; Henry Urbanjak, Wis.; Herman Kurmerow, Iowa; Michael Biskadurov, N. Y.; John Erben, Jr., Pa.; Chas. Rutrick, Pa.; Fred Schafer, Iowa; W. H. Towner, Okla.; B. N. Freeman, Ill.; DaCosta E. Williams, Pa.; R. A. Lindblad, Minn.; Henry Erminger, Ohio; Fred Asmus, Ohio; R. V. Monahan, Mass.; J. M. Wigton, Kans.

Is it a crime to be active in the labor movement? That is the only reason Tom Mooney and Warren Billings have been kept in prison all these years.

## MOTIVES IN MOONEY CASE

We can understand, although we cannot sympathetically feel, the motive that inspired the plotters of the frameup against Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. These plotters—corporation leaders and their lieutenants—wanted Mooney and Billings out of the way because these two workmen were their foes in the warfare between labor and capital. By foul means, since fair means there were none, these plotters struck their blows of revenge at Mooney and Billings.

There are many others who, being conservative and very much prejudiced in favor of the viewpoint of strongly entrenched wealth and privilege, believe that Mooney and Billings are dangerous radicals. Believing this, they argue that these workmen are safely and rightfully in prison even though they did not commit the crime for which they were given prison sentences. These opponents of radicalism say that Mooney and Billings are "anarchists" and portray them as the foes of all law and order. Yet what could be more subversive of law and order than the attitude that innocent men should suffer for their opinions?

Again, a strong and sensitive minority are in sympathy with the radical views of Mooney and Billings and, naturally, they have so much the deeper feeling of outrage that these two workmen should have been punished for being true to the cause of labor. Their main appeal is and must be, of course, that Mooney and Billings are innocent of the crime for which they have suffered more than thirteen years in prison. This group, however, adds the emphasis that Mooney and Billings are not merely personal sufferers but are suffering in a definite, vital cause of justice that has larger implications than their own case, important as this case is.

Finally, there are many who are not in agreement with the political-industrial opinions of Mooney and Billings; who are conservative, though not bitter nor unjust, in their point of view; and who have

only one feeling about this case—namely, that it is the worst crime imaginable that two men should suffer for a crime of which they are not guilty. These men and women—many of them in entire disagreement with the ideas of Mooney and Billings—have a real, candid, broad-minded conviction that justice is important. They want a truthful verdict—that's all.

Exactly that is what the average American should want: that justice should be done and that truth should prevail, regardless of the radical ideas in which Tom Mooney and Warren Billings have legally (and fairly) a perfect right to believe. Unless he is so bitterly prejudiced that he wants to see punishment inflicted upon all who disagree with him, the ordinary American citizen who reads about the Mooney-Billings case should have no interest excepting that the innocent should go free.

The law says that a man shall be considered innocent until he is proved guilty. But this just rule wasn't followed in the cases of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. They were presumed guilty from the start; they were convicted by lying witnesses; they have been kept in prison years after the evidence against them has been exposed as a crooked, vindictive frameup.

E. J. Keeler, Windsor, Ont., Canada, is a new reader. Here is his encouraging comment: "I am more than pleased with the two copies of the splendid searchlight of truth contained in The American Freeman. It is the most striking literary monument of veracious intelligence that I have ever had the pleasure of reading. It is an appetizing relish for the man who is not afraid to think."

John H. Harkness, Fort Rock, Ore., orders two copies of Nietzsche's "The Antichrist," and says this about E. Haldeman-Julius' debate with the Rev. Burris Jenkins, under the title "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?" now ready in booklet form at 25c: "The debate with Dr. Jenkins is another victory for atheism—for which the world owes you thanks."

\$1 for The American Freeman means only 2c per issue!

Joseph Lewis, President of the Freethinkers' Society of New York and critic of the Bible, filed suit in the New York Supreme Court on May 2 to restrain the Board of Education from allowing the Bible to be taught in the public schools of New York City.

In the case prepared by Arthur Garfield Hays and with the support of Clarence Darrow, Mr. Lewis contends that the section in the City Charter retaining the Bible for public school study is in violation of the state Constitution, which declares that the people shall have free exercise of religious worship and that denominational schools shall not receive state aid.

## CALLED "REPUGNANT"

The public schools, says Mr. Lewis, are attended by more than 1,000,000 children of many varied creeds, such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Mohammedan and no religious faith whatsoever, and he declared reading the Bible, particularly the King James version, is "repugnant and obnoxious" to many of the children and their parents.

The King James version of the Bible was a target for Mr. Lewis' criticism since, he said, it not only offended the Jews by containing the New Testament, but the Roman Catholics by being a "defective" version.

"To expend public moneys for religious and sectarian books, teaching, and instruction," said Mr. Lewis, the taxpayer, "is an illegal act and unlawful waste of public moneys."

