

Governor Young---Coward and Trickster

In denying a pardon to Tom Mooney, Governor Young of California placed the responsibility upon his Advisory Pardon Board. This action proves that Governor Young is a political coward and trickster. This Advisory Pardon Board is a mere camouflage behind which the Governor can hide. Its only purpose, in its inception, was to absolve Governor Young from personal and official responsibility. As in the Billings case he could say, "I must bow to the decision of the Supreme Court," so in the Mooney case he says, "I cannot go against the recommendation of the Advisory Pardon Board." But there is a difference. The Supreme Court's decision against Billings was compulsory for the Governor. But the Advisory Pardon Board was created by him, its recommendation has no legal force, and in pretending to follow this "dummy" board Young is showing his cowardice and hypocrisy.

Young has had several years in which to study the Mooney case. We suppose that he is at least intelligent enough to understand plain facts and evidence, such as are overwhelmingly apparent in demonstrating Tom

Mooney's innocence. There is not a vital witness in the Mooney case who has not been exposed or who has not confessed as having been consciously guilty of aiding a frameup. Officials—both court and police officials—who prepared the case have long since acknowledged that it was a frameup. The case is rotten. Its vile stench is international. Every fair-minded man and woman who has studied the case has been convinced that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings were railroaded, by the most deliberate and vicious conspiracy, because they were active in the labor movement.

Young himself has shown clearly enough that he is deeply prejudiced against Tom Mooney because of Tom Mooney's radical sentiments and activities. Governor Young is acting as an executioner for his class in driving a hypocritical knife into the heart of justice. He is a dirty hypocrite when he pretends that he is obeying, necessarily, the recommendation of his Advisory Pardon Board and when he pretends that he is taking a fair, open-minded view of the case. It is a crude and clumsy dodge. Governor Young has decided, although he isn't man enough to say so. He decided long ago.

He has had a closed mind, full of hate and prejudice toward Tom Mooney. He has not cared about the truth. He has been cynically indifferent to justice. He is dead to shame and does not even have the grace to blush when the name of California and the name of Governor Young and the names of the ruling class terrorists and conspirators of California are covered with infamy and are regarded with loathing by decent men and women. Justice in California is chained and celled. And Governor Young, coward that he is, has stabbed helpless justice to the heart and unctuously protested that his "dummy" Advisory Pardon Board put the knife into his hands.

Coward, hypocrite, accomplice of class hatred, betrayer of justice! Such is the character of this man Young, who might have crawled and slunk to his grave in obscurity, but who has the misfortune to publish his despicable traits in the limelight of the California Governorship. Such creatures belong in the dark places of shadow and decay. They are noisome and loathsome in the light.

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Old Hatreds Blind Justice in Mooney-Billings Case

By Marcet Haldeman-Julius

Staff Correspondent of The American Freeman

In 1914, the Merchants', Manufacturers' and Employers' Association of Stockton, Calif., determined to rush union labor and to establish the open shop. In September of that year it settled down in deadly earnest to accomplish its purpose. As one of the surest ways to discredit labor was to discredit its leaders, it tried to draw the net of circumstantial evidence about Anton Johannsen, organizer for the Carpenters' Union, and A. Tveitmo, secretary of the California Building Trades Council.

One day Johannsen found a man prowling in his hotel room. When Johannsen saw him reach for his gun, he did the same and being the quicker, soon had the confession of the stranger. Le Jeune was his name and he explained that he had been hired by Brokan, the anti-union campaign manager for the Merchants', Manufacturers' and Employers' Association to secretly place a suitcase full of dynamite in Johannsen's room and another suitcase containing dynamite in the baggage checking room of the Southern Pacific station. He was to slip the check for the suitcase into the pocket of Tveitmo who was to be arrested and searched. More dynamite was to be "planted" and found in a mill and a foundry involved in the struggle.

The Frameup Method

A few days later, at Bay Point, another man was found with a suitcase full of dynamite in his hand. Arrested and taken to jail at Martinez, he proved to be J. J. Emerson, a private detective in the employ of the Merchants', Manufacturers' and Employers' Association. They demanded his immediate release and it was granted. Mooney realized only too well that if Emerson had succeeded in planting the dynamite as plotted by Mooney, or his associates, undoubtedly would have been tried for its possession. Another trial for him, for whatever alleged reason, was likely to end—as it has—in a long imprisonment. The treasurer of his local union, Michael J. Roche, who was justice of the peace and former district attorney, and is now a superior judge in San Francisco, had said warningly to Mooney, when he was acquitted after his third trial at Martinez: "The next time they get you, Tom, they will throw the key away on you."

They have. For fourteen years it has been hidden under the memories of the hatreds and violence of those days of which we are now talking.

Mooney and Ed Nolan (a labor leader also arrested for the Preparedness Day bomb explosion but never brought to trial) exposed the Emerson plot directed by the Merchants', Manufacturers' and Employers' Association. The result was that Emerson was re-arrested. This time scared, he told the whole story and went into detail about other things that the private detectives were trying to do so that they might allege that they were done by Mooney or the strike organizers.

Planting "Evidence"

The system was simple. The dynamite was placed here and there and sometimes even used to blow up unimportant pieces of property or to explode near them in such a way that the damage would be little. Then these acts were formally reported by the detectives as being done by Mooney and his associates. To watch the real movements of these labor leaders was not enough. It was so much more effective to manufacture acts of violence for them to have done. All the while their reputation as "dangerous dynamite" grew. Do you doubt that

him another watchman saw him do it.

In 1914, feeling ran high, too, about the unjust treatment accorded to Ford and Suhr. The trial of these leaders of the hop pickers' strike on the Durst ranch had been going on while Mooney was in jail in Martinez, and now that he was free to help them he became very active in the International Defense League in behalf of these two men.

The Hop Pickers' Case

Some of you may remember the case but I feel pretty sure that many of you younger people who are following this series are meeting these names for the first time. In an open letter, part of which was incorporated in District Attorney Fickert's brief in a foolish attempt to show that Mooney threatened Governor Johnson's life, Mooney reviews the case succinctly. The letter is doubly interesting because it is the Mooney of fifteen years ago talking and because it was written in the thick of the battle. The demands of the strikers were, he explains: "\$1 per hundred pounds of hops; pole men for women pickers, and plenty of fresh water for all the pickers; a right to patronize the merchants in Wheatland, whereas heretofore all pickers were compelled to purchase all supplies at the Durst ranch commissary at exorbitant prices; a sufficient number of toilets to properly accommodate the pickers as against seven or eight for 2,700 workers previously."

The letter continues: The Committee returned to the strikers and told them of Durst's refusal to pay the increased wages, but that he agreed to all other demands. The strikers refused to ac-

cept Durst's offer. Durst then thought the best way to break the strike was to have arrested the ones who were the most influential in keeping the men on strike—that was the leader and spokesman, Ford and Suhr. Durst asked the constable to arrest Ford, who had committed no crime, and the strikers refused to let the officers arrest him. Durst telephoned from his own house on his own ranch to the sheriff at Marysville saying the strikers had driven him from the house and that he was telephoning from another house. He told the sheriff that the strikers were destroying his property and threatened to burn everything to the ground. This was a deliberate lie to arouse the officers. The sheriff, district attorney, and a number of deputies all well armed came in two automobiles to the scene of the strike in an excited condition as a result of the information they received over the phone from Durst. The sheriff and district attorney stepped out of their machine and started to speak to the strikers. They had no more than begun, when a drunken and crazed deputy sheriff fired a double-barreled shotgun into the crowd of strikers. This same deputy admitted the shooting in the trial that he fired the first shot. After the first shot was fired there was a scattering in a few minutes it was all over with two officers of the law and two hop pickers dead; one officer and one hop picker badly wounded, both of whom died since.

The governor wired from Los Angeles to send every militiaman in the state to Wheatland, if necessary to put down the strikers. The militia arrived at the strike scene about 2 a. m. Monday, August 4, 1913. They made a thorough search of the Durst ranch and did not find a single weapon. The feeling was so high that it was necessary for the militia to escort some of the hop pickers arrested after the shooting to Marysville to protect them from the violence of the citizens, who were friends of the dead officers. The governor permitted innocent men to be dragged all over this state from jail to jail, and when sheriffs or chiefs of police refused to accommodate the private

thugs, gunmen and murdering detectives with cells in which to carry out their infamous work, these crushers of freedom were permitted to take innocent prisoners to private hotels to perpetrate their brutal outrages on honest wage workers to get forced confessions to be used against themselves and others in the forthcoming trials. The governor permitted a young boy to be kidnapped by these private hirelings and kept in seclusion for weeks while every attempt was made to find him for his people. The machinery of the law was not put in operation to punish these private detectives, and the governor did not even have a word of criticism to offer against this dastardly work. Herman Suhr was tortured to a point of desperation and in exhaustion he attempted to take his own life rather than suffer longer the pain he had endured as a result of this brutal torturing at the hands of the murderous private detectives. The same fate would have befallen Ford but for the fact that he was willing to die (if needed) fighting, in order to prevent private or public thugs, gunmen and detectives from doing him "harm" of bodily harm, and this is to his credit. Contrary to the governor's contention, the right of peaceable assembly, organization and democracy were all intermingled in the strike situation on the Durst hop ranch Sunday, August 3, 1913. The murderous manner in which the officers assaulted the strikers by starting the shooting up of the assemblage was not only an attack on peaceable assemblage, the right of labor to organize, and democracy, but was a denial of all of them and of every principle that goes to make them up. These three great fundamental principles were destroyed and completely annihilated on the Durst ranch during the strike of Sunday, August 3, 1913.

