

Shall Christian Morality Govern Modern Life?

A Freeman Army Educational Broadside

We have a practical reason for fighting clericalism. We condemn the mode of thought that religion upholds and seeks to promote. Intellectually the church and its clerical business agents stand in the way of progress. In waging a crusade against clericalism, we are opposing superstition and falsehood and an antiquated style of belief that is harmful to humanity. But there are more definite factors of evil in clericalism. There is a very real oppression, which is clearly clerical in character and not the less so when it is disguised under various other pretexts. When religion enters as a powerful and distorting motive in the making of our laws, and when we are in the position of having to obey legislation that is piously bigoted, we are seeing clericalism at work as an oppressive force. We should not be so concerned if religion were merely significant as what men and women believe; but it has a more challenging significance when these beliefs, which should be private, are actually forced into the public law and thrust upon us as standards that we must honor and follow. We denounce the role of clericalism in fashioning our laws and particularly—according to its well-known nature and purpose—in shaping our moral laws and imposing censorship upon the expressions of opinion.

There is no way in which clericalism shows its anti-social character more glaringly than in its severe confusion of moral issues. Between modern society and the facts of life—or a sane dealing with the facts of life—stands the specter of Christian dogmatism casting its medieval shadow over the social institutions of man. A specter? Yes, to the view of the intellectually liberated man or woman this Christian morality is a gloomy, foolish and cruel specter. It is maddeningly absurd that it should have an influence in this age, when science and rationalism have opened new pathways to happy, intelligent living. But the power of this Christian ideology is a great deal more substantial than it is spectral. It is, to speak figuratively, a ghost that walks and that tramples upon the living or, which is the same in effect, frightens them into submission to its silly edicts. Dead hands—dead ideas—exercise an unnatural rule. The dead hands are upheld by living hands. The dead ideas are persistently kept in effect by fanatics who are very much alive. These are dead ideas in the very true sense that they belong to ages that are mouldering in the tomb of history. They are dead ideas because they are opposed to life.

The Logic of Progress

In denouncing clericalism, we must give a prominent score to the ignorant moral prejudice that, based essentially upon Christianity, burdens our laws and customs. We condemn the religious attitude toward every feature of life, moral or political or social. Religion is a tremendous obstruction—to force breaches in the wall through which humanity could advance—has been the necessary work of progress. Great as this work has been, we are forced to recognize that it is incomplete. In its most brutal, terrific character, the power of organized religion has indeed been abolished. No longer does clericalism openly and absolutely command the lives of men. Its alliance with the state—an alliance which *does exist today*—is relatively slight and modified in comparison with the bloody, extreme heyday of church rule. The church cannot, with torture and with death, punish us for what it calls heresies. It cannot dictate our beliefs about religion. It cannot lay upon us such crude and heavy dress as was customary in the days when priest and king were huge, successful partners in the oppression and robbery of mankind.

But relative considerations are not enough, especially when we are faced with the necessity for a struggle against living evils which, although they may be less than past evils, are definitely and insistently our problems. After expressing ourselves as duly grateful to the fighters in the ranks of liberty who have achieved our emancipation from many burdens and evils of clericalism, we must turn to a serious confrontation of the

remaining clerical evils that do really oppress us. We are living in the present and it is what the church does in the present that most particularly concern us. If a hundred evils of church rule have been abolished and we see a dozen evils—or but a single evil—standing in our way today, it is this immediate situation with which we must come to grips. Victories for liberty in the past are, again, useful mainly as furnishing principles of inspiration and guidance to victories for liberty in the future. We must go through with progress to its logical conclusion. We must cast off the last dogmatic restraint of clericalism. Secular freedom must be complete. Man must be free to manage his life rationally.

"No Church Rule!"

This brings us face to face with one clear, first principle that is absolutely necessary to the rational management of man's life: namely, religion must be shorn of its authority in every point and application, whether such points are said to be directly religious or not. Ostensible freedom from religious intolerance may be accompanied by a very harsh, narrow kind of intolerance that owes its whole argument and forcefulness to religion. Thus we may not be compelled to submit to theological notions as such; but, as the vicious offspring of theology, there are moral notions we may be forced to obey and that have no ground save in religious superstition and fanaticism. Preachers may not have the power to wring from us professions of belief in church creeds; but they can swing over us the club of moral tyranny, compelling us to subscribe, not necessarily in theory but in the stern limitations of law and practice, to a religious view of life.