"The said Bible, and particularly the King James version, is a partisan, sectarian, religious book, used solely by the so-called Protestant sects for teaching sectarian religious precepts."

## "FORBIDDEN BY LAW"

"This sectarian teaching is forbidden by law, and repugnant to the constitutional principle of separation of church and state."

In support of his request that the court grant a decree restraining employes of the Board of Education from reading the Bible in the public schools, and from using hymn books in the schools, and from spending public money for Bibles and hymn books for the public schools, Mr. Lewis cites what he believes to be the conflict between the City Charter and the state constitution.

Section 1151 of the City Charter states that "Religious sects and dogmatic books be excluded; Bible retained. No school shall be entitled to receive any portion of school moneys in which religious doctrines of any particular Christian sect shall be taught."

## POINT TO INCONSISTENCY

The very fact that the phrase "Bible retained" is used in the same breath with "religious sects and dogmatic books be excluded" shows inconsistency in the same sentence, Mr. Lewis and his lawyers contend.

Further he says, "Section 1151 of the City Charter is repugnant and violative of the constitutional provisions cited, and is unconstitutional and void."

Mr. Lewis has consistently attacked religious teaching in public schools and has even had the distinction of being prevented from giving lectures against the Bible. The release of children from public schools for an hour a week of religious teaching was one of the propositions of the Board of Education which Mr. Lewis most wholeheartedly attacked.

# Nothing Is Impossible if The Freeman Army Says "Go Ahead!"

Concluded from page two

of a serious interest in social justice and progress. Great issues of freedom will be decided within the next few years. Some of these issues concern our relations to the rest of the world and their settlement will turn the balance toward peace or war; other issues involve economic or political justice within the borders of the United States; other issues call for the defense of the rights or liberties of a few men, but we realize that such a defense is in our own behalf most truly—for any exercise of tyranny is a threat to all men. Today we may not be the victims; but tomorrow we will be the victims, if we do not bestir ourselves vigorously as free men and women today.

A case of injustice which is personal but which affects every one of us is that of the eight workmen who are imprisoned in the state of Washington for defending their lives from a "patriotic" mob on Armistice Day in 1919. Ten years of freedom have so far been taken from these workmen. They were no more guilty of a crime than you or I. They were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Immediately after the war there was a specially bitter feeling against all militant labor organizations and all critics of conditions. "Patriotism" covered a multitude of sins of class hatred and intolerance.

Business men and World War veterans in Centralia, Wash., were open in their passionate hostility to the Industrial Workers of the World and a raid upon the I. W. W. hall was threatened; and plainly enough, in the atmosphere that existed, that raid meant a grave danger to the lives of the Industrial Workers. In vain did they appeal to the local police for protection. They distributed leaflets urging the citizens of Centralia to see they were given fair treatment. But the mob spirit was not to be halted. On Armistice Day when the "patriotic" parade reached the I. W. W. hall there was a frenzied, illegal raid; and in defending themselves the I. W. W. killed one member of the parade—that is to say, one member of the illegal mob.

The trial of these Centralia workmen was a brazen example of railroad-baiting. Evidence vital to their defense, showing the exact situation out of which the tragedy arose, was excluded from the hearing of the jury. The machinery of the law worked in mob fashion. These workmen were marked as victims and they didn't have a chance. Their cruel choice was to let themselves be killed by the illegal mob or to be imprisoned by the mob-minded and class-inspired agents of the law. If ever men were martyrs to a monumental injustice, this statement is true concerning the eight Centralia workers who are still suffering in prison because their radical ideas were hated by the governing clique in the state of Washington.

While following our policy of crusading along broad lines, I want to do special work on this Centralia case. As in the Mooney case, I want to send Marcell Haldeman-Julius to the scene of action where she can do vivid, human, militant reporting of the situation. I want to make this not the only issue but a big issue in The American Freeman. Time is necessary for this work; and this is why I want (while getting ready for a crusade on the Centralia case) to emphasize the broad policy of The Freeman by leading an attack upon the injustice of church parasitism; for I want The Freeman to be always doing something, with every week's paper full of vigorous material, and large campaigns outlined far ahead.

But I always come back to the thought that, in whatever direction our interests take us and whatever the crusades that develop as the weeks go by, a growing circulation for The American Freeman is fundamentally vital to our whole crusading future. The success of our policy in a large way—and we don't want to succeed in merely a mild and small way—depends upon our having an immense, interested audience. I promise you that we can interest the audience—but we must look to the members of The Freeman

Army for bringing this audience to us. You are in the field; you men and women of The Freeman Army are extended throughout the country; you are in contact daily with the very American citizens—your friends, your neighbors, your fellow workers—who need our messages and whom we are anxious to reach with our messages.