In October of 1914 the State Federation of Labor held a convention in Stockton in which they pledged their support morally and financially to Ford and Suhr. The air was aquiver with tension. Employers, as you have seen, were willing to go to almost unbeliev-

able lengths to crush the unions and the men who wanted to organize them were incensed at their own treatment and in a mood to meet violence with violence.

During all of 1915 Mooney was actively working in the Ford and Suhr case. It had been appealed to the Appellate Court at Sacramento and to the Supreme Court for a rehearing both of which appeals had been denied. On February 24, 1915, Governor Johnson in response to much pressure in which the San Francisco Labor Council was an active factor, held a public hearing in San Francisco for a petition for their pardon. After seven months' consideration, he denied it and it was then that Mooney, goaded by what he and the International Workers' Defense League felt was an insult to labor, wrote the clear vibrant review of the case, part of which you have just read.

Mooney's Just Indignation

It is easy to see that he was seething with a just indignation which, as he wrote, gradually mounted to a white heat. Until the very end of the statement he kept it gallantly in hand, then he let his mood flare. Certainly he would have done well to use the blue pencil. Yet it is just the sort of peroration that one finds in many labor periodicals—and not only in labor periodicals. There are few writers who expect every high word to be taken literally. What they do expect is to get across the essential truth. In this instance it was that, because of the general intense bitterness felt about the case, the governor by his refusal to pardon the men was inviting violence. (As a matter of fact Ford and Suhr served

twelve years and were then paroled.) Since this paragraph, which was so viciously capitalized by Fickert, is frequently thrown up to Mooney's disadvantage by those who are unfriendly to him, I shall let you pass on it for yourselves:

The governor's statement of his reason for refusing to act at this time shows him up in his true colors, a cowardly cur, despicable beyond recognition, and resorting to the cunning, shrewdness, trickery, and cowardice of the average district attorney in prosecuting a case, by only mentioning that portion of the evidence which would to the average unthinking person look more incriminating, and thereby justifying himself in not granting the pardon or even commutation of sentence, the latter of which we would never have accepted as satisfactory to us. There are some workers at least, Governor Johnson, who will not accept as final your decision on the Ford and Suhr case, and from now on they will attempt to use the only kind of reasoning that will eventually reach you, and we hope it will be indulged in until Ford and Suhr are out of prison. And so, if violence is committed, Governor Johnson is responsible for it, as he has closed the last legal or governmental avenue of action. The workers must act, and they will act until Ford and Suhr walk forth free men vindicated to the labor world as their champions in the greatest cause in history.

Feeling was still bitter about the Ford-Suhr case in 1916. Then in the late spring came the violent Longshoremen and Culinary Crafts strikes, both in San Francisco. Longshoremen are not gentle creatures and there was plenty of violence in this particular struggle. Again it was not by any means wholly on the side of the strikers. Much of it came from the so-called "Law and Order Committee" which, composed of

(Please turn to page two)

A Campaign of Truth in the Mooney-Billings Case!

The decision of the California Supreme Court against a pardon for Warren K. Billings proves again, most solemnly and urgently, that the way of triumph in causes of justice is through strong and persistent appeals to public opinion. Powerful, protesting publicity is what must win—is the only thing that can win—in the Mooney-Billings crusade. Judges, governors, politicians will not heed the demand for justice until that demand is forced upon them in tremendous shape by thousands and more thousands of aroused Americans. Proclaiming the truth about the Mooney-Billings case far and wide will turn this case into a triumphant issue. We must not give up the fight. We must fight all the harder.

We have a strong, splendid answer for this outrageous decision of the California Supreme Court. Our answer is to announce the publication and the widespread national circulation of Marcet Haldeman-Julius' story of the case in the form of a book to be called "The Freeman Army's Special Mooney-Billings Book" and to have the general title of "The Infamous Mooney-Billings Frameup." These articles by Marcet Haldeman-Julius are irresistible in their forceful and truthful character and, brought together impressively in book form, they will supply precisely the fighting material that we need. If this book can be circulated widely enough among American citizens, a storm of intelligent protest will be raised that California authorities must heed. Surrender is unthinkable in this struggle for justice. We know that the men and women of The Freeman Army agree with us in wishing to continue this fight. And the greatest method of continuing the fight is to circulate hundreds of thousands of copies of "The Infamous Mooney-Billings Frameup." We want to see no less than a million copies of this book circulated just as quickly as we can receive and fill the orders of the Army. To prove our sincerity, we are offering copies of this book free with purchases of Freeman sub cards, each 25 cents, good for 25 weeks of The American Freeman. Here are the details of our remarkable offer, prompted by the intense need of action in this cause of justice:

Order 4 sub cards for \$1 and receive 4 free copies of "The Infamous Mooney-Billings Frameup."

Order 8 sub cards for \$2 and receive 8 free copies of the book.

Order 12 sub cards for \$3 and receive 15 free copies of the book.

Order 16 sub cards for \$4 and receive 25 free copies of the book.

Order 20 sub cards for \$5 and receive 35 free copies of the book.

Order 40 sub cards for \$10 and receive 100 free copies of the book.

And remember, you can sell these sub cards at 25 cents each and get your money back. Then you may give away or sell the books, promising to reinvest the money in more sub cards and Mooney-Billings books. Thus you will help to keep working an endless chain of publicity that will break the chains from the wrists of Mooney and Billings.

"The Freeman Army's Special Mooney-Billings Book" will be a real testimonial to the loyal work of The Freeman Army, in that it will contain a special Roll of Honor on which will appear the names of those who sign the order form below. All those who send in their orders before midnight of August 12, using the special order form below, will have their names printed in this Roll of Honor which will be part of "The Freeman Army's Special Mooney-Billings Book."

Help Circulate a Million Copies!

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I am in the fight to win! We must not desert Mooney and Billings in the hour of need! Go ahead! Fight hard! Bring out Marcet Haldeman-Julius Mooney articles in book form at once! Put my name in The Roll of Honor and send me sub cards and free copies of "The Infamous Mooney-Billings Frameup," as checked below, for which I enclose the money.

- 4 sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book, \$1.
- 8 sub cards and 8 free copies of the book, \$2.
- 12 sub cards and 15 free books, \$3.
- 16 sub cards and 25 free books, \$4.
- 20 sub cards and 35 free books, \$5.
- 40 sub cards and 100 free books, \$10.

I am to receive The Freeman sub cards by return mail and my free copies of the Mooney-Billings book immediately after it is off the press. I am in this fight to win! I am not a quitter!

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Reminiscences

Isaac Goldberg

TWO PLAYS

A week in New York spent in interviewing the important factors of Tin Pan Alley could not very well go by without a few evenings in the theater. And before I forget it, let me say a few words about the men who make Tin Pan Alley so raucous and melodious: I found them far less hard-boiled than one would have imagined from the nature of their business and, for that matter, the nature of their mass production in popular tunes. As so often before, I had occasion to notice that the really busy man and the man high in authority is usually the fellow who finds both the time and the inclination to talk with you and give you all the information you are after.

Take as excellent examples, Max Dreyfus and Isidore Witmark. Dreyfus is the head of the T. B. Harris Co., the biggest name in the field of musical comedy publication. Witmark belongs to one of the oldest houses of Tin Pan Alley, which for decades has published a steady stream of hits. If these men could be got to write their memoirs, in the simple and unaffected style of Charles K. Harris, the result would be important documents in the history of American music. Well, as I started out to say, both Dreyfus and Witmark proved to be delightfully affable and equally helpful. For the moment, let this be a slight expression of my appreciation. When my book on Tin Pan Alley appears, sometime this October, you will learn more about them and their importance to the industry that keeps you whistling and dancing and singing.

I began to talk about two plays. They are *Hotel Universe* and *The Green Pastures*. The first is by Philip Barry; the second, by Marc Connelly from a book—*Old Adam's Children*—by Roark Bradford. (This book, as also its successor, in the same vein, is published by Harper's. Read it, if you appreciate good, earthy, racial humor.)

I was prejudiced against *Hotel Universe* before I entered the playhouse. I have little use for speculation in mysticism. It is bad enough in books; on the stage, where you have the human body right before your eyes, it becomes even less credible. For a time, however, the piece proceeded beautifully. A mixed week-end party is gathered on a beautiful terrace overlooking a majestic view. It is not so strange that after a hard time trying to find pleasure the men and women should turn to the comic questions that sooner or later engage us all. In the lives of each is some central mystery that is responsible for their vague unhappiness. If this mystery could be tracked to its lair and dragged out into the healing sunlight, the unhappiness would vanish. The approach, then, is psycho-analytic.