Are we forced into religious behavior? It is true that we are not legally ordered to attend church. We are not compelled to worship a God nor to yield credence or reverence to any church creed. But in the state of New York, for example, the law forbids divorce save on the ground of adultery: that is a law which is theological in motive and bias: in submitting to that law, in being seriously and unjustly hampered by a piece of archaic pious legislation, men and women in New York are forced into conformity with religious behavior. Various features in the different states, our marriage laws are in the main shot through with the dogmas and restrictions of religion. Leading thinkers have indeed warned us that we can never hope to solve our marriage problems until we throw off entirely the Christian notion of sin, the Christian notion of marriage as a sacrament, which burdens our legislation.

Dogma in Marriage

Marriage is fundamentally recognized as a secular partnership; yet, inconsistently, Christian ideology dominates our laws concerning marriage and back of all the restrictions upon divorce is the theory of Christianity that God has joined man and wife and it is sinful for them to part or that, if part they do, the dissolution must be made as troublesome as possible and dogmas of righteousness must be observed in the process. It is an open secret that the church has steadily opposed the broadening and modernizing of our marriage laws. If these laws are advanced today, it is because progressive thinkers outside the church struggled for such a humanitarian goal.

If it were not for the influence of the church and the club it holds over legislation, no less than the prejudiced sway that it holds over the opinions of men and women, we should be able to progress far more rapidly in a solution of the problems of marriage and sex. The first step in this solution is to consider them as secular problems. No theory of religion, no theory of sin, no theory of sacredness or holiness should have the slightest weight in deciding these problems. Moral traditions which sway our legislation in this sphere of social and yet at the same time very personal happiness should be closely scrutinized, and such traditions as have their origin in religious superstition should be re-

jected absolutely in our consideration of marriage and sex. The reckless flinging about of such excitable terms as "sin" and "sensuality" and "lust"—terms which are Christian in their bias and which belong to an archaic religious vocabulary—serves only to confuse this very vital issue. High-flown talk about moral sentiment is, commonly enough, a poor disguise for a zealous religious fanaticism.

Although the church does not actually have this secular institution of marriage under its control, nevertheless the prejudices of piety are still honored in our laws and are thrust forward as unjust interferences in the lives of men and women who deny the Christian ideology from first to last. Skeptics must combat moral features of tyranny which are imposed by Christian-minded legislators. Atheists cannot solve their problems of personal happiness without considering the un-intelligent legal obstacles maintained by the power of church superstition. It is plain that marriage is not treated by our laws in a fully secular spirit. The consideration is not, first and last, what is *practically* best for the social welfare and the individual happiness—what harmony can be, scientifically and un-sentimentally, reached between social interests and individual needs or desires—but, as a harsh corruption at the center of our marriage legislation, there is an acceptance of the assumptions made by Christian morality.

Science vs. Religion

The assumptions of Christian morality are, of course, flatly opposed to the scientific understanding that moral law is social law and that the moral law has no other sound justification than to promote the well-being of society and, as integrally a part of this well-being, the happiness of individuals. The Christian demand is for a dogmatic and theological "righteousness," concerning which, as the genuine Christian moralist will tell you, the happiness or desire or reasoning of the individual is unimportant. Of course, the clerical bigots have always advanced some sort of claim that their notions of "righteousness" were for the welfare—usually designated as the "spiritual" welfare—of society.

That was when the church had real governing power and could brutally use any means to enforce its preposterous claims. And until the American Revolution and the inauguration of our secular government, the church had always enjoyed this special and unconcealed power, taking it for granted that men and women could and should be compelled to support the establishment of religion and to join in religious worship; while to proclaim opinions hostile to religion was punished, not lightly but often savagely, as an anti-social act. Knowing this history and practice of the church, we should expect it always to use false reasoning. We should expect it, even when shorn of obvious and complete political power, even when deprived of the power to compel theological conformity, to continue in other ways its policy of forcing upon the people the Christian dogma of "righteousness." The church has never been content with "spiritual" missionary work or evangelization—that is to say, with merely propagating its so-called message as opinions to be privately held—but has always been intent upon forcing or smuggling Christian doctrines into law.