I urge you, then, to do real propaganda work among your fellow Americans and add them to the reading list of The American Freeman. Help build up the Army to 10,000—help add 25,000 new readers to The Freeman list during the month of June—and I shall recognize the fighting possibilities of this movement by making the airplane tour or tours of the country. I shall develop, with your help, an organization that will write down extraordinary history in battling for justice in America. I shall go to the Army groups personally in all the large cities—in cities of 100,000 population or larger—and arrange with them for our future campaigns. This personal contact will fill all of us with new enthusiasm. It will demonstrate the seriousness with which we are putting our energies and our imaginations back of this crusading policy.

I can give the Army members new ideas and they can give me new ideas. All great and worthy enterprises are brought to success by friendly and intelligent cooperation; and it is this kind of cooperation which I need from The Freeman Army. I realize only too well how little I can do as an individual. I can plan good campaigns. I can put the fighting spirit into the pages of The American Freeman. I can use intelligence and fairness in pointing out the issues that are deserving of Army action. I can write, I can talk, I can work night and day—but it is all useless without the understanding and sympathy and cooperation of The Freeman Army. Upon you men and women of The Freeman Army, out in the field mingling with the masses whom we must reach if we are to do good work together, I must depend for the final and definite triumph of our common enterprise of enlightened, militant journalism in behalf of truth and justice.

I want to see the Army do big things, and I shall have many plans for your judgment as our activities expand to the point which justifies these plans. I am sure that this plan of personal contact with the Army, by means of airplane tours and both confidential and public meetings, will be very effective and will result in a tremendously significant organization. But obviously this plan cannot be carried into action until the circulation of The American Freeman and the strength of The Freeman Army have been developed to a scale big enough for this personal country-wide organization work to be practicable. It is plain that an organization of less than a thousand members would not justify these airplane tours and meetings; but when the Army reaches 10,000—then I can safely venture upon such a big undertaking.

Naturally the size of my undertakings must depend upon the size of the Army that is working with me. Over and over I must repeat that everything we do in our new crusading policy must be scaled according to the size and energy of The Freeman Army; and the effectiveness of the Army is in turn decided by the number of Americans who read The American Freeman; in a word, we must extend our campaigns to include more and more thousands of American citizens.

The immediate goal is 25,000 new readers for The Freeman and a membership of 10,000 for The Freeman Army. Any work in helping our crusades entitles the worker to membership in The Freeman Army. Keep an eye on the methods of work that I shall suggest from week to week. At this moment the most useful method of Army work is the ordering of our special sub cards, 4 for \$1, each card calling for a 25 weeks' subscription to The Freeman. 25 weeks for 25c in clubs of 4 or more—that is a real,

practicable, quick method of building up the circulation of this fighting paper of The Freeman Army.

When we have 25,000 new readers of The American Freeman and 10,000 members of The Freeman Army—then I can swing around the country in a personal airplane campaign of direct-to-the-Army tours. These airplane tours will create a sensation. They will furnish a momentum under which our cause will forge speedily ahead. But first of all and right now we must have more readers and more Army workers. These two goals can be reached in a common endeavor if the orders for sub cards—a club of four sub cards for \$1—are sent in generously in response to this appeal. Sub cards ordered in clubs of four or more mean more readers of The Freeman, more members of The Freeman Army, and The Freeman Army Airplane establishing direct, rapid contact between the headquarters in Girard and the Army groups in all sections of the United States.

As I have explained before, the Army is an organization without dues and salaries. You become a member by doing something concrete for the cause. The funds needed to buy the necessary airplane will be obtained through the sale of these sub cards at the rate of 4 for \$1. Will you buy at least four cards today? Give your answer on the questionnaire-ballot below:

## ? Please Give Your Opinion on This Questionnaire-Ballot

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas.

Here is my opinion about your plan to hold meetings with The Freeman Army and to purchase an airplane for this important work.

- ( ) YES. It is a splendid plan.
- ( ) NO. Do not go ahead with this work.

If you vote YES, please answer the following question. It has been suggested that the best way to bring The Freeman's message to the Army and the public is to issue Freeman sub cards at 25c each in clubs of four or more, each sub card good for 25 weeks. To do this work well, an airplane will be necessary. Would you be willing to buy at least four sub cards in order to increase The Freeman's influence through more readers and at the same time, through this plan, enable The Freeman to obtain the necessary funds with which to purchase an airplane?

Answer one of the questions presented below:

- ( ) YES. I shall be glad to help The Freeman Army in this new work by purchasing . . . . . sub cards at 25c each, for which I enclose \$ . . . . . in payment.
- ( ) NO. I do not care to help in this campaign.

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

City . . . . . State . . . . .

You will be told the results of this questionnaire after July 1, 1930.