So far, so good. One of the women, an actress, suffers from a father-fixation. One of the young men is prey to a youthful love affair; the girl has died and has taken his passion to the grave. And so through the entire group. The playwright is admirable as an expositor. He establishes a mood with expert technique, but no sooner does he approach the solution than his hand wavers and the play declines. It seems to me that Barry had in mind Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, which likewise poses an interesting metaphysical question, only to collapse like the bridge itself.

There is an old man in the play, the father of the girl at whose home the party takes place. In rapid succession, acting as the confessor of each guest, he pierces, by some mystical knowledge of their souls, to the root of their unconscious obsessions, thus releasing them to restored health. He, himself, his mission fulfilled, dies at last. There was something to the idea, but it is hardly material for a convincing play. Where did the old man get all this knowledge?

The mood of the play, once it gets going, shifts too unconsciously. It is not that the situation itself is unlikely and implausible; one's credulity is strained; nor can one have too much respect for the age-old platitudes intoned in portentous basso profundo tones. What was meant to be eerie and other-worldly becomes

in the end about as fruitful and as hollow as shouting into a rain barrel.

As for *The Green Pastures*, the Pulitzer prize of the year: It is enjoyable enough. I fail to see, however, that it is prize-worthy. In the first place, if it weren't for the numerous spirituals so excellently sung during the many scenes, the stereotyped formula would appear for the ordinary device that it is. We get a glimpse of Genesis and Exodus as seen through the naive eyes of the Negro. Naturally, God, Gabriel, Moses and all the other famous figures of the Old Testament are done in black. The Lord, himself, is a powerful Negro in a frock coat, bearing, if you ask me, a striking resemblance to William Jennings Bryan. His office up in heaven looks like the humble real estate quarters of a black proprietor. The entire play is conceived and executed in these terms.

How can we explain the success of *The Green Pastures*? I have a theory of my own. Of course, I readily grant to Mr. Connelly the imaginative skill that gave us such a delightful fantasy as *Beggar on Horseback*. He is responsible for a number of effective touches, such as turning the court of the King of Babylon into a colored night club and the Court of Pharaoh into a quasi-military organization, the walls of which are decorated with gaudy banners. This is all in harmony with the fundamental attitude.

I can see how certain representatives of the colored race, for all the success of the piece, would resent it. It shows up, though tenderly enough, the ingenuousness of their people. I am wondering that more whites have not objected to the representation of deity upon the stage. This is my explanation:

The fact that the play is done, as it were, in black gives the white spectator a more or less unconscious superiority to the material. However much a materialist he may be, as an average human being he longs to be sermonized. This, too, unconsciously. He would resent being sermonized by one of his own. At such a spectacle, as this, however, that sermon is insinuated while he is receiving it in terms of theatrical pleasure. It catches him off guard; it steals in unawares. His thwarted ethical sense is satisfied at the same time that his sense of pleasure is appealed to.

Something of the same sort explains why the average white scorns the love songs of his own race, or at least sings them and listens to them a trifle shamefacedly, while he hasn't the slightest compunction about playing and singing the outspoken ragtime and hot jazzy numbers that come to us partly through black influence.

I have to state my theory in a minimum of words. I am of the opinion, however, that a fuller study of the influence that the Negro has exerted upon the erotic life of the white in this country would yield interesting results.

ACTUALLY AMUSING
It's Still Boloney. By Joseph Fulling Fishman. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$1.
It was high time that somebody parodied the success advertisements that fill the columns of our enterprising magazines. The recipes for getting rich quick are never the same in two successive years; there are fashions in achievement as in clothes. What Mr. Fishman does is to give us a chart of the styles and to travesty the advertisers. So many of these little books have sprung up since Eddie Cantor made a hit with *Caught Short* and Chic Sales beat it with *The Specialist*, and most have been dull or stupid. It is a relief to find Mr. Fishman funny. After reading his lively account one almost cherishes the ambition to become a failure. That, at least, is something at which, without trying too hard, everybody can succeed.

Method No. 3 is a popular way of working among members of the Freeman Army. The Army sends in its remittances and instructs us to send our special publicity to good names in our possession, paying for the papers at the rate of 2c per copy. This makes it very simple for the Armyite, and its O. K. with us because we get the papers into good hands at a faster rate than if we were mailing the papers to names mailed by the Army member. Method No. 3 is a time-saver for all concerned. But don't hesitate to use either of Methods No. 1 and 2 if you prefer.

A stronger American Freeman means new victories in the war on superstition.

The Market Street Clock

By Douglas Robson

[This clock was included by chance in three photographs taken by a young man, Wade Hamilton, while the Preparedness Day Parade was in progress. The photograph, enlarged 25,000 times by Theodore Kytha, a famous expert on handwriting and photography, proved that Tom and Rena Mooney were on the roof of the building in which they lived at the exact time that they were accused of being at the scene of the explosion a mile and a quarter away.]

Tick-tock, tick-tock,
I am the voice of the Market Street Clock,
The din of the day and the noise of the night
Though driven by fear and the powers of might
Are never enough to obliterate quite
Tick-tock, tick-tock
Tick-tock, tick-tock.
Listen, come closer, a story I tell:
The tale of a man they railroaded to hell.
Oh, would that my voice had the clang of a bell;
But they fear me, they fear me; they know it
full well,
That the hearts of mankind would revolt at
the shock,
And the noise of the street seems to drown the
tick-tock.
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The small pleading voice of the Market Street
Clock.

II
Tick-tock, tick-tock;
I hear in the gray hours of morning the walk
Of the uniformed guardian of order and law.
If you ask him he'll tell you; he knows what I
saw.
When justice was ravished with talon and claw,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tom Mooney was taken away in his prime;
On my face the bright sunbeams had started
to climb,
So they blotted my features with dirt and with
grime,
But man cannot hold back the finger of time,
It contemptuously spurns his vain boasting and
talk.

Old Hatreds in the Mooney Case

Concluded from page one
one hundred business men and equipped with a million-dollar fund, was formed within the Chamber of Commerce.

Lawlessness and Disorder
The press of that day states that Captain Jack Thomas confessed in open court that sluggers for the Chamber of Commerce were committing crimes of violence in the culinary strike under Thomas' own direction, paid for by the Chamber of Commerce money, and that Thomas, ashamed of his work, confessed that he and his men caused all the violence in that strike. Captain Robert Dollar, of steamship fame, is quoted as saying at one of the Chamber of Commerce open shop rallies that the best way to break the Longshoremen strike was to fill the hospitals with union men. The Chamber of Commerce's own attorneys defended Homer Waters, ex-convict, gunman and strike-breaker, who pleaded guilty to killing Olsen, an unarmed striking longshoreman and the father of thirteen children; and Charles Burg who shot and killed another longshoreman, Louis A. Morey. Waters, a colored man, got a sentence of ten years; Burg was acquitted.

It was very busy indeed, in 1916, that Law and Order Committee—breaking laws and creating disorder. Mayor James Rolph, Jr., of San Francisco, who is opposing Governor Young as a candidate for governor in the August primaries and who has never shown himself to be friendly to Mooney, summed up the truth of the situation in a letter addressed to Mr. Frederick J. Koster, Chairman of the Law and Order Committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Exchange Building, San Francisco, Calif. The occasion for it was a demand for police protection when the street car men had a general walk-out in 1917—a walkout which was the logical and direct result of Mooney's efforts to organize the platform men of the United Railroads in 1916. At the time, as you will see, these efforts were unsuccessful, but after he had been framed and sentenced to hang because of them, they bore fruit. What was true of the Law and Order Committee in 1917 was true in 1916. This is what Mayor Rolph said:

Your hysterical telegram dated 1:10 a. m. of August 24, was delivered at my home at 4:20 a. m. of the same day.
Permit me to say, in the first place, that neither you nor the Law

and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce has earned, by any conspicuous devotion to law and order, the right to lecture me or the Police Department.
On the contrary, the attitude and the activity of you and your particular group have done much, in my opinion, to engender the industrial unrest and class hatred, culminating on a few occasions in turbulence and violence, which have lately distressed this community.
I am quite as strongly opposed to lawlessness and disorder as you and your committee can possibly be; and I am, moreover, opposed to every form of lawlessness and disorder, whether committed by a corporation, a striker or a strikebreaker, and whether that lawlessness takes the form of bribery, perjury or any sort of chicanery, or the more violent form of assault and murder.

Doubtless you are disappointed because the police have not yet turned machine guns on crowds in our streets and killed a few dozen strikers, including the customary number of innocent bystanders; but, with all respect for your opinion, I think the police do well to enforce law and order as firmly as they have done, but without any quick or wanton slaughter of the people.
Violent and bloody repression has never maintained law and order so effectively as firmness and common sense. It is unfortunate that so many persons of your type in this country are so incurably stupid and ignorant about business and industry, the very matters in which you are most concerned, and in respect to which you deem yourselves most enlightened. The world is changing all around you, and you and your kind don't know it any more than the czar knew what was happening to him in Russia until it was all over. You still believe in Napoleon's whiff of grapeshot. You still think that industrial discontent can be quelled by the policeman's club. Happily the rest of us do not need to take your Law and Order Committee as seriously as you take yourselves.