Church Legislation

And since the nominal separation of church and state in America the mark of Christian fanaticism has been stamped all too conspicuously upon our legislation. It does not have to be stated bluntly, "This is a Christian law"—the law does not have to be identified for us in this manner. It is enough when we can see plainly the influence of Christian ideology in the making of a law, when we can see that, aside from its Christian "inspiration" and intent, the law is pointless and indefensible. A great deal of our legislation about marriage and divorce is plainly Christian rather than social, for it is based upon the assumption that marriage is a sacrament and that a question of sin is involved in the separation of man and wife. Regarded simply and sanely from the view-

point of individual happiness and social welfare—judged by the realistic elements of the situation—our legislation about marriage and divorce would be very different. The so-called (Christian-called) "sin" of sexual infidelity would not be so magnified as it is now and other factors, decidedly more vital in determining whether a marriage should be dissolved, would be placed in the front rank of consideration.

Our laws in many states have gone a considerable way toward this secular ideal, but they have not gone the whole way and are still corrupted by Christian prejudices. What reason can we assign, for example, to the foolish law that persists generally to the effect that if both the man and the wife want the divorce, that is called collusion and the divorce will not be granted? We can find no other reason for this law but the Christian dogma that marriage is a sacrament and that to break that sacrament willingly and by agreement is a "sin." Viewed intelligently, the fact that both persons wish a separation is a very strong reason, the best reason indeed, for the granting of that law; and this intelligent view should be incorporated in the secular law; instead we have the Christian viewpoint of "sin" predominating. This, and many instances like this, we denounce as church legislation contrary to the rights and interests of the masses of the people and a Christianizing of the law which would be an outrageous tyranny still even if its efforts were resented only by a minority.

Sex and "Sin"

Concerning sex relations apart from marriage, the attitude of the law is purely (or impurely and certainly unjustly) Christian. When a charge of "immorality" is brought against unmarried persons, who, in a perfect spirit of mutuality and individual choice, are sharing a sex experience—when this happens, as frequently it does, what motive is really back of this persecution? There is only one explanation. We see in operation that Christian moral dogmatism which still dominates our legislation and enforces, legally and theoretically and too often in practice, moral dogmas and penalties which are unjustifiable in the light of reason and social welfare. Freed from that puritanical prejudice which stems from piety, the honest mind must admit that the sex relations of individuals is absolutely no concern of the state nor of their fellow men, so long as the responsibilities of children do not ensue and disease is not spread. The sexual act itself should not be considered an offense and should not be punished. The law should be entirely indifferent to this personal relationship, taking cognizance only of such results of sex as may take on a social character. Actually the greater amount of this extra-marital or unmarried sexual experience is quite safe and personal without the slightest social significance.

It is the exercise of a moral tyranny, inspired by Christian fanaticism, when the state interferes in such affairs. Back of it all is the old Christian doctrine that sex is a "sin" and is only to be justified under cover of the "sacrament" of marriage. This foolish old idea should be utterly swept out of our legislation and our social policy. There will not be complete, free, secular government until we establish firmly in our legislation the principle that moral law is nothing more than social law; that religious ideas have no authority in controlling the lives of men; that opinions of purity held by one group should not be at all binding upon the generality of citizens; that only definite social interests should be considered in our laws and that personal morals should be left entirely to the decision of personal taste.

This is the secular point of view and there is no other honest, free and intelligent point of view. What argument, indeed, can be offered against this point of view? It can only be argued that there is some abstract moral law, superior to and unrelated to the actual consequences of conduct—and that is an unscientific argument; or it may be argued that there is a "divine" law of purity which men should obey—and that is a silly dogma of theology, which of course any man has a right foolishly to believe, but which is not

to be imposed as a general law. Yet this absurdity, this tyranny, this intellectual and moral outrage is imposed by our laws under the sole inspiration of Christian fanaticism.

Pious Censorship

Another feature of Christian tyranny in our laws, and a very grave one, is the prevention of birth control knowledge. Indisputably the federal law which forbids the sending of birth control information through the mails is a Christian law, a law that embodies a harsh, Christian, moral bias. The whole defense of this law, which is made by its supporters, is that it protects morality. Yet scientists and sociologists tell us that birth control is one of the most important principles of social policy and would go far toward improving the conditions of the race. The wide knowledge and the open, legalized use of birth control would prevent a great deal of misery that now is caused by the ignorant reproduction of large, impoverished, poorly educated families. This is undeniably a great instrumentality of social progress, which science has discovered, but which a foolish Christian law decrees shall not be available, without harsh legal difficulties and penalties, for the benefit of mankind.