III
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
I heard them, I heard them, their babble and talk,
"Let's frame him!" "Let's hang him!" Then
what do I see?
Tom Mooney in jail and the murderers go free!
Yet ere they have done they must reckon with
ME!

IV
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Heart-beat and pulse-beat forever resound;
The days and the months, and the throb of the
years:
A sorrowing wife and a mother in tears.
But calmly I wait. I am stranger to fears:
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
They have hope, they have faith, I have
KNOWLEDGE, I KNOW.
The mills of the gods grind exceedingly slow
But the cycle of time ultimately will show
How the powers of corruption will all have to
go.
Their temple of lies will be wrecked by the
shock,
They shall hear in their passing the rhythmic
tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The terrible voice of the Market Street Clock.

and thus hamper English trade with India.
How many Americans will think of a fitting historic parallel to this latest stroke of English imperialism? You are right the first time. Yes, indeed, the American colonists also boycotted English trade in the eighteenth century and also insisted upon developing home trade and manufactures. The decision of war was in favor of American independence. The judgment of justice and humanity is equally in favor of Indian independence.

THE IRON HEEL OF EMPIRE

That imperialism means tyranny is seen in the action of the British government prohibiting the wearing of "Gandhi caps" (native-made cotton caps symbolizing the struggle for independence) and the use of spinning wheels throughout India. The Indian nationalists have united in a boycott against English goods. England, in the grim style of imperialism, says that Indians must purchase English goods; or, which amounts to the same thing, that they must not spin their own fabrics

and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce has earned, by any conspicuous devotion to law and order, the right to lecture me or the Police Department.
On the contrary, the attitude and the activity of you and your particular group have done much, in my opinion, to engender the industrial unrest and class hatred, culminating on a few occasions in turbulence and violence, which have lately distressed this community.
I am quite as strongly opposed to lawlessness and disorder as you and your committee can possibly be; and I am, moreover, opposed to every form of lawlessness and disorder, whether committed by a corporation, a striker or a strikebreaker, and whether that lawlessness takes the form of bribery, perjury or any sort of chicanery, or the more violent form of assault and murder.

Doubtless you are disappointed because the police have not yet turned machine guns on crowds in our streets and killed a few dozen strikers, including the customary number of innocent bystanders; but, with all respect for your opinion, I think the police do well to enforce law and order as firmly as they have done, but without any quick or wanton slaughter of the people.
Violent and bloody repression has never maintained law and order so effectively as firmness and common sense. It is unfortunate that so many persons of your type in this country are so incurably stupid and ignorant about business and industry, the very matters in which you are most concerned, and in respect to which you deem yourselves most enlightened. The world is changing all around you, and you and your kind don't know it any more than the czar knew what was happening to him in Russia until it was all over. You still believe in Napoleon's whiff of grapeshot. You still think that industrial discontent can be quelled by the policeman's club. Happily the rest of us do not need to take your Law and Order Committee as seriously as you take yourselves.

Law and order will be maintained in San Francisco by the Police Department in spite of the bitterness and hatred which have been aroused in this community by the attitude of yourself and your Law and Order Committee.
It is these old bitternesses and hatreds, scarcely understood by the younger people in San Francisco, that are holding Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in prison.
It was in the midst of these hot hatreds that Mooney dared to do battle with the most unscrupulous of all the utility corporations, to which the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, already his arch-enemy, supplied electric power—the bribing, union-smashing, death-dealing United Railroads.

We are offering our readers what we call "The Jumbo Package of Liberal Reading," for only \$1. It's too big to describe. It would take an entire column of very small type to merely list what is in it. Take a chance. Send one dollar to us today and ask for our "Jumbo Package." You are sure to be delighted. We have never yet failed to satisfy our customers.

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On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

Twice four is eight—so, although we asked that he order at least four sub cards, Wilbur Lichawson Ky, raised very loud and sent in \$2 for eight sub cards. That's the way to spread the message of enlightenment.
Louis Kehr, N. Y., sends a dollar and four names that we are to put on The Freeman list for 25 weeks. We thank Reader Kehr, for his order is the very clearest manner of saying that he believes we are emphasizing the right policy.

W. L. Freeman, Ore.—well, with that name what else could he do? He is true to his name by sending in an order for eight sub cards with The Freeman Army. He says he's busy getting signers for the Mooney-Billings petition. These petitions should be sent to us as quickly as the readers circulating them have good lists of signers.
O. A. Naslund, Wash., contributes a dollar to the Educational Broadside Fund for the Centralia crusade. A little more effort—we still need \$250 for this fund—and Marcell Haldeman-Julius will be on her way to this new, important job of reporting.

From New York to Washington is a long way. So Leroy Cummins, N. Y., delegates Marcell Haldeman-Julius to go for him to Washington and report the Centralia case. He sends a dollar for this Educational Broadside Fund.
Frank H. Hughes, Ore., proves his interest in culture by sending \$5 for a year's advance subscription to The Joseph McCabe Magazine and he also proves his interest in social justice by contributing a dollar to the Centralia Educational Broadside Fund.

"I am in favor of your entire program as outlined in The American Freeman," says Leroy Cummins, Calif., sending a dollar for four sub cards. He signs himself in the language of a true Armyite: "Yours for giving religious and political bigots what they deserve." Watch us!
Robt. F. Jones, Calif., sends along his Freeman pledge duly signed and attested with an order for four sub cards. He has the correct idea—if you believe in our principles, join us in action.

Harvey A. Southard is a Freeman reader living in Babylon, N. Y. Now it happens that in the second number of The Joseph McCabe Magazine, dated July 15 McCabe informs us that ancient Babylon had a better code of justice than Christians have given us credit for having. What's that got to do with the modern town of Babylon in New York? Simply this: one citizen of Babylon—Reader Southard—shows his belief in justice by sending a dollar for the Centralia Educational Broadside Fund.
The church grafters will not "get away with it" so far as The Freeman Army is concerned. A. F. Blomquist,

Calif., joins the Army workers who have sent in sub cards for \$1) in approval of our Church Taxation Crusade.
John M. Ditelear, O., comes back the second time in our drive for 25,000 new readers. He orders four more sub cards. This kind of work means that we are going steadily forward.
Joe W. Waldner, Mo., writes: "I am subscribing for at least four sub cards, for which I enclose one dollar to help increase the number of readers of The Freeman, and I let my friends use the paper in case they also want to help the cause along."
D. B. McKnight, Kans., sends a dollar for four sub cards and says: "I am ready to fight with our American Freeman Army. Kansas City, Kans., has about 12,000 public school children who are being bootlegged out of the schools one hour per week to some nearby church and there instructed in selected portions of the Christians' Bible."

THE FREEMAN ARMY REPORT

We are going to press early on this issue of The Freeman, so our Army report is necessarily brief. Next week we shall report the Centralia fund. Below we report the sub card and bundles of our Church Taxation Special Edition:
\$8, Eric Olsen, Canada.
\$5, Axel J. Franck, R. I.; Thomas Adler, Ohio; Harry C. Ardeser, Wash., D. C.; Antone Murnik, Calif.; J. E. Foubister, Minn.; H. Andres, Calif.; John N. Tanck, Calif.; R. A. Lindblad, Minn.; Frank Witte, Mo.
\$2, W. M. Jacobs, Pa.
\$1, Nicholas Qualantone, N. Y.; H. W. Meyer, N. Y.; J. B. Wepler, N. J.; C. M. Dyer, N. Y.; Fred Rein, Neb.; Joseph L. Schram, Wyo.; L. H. Smith, Wash.; J. R. Osborn, Tex.; G. R. Freeman, Colo.; Henry Schroeder, N. D.; May Gibson, Neb.; A. W. Davidson, Mass.; J. H. Joubert, Dutch West Indies; Paul Gray, Fla.; R. A. Glick, Mo.; David Wilson, N. Y.; Mrs. M. J. Boggs, Va.; L. L. Bridgers, Calif.; H. L. Clark, Ill.; J. A. Oliver, Okla.; Wm. Deswert, Calif.; F. W. Ives, Kans.; Clement Dickson, Calif.; Dewey Collett, Ky.

"Protestant Child Knows Little of God, Survey Shows," says a headline in the New York World. Granted. But why take it all out on the child? Do the preachers really know any more than the child? We think not. They claim to be on intimate terms with God, but as for actual knowledge, they are completely ignorant. Clarence Darrow wisely says: "I refuse to guess, and if the penalty is hell, then I'm going to hell."
We have established a new policy of taking off all subscribers who do not renew on the expiration of their subscriptions. Send us a dollar today and you will be sure of not missing a single issue of The American Freeman—the militant friend of humanity.

and thus hamper English trade with India.
How many Americans will think of a fitting historic parallel to this latest stroke of English imperialism? You are right the first time. Yes, indeed, the American colonists also boycotted English trade in the eighteenth century and also insisted upon developing home trade and manufactures. The decision of war was in favor of American independence. The judgment of justice and humanity is equally in favor of Indian independence.

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"Investigate the Death of President Harding!" Demands Writer in Early Issue of The Debunker

Sexual Rejuvenation Quack Exposed in Kansas

"Dr." Brinkley, Goat Gland Quack, Lured Aged to Hospital by Radio Promises of Restored Potency

"Dr." John R. Brinkley, Milford, Kans., whose goat gland method of sexual rejuvenation was recently called to account by the Kansas State Medical Association, has been sensationally exposed as not even having had proper training to practice medicine. A complete story of his exposure, how Brinkley obtained a fake diploma and how he lured aged hearts with promises of rejuvenation to his hospital through his radio, will all be told in a forthcoming issue of "The Debunker," a monthly magazine devoted to the exposure of sham.

This sensational article was written by a Hutchinson, Kans., newspaperman, Ernest A. Dewey, who investigated the case. The account, titled "Dr. John R. Brinkley—The Superb Quack Who Sells Sexual Potency," will tell of the operation of his "goat gland hospital" in Milford, a small town about 140 miles west of Kansas City.

THE SUN'S RAYS AND YOU
William J. Fielding is the most popular author in the entire Little Blue Book list of 1500 titles. And when he writes an article for "The Debunker," our readers all sit up and give undivided attention. We have for an early Debunker a splendid, informative, useful and simply written article entitled "How the Sun's Rays Will Give You Health and Beauty."

OTHER ARTICLES DEBUNK FRAUDS
Another debunking article, "Can We Outwit Old Age?" by L. M. Birkhead, pastor of All Souls' Unitarian Church, Kansas City, Mo., will list the rejuvenation schemes that have been used by other notorious quacks.

These are necessary pieces of debunking literature in view of the present agitation on quack methods of the rejuvenationists.

DREISER SAYS BIG BUSINESS RULES IN UNITED STATES

Well-Known Novelist Gives First Statement of Economic Views

Big business is practically master in this country and is crowding out individual rights and freedom. Theodore Dreiser, noted novelist, declares in an article printed in a forthcoming issue of "The Debunker."

It is a startling accusation but Dreiser shows the facts. He advocates government control of utilities and investigation of business national in scope.

The facts in this article affect everyone in the country. Here is something everyone, without exception, should read. A subscription secures a copy of it for you. Remember you can only obtain "The Debunker" through Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas. It is not on sale at newsstands.

MISSIONARY BUSINESS IS NOW ON DECLINE

Rees Harcourt knows his missionaries as well as a grocer knows his onions. And what an article he has written for a forthcoming issue of "The Debunker"! How the parsons and the Elmer Ganttrys will writhe! But let them writhe! "The Debunker" is here to print the facts, not to gloss the bitter truth.

Mr. Harcourt says the missionary racket has failed and he produces the facts to prove his assertion. He shows conclusively that the millions of dollars spent each year to "convert the heathen" are wasted, because the "heathen" are not as simple-minded as the parsons pretend. They want western science, not western theology and superstition.

This article, entitled "Decline in Missionary Business," will cause a sensation. If you have your suspicions about what becomes of your pennies, nickels and suspender buttons that you put in the collection plate to save the heathen, read this article and you will have your eyes opened to one of the greatest rackets in the world today.

WHERE BIRTH CONTROL IS NEEDED

"The People Who Need Birth Control" is the title of an article in "The Debunker," which is soon to be printed. This account goes into a few of the cases which draw such sickening choruses of praise from newspapers. We refer to the pictures and stories about mothers who have brought 15, 20 or even 30 children into lives of sickness, poverty and neglect. This article takes its readers behind the scenes. It asks some pointed, uncomfortable questions of the enemies of birth control. Advocacy of birth control is one of the established policies of "The Debunker."

* * * * * MEDDLERS AND UPLIFTERS * * * * *

L. M. Birkhead is famous in the Middle West. He is the liberal and rationalistic minister of All Souls' Unitarian Church, of Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Birkhead has a short feature article scheduled for an early issue of "The Debunker," entitled "Meddlers and Uplifters: Are They a Menace to Civilization?" He shows no mercy in this debunking article. He will make the snoopers and meddlers uncomfortable if they read this great Debunker article, one of the best that we have on the list for early publication. It is this sort of material that makes "The Debunker" so "different" and inviting to intelligent minds.

A NEGRO WRITES AMUSING DEBUNKER ARTICLE ON HIS RACE; A REAL PICNIC HERE

George S. Schuyler Discusses Colored People in Delightful Article That Will Charm and Inform

George S. Schuyler has a lot of fun in his article, "A Negro Looks at Negroes," scheduled for an early issue of "The Debunker." And behind his fun is a lot of sound thinking. In this article Mr. Schuyler has a lively and amusing time debunking his fellow Negroes who are trying to de-Negroize themselves. He tells all about the new industry that has grown up among Negroes—that of hair-straightening and complexion-lightening.

Did you know that many Negroes take arsenic capsules in order to whiten their skin? This article is full of inside debunking material, and you will follow Mr. Schuyler with many a hearty laugh. But you will have to subscribe first, if you are not already on our list. The price? Only \$1.50 a year—a real bargain in magazines.

CRAMMED WITH GOOD THINGS

If you think we are taking a lot of space to describe the contents of forthcoming Debunkers, let us assure you that we really haven't begun, and when we finish we will still leave scores of fine contributions not even mentioned.

The fact is it would take too much space just listing them. Suffice it to say that "The Debunker" is in full swing with short, snappy, peppy, debunking articles that will make you smile, and make you think while you are smiling. If you like intelligent entertainment, you will enjoy "The Debunker." It is really a humorous magazine. "The Debunker" is edited with a view to giving enlightened entertainment to its readers.

"The Debunker" debunks with a smile! And along with its humor is a due regard for the serious things of life, as you will see from some of the descriptions of articles on this page.

GET THIS FREE DEBATE

All Who Use Blank at Right-hand Corner Will Receive Copy of Great Debate!

We have a great treat in store for all who use the blank on this page and send in \$1.50 (\$2 Canadian and foreign) for a year of "The Debunker." Subscribe today and you will be sent, carriage charges prepaid, a copy of an important debate held recently in Kansas City, Mo., at the largest church in that city. The subject: "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?" The disputants: The Rev. Burriss Jenkins and E. Haldeman-Julius. This debate was taken down stenographically, and our edition is printed on very fine paper and bound in attractive, artistic covers. A free copy goes to you if you become one of our growing family of readers. This premium itself is worth as much as the subscription price. And it goes to you FREE if you subscribe. Don't pass up this wonderful chance.

SEX QUESTIONS DISCUSSED

"The Debunker" is not afraid to print frank and free articles on the sex issue. We print many articles that urge the adoption of a more rational outlook on sex problems. We print the kind of articles on sex that the more conventional magazines would not dare accept because they are afraid of the orthodox, puritanical crowd, while "The Debunker" makes no bones about debunking their ideas.

PORTO RICO BLUE SUNDAYS URGED BY PROTESTANT BLOC

Special Writer Depicts for Debunker Spectacle of New Snooper Drive

Did you know that Uncle Sam's colony, Porto Rico, is also having its troubles with meddlers, snoopers and puritanical reformers? J. M. Toro-Nazario, a special writer of "The Debunker," contributes a sparkling and humorous article for an early issue, telling how the Elmer Ganttrys are trying to make everybody good in strict accord with their oppressive standards.

It is part of "The Debunker's" policy to fight all sumptuary legislation, all interference with private habits, and all movements that are intended to enforce a gloomy, recreationless, boring, tedious, pious Sunday.

"The Debunker" prints many articles describing our war on Blue Sundays. Always depend on "The Debunker" taking the liberal and civilized side of each question. This magazine fights the enemies of joy and happiness. You will enjoy this monthly periodical if you will subscribe at once in time to get the many articles mentioned on this page.

A FEW OF MANY FEATURES TO APPEAR IN DEBUNKER

Dr Sigmund Freud One of Our Writers to Have Contribution in This Lively and Stimulating Magazine

An early issue of "The Debunker" will contain an important, informative, helpful article by Dr. Sigmund Freud, entitled "What Is the Purpose of Life?" This article, written in plain language, gives a modern slant on vital philosophical and psychological questions, and will be read with great interest by our subscribers. This short article is crammed with scientific data and will be of real help to those who are perplexed and defeated by the problems of living.

Dr. Freud's article is "inspirational" in the best sense of that much-abused word—it is useful, which is a simpler and better word. Of course, we need not tell our readers that anything from the pen of this famous psychoanalyst is worthy of serious thought. Dr. Freud has had limitless influence on his age. To understand Freud is to have a deeper and better understanding of life.

We have just accepted an amusing, sprightly little article, "Have You Been Enumerated?" which tells about the screamingly ridiculous population fight of three large Texas cities. The author is Paul Spencer, San Antonio, Texas.

And here's another entertaining article, by H. A. Woodmansee, entitled "How 'Wicked' is Hollywood?" treating in a humorous way the immoralities of Hollywood stars. It seems their crime is not only "wickedness," but dullness. This article gives interesting sidelights on the sex life of Movietown. In a letter to the editor of "The Debunker," Mr. Woodmansee writes: "The article is based on my personal observations. I worked in the west coast studios for three years. During that time I came in contact with many scores of typical movie people. I knew them as only a fellow worker knows them. Every word of my article is absolutely true."