Who decides that birth control is immoral? Who decides that birth control is anti-social? The decision rests so far with Christian legislators, with men who have passed laws in the spirit of the old, pre-scientific, pious morality. If any group should decide this question, it should be the scientists—the sociologists—but obviously this is a decision that no group, minority or majority, should decide absolutely and finally for all people. People have a right to this scientific information and it is for them to decide how they shall use it: in the same way, everyone should have information about the prevention of venereal diseases and, armed with this knowledge, settle their own problems of personal morality. However, the scientific verdict—the verdict of all intelligent, humane, socially progressive men and women—is that birth control should be made familiar in an accurate and safe way to the people and, indeed, that birth control should be urged as a reasonable social policy.

The opposition to the knowledge of birth control is extremely religious and bigoted in its character. Take a look at the secret of this opposition—it is, for that matter, an open secret—and you discover that it is founded on the Christian theory that to control the birth rate is to "interfere with God's laws" and that to experience sex pleasure without the purpose of procreation is a sinful act. It is a Christian denial of the right to control nature scientifically for human ends of social economy and individual happiness. And this Christian bigotry—that phrase exactly and entirely describes it—is incorporated in the law which rightfully should have only a secular, social aim and which should be unmarked by the prejudices of puritanical sects.

Associated with the Christian doctrine of "sex and sin," and essentially inspired and upheld by that doctrine, is also the censorship which is applied to literature and art. Whatever arguments may be offered in defense of censorship, it is palpable that the real and efficient motive back of such laws is the spirit of Christian puritanism. Take religion out of the question, and it would not be difficult as a secular matter, censorship would have to yield before the intelligent understanding of a society emancipated from theological fears and dogmas. There are features of censorship which are not religious—censorship, for example, of political and economic opinions (although here, too, the church is mainly on the side of intolerance); but insofar as censorship is directed at the so-called moral aspects of literature it is upheld by the Christian dogma of purity. Blasphemy laws will be discussed in a coming broadside. For the present we call attention to the interference of Christian ideology in what should be strictly social, secular affairs: and we demand that every trace of Christian bias, of religious bias in any form, shall be expunged from our laws: we demand in full the only kind of government which can be free—namely, a secular government. We denounce and oppose church rule over moral questions.

Here Is Proof of Mooney-Billings Innocence Which California Supreme Court Refuses to Consider Fairly

By Marcet Haldeman-Julius

John McDonald was an important witness in all four of the bomb cases: Billings', Tom Mooney's, Rena Mooney's and Weinberg's. In Billings' case McDonald was the only witness who testified to seeing Billings put down a suitcase at the corner of Steuart and Market, where the explosion occurred. John Crowley's testimony was to the effect that he saw Billings in that near vicinity, without a suitcase. "Billings had nothing with him" were his exact words. The other witnesses against Billings testified that they saw him at 721 Market, nearly a mile from the explosion, with a suitcase such as McDonald described. Some of them testified that they saw him there, at 721 Market, with the Mooneys and Weinberg. But John McDonald was the key witness.

Take note that his first testimony was that he saw the two men, Mooney and Billings, at the scene of the crime and positively saw them leave separately on foot, breaking their way through the parade, and that he saw them on the opposite side of the street after they had crossed. Later in another testimony he swore that Mooney and Billings did not cross the street through the parade.

I want you to keep the conflicting testimonies of McDonald clearly in your minds:

Before the grand jury, he swore that he first saw Billings at about two o'clock.

In Billings' trial, he swore that he saw Billings at about eight or ten minutes to two.

In Tom Mooney's trial, he swore that he first saw Billings shortly after twenty minutes to two o'clock.

In Mrs. Mooney's trial, he swore that it was some time still earlier.

I can assure you that it is simply preposterous for the supreme justices of California to say that there is sufficient evidence of Billings' guilt even without McDonald's testimony. For, at the risk of becoming tiresome, I must reiterate once more that McDonald was the only person introduced at Billings' trial who claimed to have seen Billings with the suitcase at the scene of the explosion.

Billings' Prosecutor Regrets

Billings was prosecuted by Assistant District Attorney James F. Brennan. He was in immediate charge of the case. And he flatly declared in a public statement that he would not have voted for conviction had he been sitting as a juror in the case. In his opinion the chain of evidence was not complete.

"I felt and realized this," Brennan's statement continues, "and did not, during my concluding argument to the jury, ask that the death penalty be invoked. For hanging would be an irrevocable act. Imprisonment for life would at any time give Billings an opportunity to prove his innocence." And this was Brennan's attitude when McDonald's testimony was accepted at its face value as the truth. Even in the prosecutor's mind the chain of evidence was not complete. Yet the chain of evidence, without McDonald's testimony, is complete enough to satisfy the Supreme Court of California today. They say so plainly in their opinion of July 2, 1930, which was made public on July 4, in which they refused to recommend a pardon for Billings. They simply make themselves

ridiculous to anyone who knows the facts of the case.