Robert F. Hester has written a screamingly funny article, entitled "Daily Doses of Bunk," in which he makes a smashing analysis of the daily debunkettes given out by columnists like Arthur Brisbane, O. O. McIntyre, Eddie Guetz and the rest of the journalistic bunk-shooters. He quotes their bunk and shows the sort of merchandise they are peddling off on the morons.

Another amusing article is called "Upshaw, from Georgia—Successor to Bryan." This article is by Booth Mooney, well known to readers of "The Debunker." This article paints an unforgettable and amusing portrait of the great Georgia crusader for "Gawd's kingdom." This article will delight you. We guarantee at least twenty laughs from this piece alone.

Next comes a short article of a much more serious nature, by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of The Nation, entitled "The Death of President Harding Should Be Investigated." This article is based on the sensational charges that appear in Gaston B. Means' new book which has suddenly become a best seller. We can testify to the public interest in this astonishing book, because our book department reports that we are selling scores of copies each day, with the sales mounting weekly. (This book is being offered at \$3.65.) Mr. Villard demands that the government take action at once to investigate this book's charges, before it is too late. This article will cause a vast flood of comment.

If you will use the subscription blank on this page we will give you a free copy of "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?" a verbatim report of a debate between the Rev. Burriss Jenkins, of Kansas City, Mo., and E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of the Haldeman-Julius Publications. This debate is printed in a beautiful book, on good paper, bound in artistic covers.

"THE DEBUNKER" BRIMMING WITH LIVE, INTERESTING READING

We Have a Wonderful Array of Articles in Store for Readers During Next Few Months

In addition to articles announced elsewhere on this page the following articles will appear in forthcoming issues of "The Debunker": "An Estimate of George S. Schuyler," by Eugene Gordon. (Mr. Schuyler is the Negro author who writes frequently on Negro topics for Debunker readers.) "Civil Liberties and the Southern Negro," by James E. Harris. "A Study in Patriotism," by Orus M. Mooney. "Beethoven—Liberal and Individualist," by J. G. Hinderer. "The Roman Catholic Church and Sex," by E. Boyd Barrett. "From Sin to Psychiatry—An Interview on the Way to Mental Health with Dr. Karl A. Menninger," by L. M. Birkhead. "Fraternalism in the Cow-Town University," by P. F. Loewen. "Homosexuality in the Lives of the Great," by J. V. Nash. "Are You Losing Your Hair?" by Sigmund S. Greenbaum. "The Bunk Box." A regular feature.

A section of lively editorials. Interesting announcements of forthcoming Haldeman-Julius publishing plans. And others too numerous to mention.

In all, here is a magazine you really need. There is a blank for your subscription at the bottom of the page on the right-hand side. Please use it today. It is easy to become a subscriber to "The Debunker." Merely write in your name and address on the blank below to the right. Put it in an envelope, with check, postal money order or cash for \$1.50 (\$2 Canada and foreign), mail it to "The Debunker," Girard, Kans., and we will rush your name onto the list and begin your subscription immediately. Remember, also, that by using the blank on this page you will earn the right to a wonderful premium—a beautiful book which contains a verbatim report of an exciting debate between the Rev. Burriss Jenkins and E. Haldeman-Julius. And if you subscribe for two years, you will receive two books. Read the blank for further information.

* * * * * HE'S A REWRITE MAN * * * * *

Lorimer McLaren is a newspaperman, and he has written for an early number of "The Debunker" an article, entitled "He's a Rewrite Man." You will enjoy this intimate sketch of a newspaperman. This writer takes you behind the scenes and shows you what is going on. It has numerous touches of both humor and pathos. You will get an amazing portrait of the men who make the newspapers. This is the sort of material that will make you like "The Debunker" month after month. Remember, this magazine debunks with a smile!

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A MAGAZINE FOR LIBERALS

If you are a hidebound, orthodox conservative, if you are afraid of a new viewpoint or a novel idea, then you won't like "The Debunker." This magazine is frankly liberal—it is published for those not afraid to risk knowing the truth.

Another important point about "The Debunker" is its free editorial policy. It has no prejudices. It is not afraid to take the unpopular side of a question, if we consider the unpopular side the right one.

U. S. Government Must Examine All Charges that Make it Seem that Late President Was Murdered!

Amazing Article in Forthcoming Number of "The Debunker" Proposes Real Action While Persons Who Know Facts Can Tell Truth

Was President Harding murdered? Is Gaston B. Means, a former Department of Justice investigator, telling the truth or is he a brazen liar? Will the federal government look into this case, and all the other astonishing scandals exposed by Mr. Means? Or will the Powers That Be suppress this black page in American history and through a conspiracy of silence attempt to kill an issue that refuses to die?

These questions are discussed frankly in an early issue of "The Debunker." There is plenty of plain talk and the issue is made clear to the American people. An investigation is urged, and we are giving the power of publicity at our command to help to the utmost in bringing an official inquiry into the astonishing and scandalous Harding administration.

* * * * * OUR READERS ARE PLEASED * * * * *

"The Debunker" is now more than six years old. It is an established institution. It has gone through its growing pains. It is here to stay. What makes sailing so easy is the fact that we have no difficulty whatever in getting our subscribers to renew their subscriptions year after year. This, after all, is the real test. It is what happens at the end of the first year that counts. And with us our easiest job is to get a renewal. Our readers get the habit of reading "The Debunker." They like it—and they come back for more. You will do the same if you begin with us today.

AN ATTRACTIVE MAGAZINE

While we are dwelling so conscientiously on the contents of "The Debunker," let us not fail to mention something about its appearance. It is really a beautiful magazine, printed on a good grade of paper, in large, readable type. The magazine comes 5 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches in size, and is bound in an artistic, attractive blue cover, printed in two colors. "The Debunker" is neatly bound and will fit your pocket without bulging.

We spare no pains in making "The Debunker" a triumph of the printing art. Our proofreading is especially careful, each proof being read at least four times in our office, and frequently, for the sake of safety, proofs are sent to our authors for their personal reading. All facts, dates and names that are used in "The Debunker" are checked very carefully. We make mistakes, of course, but we try our best to keep them down to the minimum. It is rather unusual to catch "The Debunker" in any sort of a misstatement. We cannot afford to be careless about facts. Authors are impressed again and again with the importance of strict accuracy, and it is gratifying to report that we receive the most willing cooperation in our attempt to keep up the high standards of "The Debunker."

Here's another reason why our readers are so enthusiastic about "The Debunker." They know they will get a COMPLETE picture of this great country through the pages of this wide-awake magazine.

If you are afraid of "meat" in your reading then by all means do not act on this invitation to become a reader of "The Debunker." If you are NOT afraid, then use the blank below today and read twelve issues of a magazine that is crammed with "hot" stuff. (Not a dull and dead page will be found in any issue of "The Debunker.")

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USE THIS RESERVATION BLANK TODAY

We guarantee you this: Use this blank at once, without the slightest delay, and you will see to it that your name goes on the subscription list of "The Debunker" in good time to read all the articles described on this page, and all the other thrilling contributions by the ablest writers who will contribute to "The Debunker" during the next twelve months. This magazine is not sold on the newsstands. You have to subscribe by the year in order to get it.

Furthermore, if you subscribe to "The Debunker" we will send you a free copy of a great and important debate that was recently held between the Rev. Burriss Jenkins, of Kansas City, Mo., and E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of "The Debunker," entitled "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?" in which the vital question "Is There a God?" is debated by two keen minds. Should you want to subscribe to the magazine for two years instead of one, thus avoiding the possibility of missing an issue should your renewal be delayed, we will send you two books, as noted in the blank below:

THIS GUARANTEES YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO BEGIN AT ONCE

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I enclose \$..... for a subscription to "The Debunker" as checked below:
 \$1.50 (\$2 Canadian and foreign) for one year of "The Debunker" beginning IMMEDIATELY. Send me a FREE copy of the important debate, "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?"
 \$3 (\$4 Canadian and foreign) for two years of "The Debunker" beginning IMMEDIATELY. Send me "Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?" AND "Complete Text of Famous Missouri University Sex Questionnaire," both FREE.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... State.....

The Culture Bargain That's What Readers Call McCabe Magazine

Lovers of culture—lovers of lively, interesting, zestful culture that stirs the imagination—are acclaiming *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* as the greatest culture bargain in America. No. 1 of this new magazine ("The Morals of the Savage") was issued on July 1 and immediately proved that our claims for this publication were not exaggerated. McCabe's story, in his own magazine, of the true nature of primitive, savage life is the most important and authentic description ever given of this interesting and until now obscure phase of life.

In the box at the right you can see what is the program of fascinating popular culture which we have begun in *The Joseph McCabe Magazine*. It is a program, let us emphasize, which necessitates a continuous reading of the magazine. Single copies are worth 50 cents—but we sell this magazine only through yearly subscriptions. In this we are doing the readers a favor, because they will be very eager to read every issue of the magazine. We warn you in a friendly spirit that if you start reading *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* you will not be able to stop.

But just look who writes every word of the magazine! Naturally Joseph McCabe is the kind of writer who puts his comely charm on readers, attracts them irresistibly to him, and holds them to the end. The typical reader of McCabe's writings soon finds himself the kind of "fan" who insists on reading every line that comes from McCabe's fluent and delightful pen. McCabe (his "fans" know) never writes carelessly. He never writes obscurely. He never writes dully. His writing in *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* is a clear and beautiful light of culture that enchants the reader and draws him on, eagerly reaching for each issue, to his own intellectual enrichment.

It seemed (and really was) a daring experiment to publish a magazine given solely to the ideas and the knowledge of one man. Already it has proved successful. McCabe is worth a dozen (or a hundred or any number) of ordinary writers. He is the one man who can write every word of a one-man magazine and do it all magnificently—who can occupy the whole stage and require no assistance.

Subscribe Now and Get First Numbers

The work of *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* has been exceptionally brilliant from the very first number. Look at this list of the numbers already printed or scheduled for early printing and reflect that, by subscribing now, you will start with No. 1 and be able to keep a complete file of this great magazine:

- No. 1 (issued July 1). *The Morals of the Savage.*
- No. 2 (issued July 15). *Morals in the Ancient World.*
- No. 3 (issued Aug. 1). *Phallic Ancient Civilizations and the Cult of Love.*
- No. 4 (issued Aug. 15). *Morals Among the Greeks and Romans.*
- No. 5 (issued Sept. 1). *Morals in Early Medieval Europe.*

Readers of *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* are sure of the liveliest entertainment at the same time that they are enjoying a liberal education. This is America's greatest culture-magazine bargain.

Only \$5 a year in advance. Or \$1 down and \$1 a month for five months.

Inspiring Things to Come

Joseph McCabe is putting his best work into this new magazine. And let us tell you this fact, which is actually no secret: McCabe is right now in shape to do his very ablest, soundest, liveliest work. He is very enthusiastic over the plans for the future of *The Joseph McCabe Magazine*. He is now working on a masterpiece, which will be a marvelously enlightening and effective summing-up of the age-old question, "Is There a God?" And don't jump to the conclusion that this will be merely a series of arguments. No—McCabe is setting forth a very interesting intellectual, social and dramatic history to be called "The Rise and Fall of the Gods." This will be an exciting work.

Another inspiring feature planned for *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* is a series entitled "One Hundred Men Who Moved the World." This will be unlike any history or biography you have ever read. We cannot give it such a conventional classification, for McCabe sets new standards in this wonderful survey of the significant story of mankind through the ages. Each number of the magazine will contain four of these super-biographical studies of great men who had a profound and moving influence upon the history of the race.

And here is something better than any ordinary biography and something that only Joseph McCabe could write. The "Autobiography" of McCabe himself will appear as an exclusive feature of *The Joseph McCabe Magazine*. Will it not be fascinating to read the intimate life-story of this man who is known as "the modern Aristotle" and "the world's greatest scholar"? McCabe has lived through the immense, vital changes of the modern age.

After this great program is completed (and we assure you that it will be completed to the very last line), McCabe will make a special tour of the world and will write his impressions of the world today—of all the countries, peoples, and movements of the world—specially and exclusively for readers of *The Joseph McCabe Magazine*.

Considering the extraordinary value of its contents, *The Joseph McCabe Magazine* is priced very reasonably—one reader writes us that the first issue is worth the price of a year's subscription. Only \$5 a year in advance. Or \$1 down and \$1 a month for five months thereafter.

Use This Order Form!

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 is \$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

(The above rates apply anywhere in the world.)

TRUTH hurts those who prosper by lies.

THEOLOGY imagines crazy riddles and then fails to explain them.

A REACTIONARY'S definition of a Bolshevik is any man who doesn't agree with him.

A GRAPTER'S idea of a "good sport" is anybody who will serve as a willing victim.

IS LIFE worth living? At any rate, it is worth being made livable by the organized culture of mankind.

BUNK-SHOOTERS may be inconsistent in all other things, but they consistently dread the growth of intelligence.

IT is sad to reflect that men have cooperated most willingly in the destructiveness of war and the fanaticism (also destructive) of religion.

ALWAYS important among the real builders have been those who by education and agitation have helped tear down the obstacles to progress.

MILLIONS of jobless workers now understand the meaning of the slogan, "See America first." It means that they can tramp the roads looking vainly for work.

PESSIMISM is the driving force of progress. When men are sufficiently pessimistic about conditions, they bestir themselves to change the conditions more to their liking.

WE EXPECT any day to hear a leading Prohibition fanatic declare that the United States should have a war with England so that our government can seize Canada and make that country dry.

HISTORY is a record in which there is much folly and some wisdom. A good historian or a good student of history is one who refuses to worship the folly and searches for realistic values in the wisdom.

"COMMON SENSE," as it works out in actual living, is the mixture of truth and error and compromise and selfishness and good and bad impulses that men agree generally to respect or toward which, gossiping on the street corners, they pretend respect.

ONCE again, on the Fourth of July, 1930, fireworks and speeches and parades were staged in celebration of the event which determined that Americans should be ruled and exploited by Americans. No, that statement isn't meant to be a cross-word puzzle.

EX-SENATOR REED of Missouri says that the country needs the principles of the Democratic party. It would help a bit if he would explain clearly what are the principles of the Democratic party. So far as we have been able to observe, the only difference between Democratic and Republican politicians, visible to the naked eye, is that between the "ins" and the "outs."

DEAD MEN do tell tales. The dead from war tell us that war is a ghastly blunder and crime. The dead from poverty tell us that economic injustice is a ghastly blunder and crime. The dead from religious bigotry tell us that intolerance is a ghastly blunder and crime. The dead from social ignorance tell us that obscurantism is a ghastly blunder and crime. We should heed these dead men's tales.

Governor C. C. Young, of California, has decided that Tom Mooney shall be denied a pardon. But we who are fighting for justice are not through. We shall begin our fight all over again. We call on The Freeman Army to get into action! Help The American Freeman reach a wider audience so that the new blows we deliver in defense of Mooney and Billings will have real effect. The Freeman Army refuses to quit! We are going ahead with the big fight!

ECONOMIC motives alone do not explain the life of mankind. There are motives of fear, ignorance, passion, jealousy, suspicion and—to put it summarily—funny old "human nature." Yes, we know what you are going to say—that there is no such thing as "human nature." Anyway, hair-splitting aside, there are men and women and circumstances and strange complications of motive and behavior. Our best approach to all these problems is by way of realistic study.

Have It My Own Way

By John W. Gunn

A STUDY IN PREJUDICE
Five books on religion are reviewed in the June 4 number of *The Outlook and Independent*. Four of them are friendly to religion, three evidently being evangelical in tone and pounding very old and hollow drums for "a supernatural Christianity." One of them (H. L. Mencken's *Treatise on the Gods*) is a work of thorough skepticism and studies the evolution of gods and creeds in a soundly naturalistic manner. *The Outlook* reviewer has nice, expansive, encouraging words for all the books excepting one—and that one, which he dismisses rather brusquely, is Mencken's civilized, skeptical treatise.

It is a perfect study in pious bias or the bias of the pious. The reviewer, Edmund B. Chaffee, couldn't help himself. The image of his mother's knee, one can see plainly enough, just naturally intrudes itself between Mr. Chaffee and the subject of religion. Of Mencken's treatise he says derisively that it will be liked by "those who enjoy God-killing."

Mencken, he says, "is clearly out of his depth." The book is "little more than a rationalization of his [Mencken's] own dislikes." And this, if you will pardon my saying so, is quite clearly a case of Mr. Chaffee rationalizing his mother's knee. It is one thing for Mr. Chaffee to disagree with Mencken, he being under the spell of the old faith and Mencken being disillusioned from that spell; but one detects the tone of prejudice when he says that Mencken is "clearly out of his depth." On the contrary, Mencken shows in his treatise that he understands religion very well indeed, its history, its psychology, its social reactions, and the moods and manners of its professional practitioners.

But what damns Mr. Chaffee is the contrast when one turns to the Christian treatises that win his cordial words. For instance, he says that *Humanism, A New Religion*, by Charles Francis Potter, is "a much more constructive facing of the present religious age" than Mencken's treatise. Yet Rev. Potter—not surprisingly, as he is a preacher and therefore more eloquent (or emotional) and maybe not so eloquent) rather than logical—is in his book a less than artful dodger between an attempt to be modern and a desire to save the sentimental attitude and essentially pious genuflections of the old religion: the difference between the two men is that Rev. Potter evades and distorts the logic which Mencken faces candidly.

Armor of Light, by Mygatt and Witherspoon, is (I gather from the review, which is enough) a meant-to-be-heart-touching cross between a romance and a disquisition on the early Christians: the title gives it away: it is all for the holy faith. The book, says Mr. Chaffee, is "forcible and attractive." And Mr. Chaffee more than hints that he believes quite literally in the story of the resurrection—that "Jesus conquered death."