Let me digress for a moment to say that Brennan should not be put in the same contemptible class in which Cunha and Fickert have been proven by official dictaphone records to belong. I will let Brennan speak for himself. In his long statement he said in part:

Billings had a fair trial and was given good treatment as far as the presentation of the case, on my part, was concerned. I took what witnesses the police department furnished and tried to make a case against him. Any prosecutor would do the same.

Their stories, told to me after interviews with the police, seemed inconsistent in many points and highly incredible in others. I talked to the witnesses, endeavoring to straighten out in their own minds the stories they would tell the jury.

The truth of these stories of supposed eye witnesses was for determination by the jury. It was not within the province of the prosecuting officer flatly to reject them, if they clung to stories which seemed plausible, though not in all cases probable.

Draper Hand of the police department had full charge of these witnesses. He found them, interviewed them and learned their stories. This was before I knew the names of the witnesses I would use in the prosecution.

What transpired between the witnesses and Hand I had no way of finding out. If Hand admits now he framed with the witnesses, it was probably the fact.

This could have been easily done without my knowledge. Witnesses could have been told what to say and coached in every step in their testimony. Such rough places as seemed evident to me when I afterward examined them prior to the trial could have been smoothed out.

I did this in the Billings case. I examined each witness and heard his story. There were many discrepancies which I endeavored to straighten out, so that our case would present an even front, without a flaw. I had to depend entirely on what these witnesses asserted were facts and what they themselves knew.

Like all prosecutors, I was blind to all but the pursuit—the chase which would end with the conviction of my quarry.

I was cursed with the psychology of prosecution. I never again shall be a prosecutor. To my mind, and it is in the mind of every district attorney and his assistants, conviction was the only goal. Unconsciously, and with no wrong

intent, the prosecutor retains the facts which further his case. Others, perhaps vital to the proof of innocence of the accused, are cast aside. He is the keen-scented hound on a trail. He has become obsessed with his case. Given the slightest evidence supporting his theories, which he has already framed in his own mind, he weaves these into a web of circumstances which are oftentimes damning to the accused, and against which even the innocent may not be able to stand.

Witnesses whose testimony is wholly false or founded on little fact can make almost any case for such a prosecutor. The fair-minded district attorney constantly has to guard against them! Had I known their testimony to be unfounded on fact—and I talked to several who would have sworn on the witness stand to anything suggested by the prosecution—I would have (word illegible) and without question, rejected them. But these witnesses (word illegible) their stories fairly consistently, and as assistant district attorney I was required to give them an opportunity to be heard by the court and jury.

The case has been a nightmare since the date of the trial. My motives have been misconstrued, and in view of my own personal doubts as to the guilt of Billings, I regard it as an evil day in my life that I was given charge of the prosecution.

So much for the man who prosecuted Billings.

Draper Hand, who coached the witness, has made a full and formal confession of his part in the "frameup." As I have already told you, Draper Hand, himself, repeated to me the facts of it.

Inconsistent Pieces of Evidence

The Supreme Court (knowing how weak the case is, lays stress on the fact that after the explosion had occurred a considerable amount of material was picked up upon the scene or extracted from the bodies of the victims indicating to the court's satisfaction the content of a time-bomb prior to its explosion.

The opinion continues: "The District Court of Appeals made the following comment upon the evidence thus collected and the connection of Billings with the manufacture of the bomb established thereby. It said: 'The devilish ingenuity which constructed this infernal machine did not rest content with placing in it the explosive alone. It was filled with pistol cartridges, with pieces of iron pipe and with steel balls like the ball bearings of automobiles. From the debris of the explosion and from the bodies of the dead and wounded many of these articles were discovered and introduced in evidence.'

When the defendant was arrested his room was searched and in his room was found a can of bullets and pistol cartridges like those placed in the infernal machine. Automobile ball bearings were also found in his room. The defendant admitted that this can and its contents were his property and said he "used them when it was thought necessary." Asked where he bought them he said did not remember."

Let us look into this. To begin with no evidence was introduced tending to connect any of the defendants (Billings, Mooney, Mrs. Mooney or Weinberg) with any alarm clock or metal pipe. Furthermore, no one testified that any one of the defendants had ever been seen with such a suitcase as Billings was supposed to carry before that day, July 22.