Thus he hands a good line to *Who Moved the Stone?* by Frank Morrison, which he calls "a searching survey of the evidence for the resurrection." From what Mr. Chaffee says it is to be inferred that Mr. Morrison and the reviewer unite in a belief that the fairy tale of the resurrection is true; and Mr. Chaffee delivers himself—solemnly, I suppose—of this bit of argumentation: "And on what does the skeptic base his rejection of the Easter story? Almost entirely on an a priori conviction that such a thing could not happen." Mr. Chaffee doesn't think that conviction is very intelligent. Again his mother's knee casts its shadow over his thought.

The remaining exhibit is a defense of supernatural and evangelical Christianity—*Some Living Issues*, by Dr. Robert E. Speer—and, naturally with the kind of mind he carries around, Mr. Chaffee reviews this effusion of "God-of-the-fathers" piety in a tone of unmistakable mother's-knee cordiality. Mr. Chaffee may not be a "supernatural" or old-fashioned Christian. He says of Dr. Speer's book: "Whether or not one agrees with his doctrine one cannot but admire the sublime faith and the tireless energy which have made his own life so inspiring to thousands of his fellows." One fact seems quite evident: Mr. Chaffee

prefers the "inspiration" of an evangelist, calling upon the name of God, to the inspiration of Mencken and his civilized thought. And if Mr. Chaffee doesn't agree with Dr. Speer's doctrine, we can be sure that he agrees with his mother's knee.

CONSCIENCE FOR TWO

Judges like to have the rest of us think that they are very judicial and that they are guided impersonally by the law. Yet for all this pretense judges go right on interpreting the law in accordance with their private leanings of opinion. Thus the United States Court of Appeals in New York has just announced a decision "that an applicant for citizenship has the right to follow his conscience and religious scruples regarding the bearing of arms." This decision was in favor of Rev. Douglas Clyde MacIntosh, professor of theology at Yale Divinity School, and Miss Marie Averil Bland, daughter of an English preacher—both Canadians by birth.

We have no quarrel with this particular decision. But what we do object to is the prejudice revealed by Judge Martin T. Manton, who wrote the decision, in his comment on the case. This case, said Judge Manton, was not comparable to the case of Rosika Schwimmer, the celebrated pacifist, who several years ago was denied citizenship for a similar refusal to bear arms in war. Judge Manton explained the difference to be that Rosika Schwimmer was "an absolute atheist" and had "no sense of nationalism." The real difference, however, is the prejudice of Judge Manton and (presumably) his colleagues. A Christian conscience of pacifism is respected; but a non-Christian conscience of pacifism is not respected. One who claims to be opposed to war because Jesus was opposed to war can find indulgence for his conscience in a court; but one who is opposed to

war because of a realistic devotion to the ideal of a peaceful, civilized society is entitled to no respect for such a conscience.

In other words, there are no rights of conscience—it merely depends on whether one's conscience agrees with the judge's conscience. We condemn the note of religious bigotry and discrimination in the decision of this New York federal court. Unfairly and unreasonably, this decision exalts the Christian conscience above all other kinds of conscience.

T. P. Scott, of Tahlequah, Okla., sends a dollar to renew his subscription and adds this to his letter: "Remember I am down here just by myself fighting the whole county. I don't see any hopes of ever changing the damned hypocrites—and fools." Don't let yourself get discouraged, Reader Scott. We have the enemy worried. The Freeman Army is putting in some fine licks in the fight on hypocrisy and bunk. Our suggestion to Reader Scott is a simple, but effective, one: Get us a club of readers. Try to stop fighting individuals long enough to reason them into reading *The American Freeman*. Let us do some of your fighting for you. We enjoy fighting the forces of reaction. Give The Freeman half a chance to do its stuff. You will be surprised how soon The American Freeman will change some of your stubborn acquaintances into enthusiastic supporters of the militant policies of The American Freeman and The Debunker.

The American Freeman needs help from its friends—the only kind of help that counts. Help us by sending us a dollar to renew your subscription for another year. Help us by getting ten of your friends to take trial subscriptions—ten weeks ten cents in clubs of ten or more. Help us by boosting our circulation. We want to build up a new army of readers. We are in action. We can't do a thing without your help. Can we count on you?

Get the works of Clarence Darrow for only \$1.

NEW JERSEY TOWN SAYS "NO PLAY ON SUNDAY"

"Lord's day" fanatics in East Orange, N. J., are powerful enough to close the city playgrounds on Sunday. Tennis, golf, and other forms of recreation are forbidden in the very spirit of theocratic tyranny. The "Lord's day" fanatics cannot offer the excuse in this instance that they are opposing commercialism on Sunday. (That argument, by the way, means only that they want to have a monopoly on Sunday for Christian commercialism.) These civic playgrounds are not maintained for profit. They are centers of free public recreation. In closing them on Sunday, the New Jersey city is simply yielding to the bigotry of the preachers and the more fanatical Christians. This is Christian, not social, legislation. It is discrimination in favor of a superstition which many citizens do not respect. It is a compulsion upon all citizens to deny themselves pleasure on Sunday in deference to a church dogma in which many of them do not believe.

Now the East Orange fanatics are determined that the new game of miniature golf shall be forbidden on what they dogmatically designate as "the Lord's day." Dr. Harry L. Bowly, general secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, declared that the supporters of Sunday recreation would be "outnumbered by those who respect the Lord's day." But the principle of freedom is clear. Those who respect "the Lord's day" are at perfect liberty to signify their respect in any way that appeals to them. No others should be compelled by law to respect "the Lord's day" in any fashion.

Fanaticism or freedom? This is the clear-cut issue with which we are confronted in all blue Sunday laws.

PRESIDENT HOOVER isn't a good politician—so Congress has no liking for him. He isn't a promoter of the national welfare—so the people have no enthusiasm for him. He isn't a statesman—so history won't place him very high.

August 2 Begins Our Drive On Clerical Grafters

August 2 begins our immense campaign against the graft, hypocrisy and bigotry of clericalism. That is the date of our Church Taxation Special Edition, which will be the opening broadside in this history-making crusade for the principles of modern freedom from church exploitation and church rule. We shall concentrate this Special Edition on the issue of making the wealthy, parasitic churches pay their full and fair share of taxes instead of, as now, imposing a monstrous burden upon the masses who are not church members nor willing church supporters. Under the rule of gross favoritism which exempts churches from taxation, all of us are forced to be unwilling supporters of the churches. We are made to pay the upkeep of the clerical grafters.

Such an injustice calls for a tremendous protest. The facts must be published, the position of the churches in this issue must be candidly explained, and the program of secular justice must be set forth in the clearest terms. We are happy to say that we have arranged for the ablest treatment of the church taxation question in our Special Edition of August 2. Harry Hibschan, lawyer and well-known author of many Little Blue Books, will prepare a strong series of articles which will begin in this Special Edition and continue through subsequent issues of *The American Freeman*. L. M. Birkhead, liberal pastor of All Souls' Unitarian Church, Kansas City, Mo., will contribute an article on "Church Exemption as a State Subsidy." Joseph McCabe, the greatest foe of clericalism in the modern age, will contribute a vigorous, educational article on the history, the principle and the remedy of this favoritism shown by the State to the Church.

In fact, just as we are writing this announcement we have received McCabe's article, written in London, which would alone make this Special Edition remarkably effective. We can tell you this much: it is one of the hottest, ablest, spendidest articles ever written by McCabe. The beauty of this McCabe article is its invincible reason and justice. The defenders of this clerical graft cannot possibly reply to McCabe. His arguments, his facts, his constructive proposals are irrefutable. Fair-minded men and women, reading this McCabe article, cannot help admitting the justice of our demand that all church property should be taxed.

As we told you last week, we are planning a vast war on clericalism. But our first work is to make a big success of the Church Taxation Special Edition on August 2. There are three effective methods you can use in circulating this Special Edition.

Under Method No. 1 you can order a bundle of 50 or more copies of the Special Edition, at the rate of 2 cents per copy (minimum order \$1 for 50 copies). This method ideally enables you to reach special persons whom you wish to influence.

Under Method No. 2 you can order 50 or more copies of the Special Edition to be mailed to names of your own selection, at the rate of 2 cents per copy (minimum order \$1 for 50 copies). This is a direct and convenient method of propaganda.

Under Method No. 3 you can order 50 copies of the Special Edition, at the rate of 2 cents per copy (minimum order \$1 for 50 copies), telling us to send these copies to special names in our possession. We have important lists (hundreds of thousands of names) of workers, merchants, lawyers, teachers, preachers, public officials. This is a popular and ready method of propaganda.

Use any one or all three of these methods and thus help to impress the clerical grafters with the seriousness of our campaign. Act immediately by using the order form below.

NOW! Join Us in This Great Crusade

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I am in favor of the widest publicity for the Church Taxation Special Edition of August 2. As my part in this great crusade I am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. Send me a bundle of copies, at 2c per copy, minimum order 50 copies, for which I am enclosing \$.....

Method No. 2. Send copies of the Special Edition (minimum order, 50 copies) to the enclosed names and addresses, for which I am enclosing \$....., which pays for the papers and the mailing at the rate of 2c per copy.

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$....., which is to pay for your mailing copies of this Special Edition (minimum order, 50 copies) to good names in your possession, said copies being paid for at the rate of 2c per copy.

Name Address

City State