The articles proven to have been removed from the bodies of the victims of the explosion were (Hunt abstract):

(A) A number of pieces of metal which were agreed to be parts of four-inch metal pipe and of caps fitting the end of the pipe and screwed on. The pipe and caps are inferred to have contained the explosion. (B) .22 caliber bullets and cartridges and .32 caliber bullets and cartridges.

Also, witnesses testified to picking up at or near the scene of the explosion and within four days: some thirty-three steel jacketed bullets of .22 and .32 caliber and some fifteen exploded or unexploded shells of this caliber, one and one-half ball bearings, pieces of fiber more or less resembling the material of an imitation leather suitcase, an article resembling the handle of a suitcase, metal articles testified to be parts of a suitcase, or valve and an article said by the prosecution to be part of a dry cell battery and by the defense to be part of an automobile spark plug and three rings which an expert testified might be parts of an alarm clock.

But Lynbbak, who testified that he found the rings on the roof of the saloon after the police had searched it, contradicted himself several times. It is freely admitted that Billings had a .32 caliber revolver with cartridges to fit and that at the same house (Mrs. Lavin's) where Billings boarded, Frank

Lee had a .22 rifle revolver and cartridges which fitted it. Mooney had occasion to be armed, not only because he was custodian of union funds, but also because his life was constantly in danger from the enemies he had made in his labor activities. I can assure you that it was no uncommon thing for a man to possess a revolver in those days in San Francisco. It was admitted by the prosecution that the ballbearings found in Billings' rooms were not the same size as the ballbearings and a half picked up at Steuart and Market. This then sums up all the evidence against Billings. There is no evidence to connect him with a bomb; and no evidence to connect him with a suitcase at Steuart and Market—except John McDonald's.

McDonald and the Suitcase

John MacDonald is now doing his best to right the terrible wrong in which he played so large a part.

The truth of McDonald's story seems to be this: "On July 22, 1916, he had not been long out of the hospital and was, as yet, out of work. As he loafed about, waiting to see the parade, he found himself on Steuart street about twenty feet from Market. Looking across the street he saw a man put down a suitcase beside the building and walk away from it. This man went to the door of the saloon, where another man came out and spoke to him, at which they both looked up the street.

Whether the bomb was in the suitcase, which other people also testified to seeing there, or whether it was a perfectly innocent suitcase which the man put down while he went to see his friend and perhaps ask about a third person whom he was expecting to meet—which may have been the case if the defense theory is correct and the bomb was thrown—no one may ever know.

McDonald was only mildly curious about the suitcase for there were plenty of suitcases to be seen that day. A photograph taken at 2:14 p. m., July 22 marked Exhibit 19, shows one man almost immediately in front of 721 Market (where the Smith-Rominger-Kidwell household lived) carrying a suitcase toward the ferry, and a man proceeding westerly, or away from the ferry, evidently carrying hand luggage.

McDonald walked on and stopped in front of the Alameda coffee house and while he was there he heard a loud explosion, but it was not until about half an hour later when he went into a restaurant owned by a man he knew on Embarcadero street, that he heard of the tragedy.

"Did you hear about the explosion?" asked the restaurant keeper.

"No," said McDonald. "There was an explosion on Steuart street and they tell me there was about fifty people killed up there. They claim that someone threw a suitcase out of a window and it went off."

At once McDonald thought of the suitcase he had seen on the corner and exclaimed, not without considerable excitement: "I saw a fellow put a suitcase down alongside the building there a while ago."

To which Walter Johnson, the restaurant keeper, returned: "You had better tell the police about it."

McDonald told the story to several other people, as was quite natural and one evening he met a policeman by the name of Arthur Hextrom whom he knew.

When Hextrom came up, he said (according to McDonald): "This is some of Mooney's work. This will settle him."

McDonald says he told him he "saw a man place a suitcase on the sidewalk down there, right before the explosion."

Hextrom urged him to tell the story at police headquarters and when McDonald refused said (still according to McDonald): "You better go to headquarters and tell that story. You will be thrown into jail yourself and it is a whole lot better for you to be on the outside looking in than on the inside looking out."

McDonald, who was sick, broke and alone in San Francisco, was frightened. He worried about it all night and in the morning he decided to tell what he knew and did go to the Hall of Justice. He went up to the first person he met there who told him to go to Lieutenant Goff at the bomb headquarters, "across the hall." McDonald told Goff that he had been sent there by Hextrom because he had been near the scene of the explosion and had seen a man set a suitcase beside the building, not long before it happened.

McDonald's Confession

There were present at the time Charles M. Fickert, District Attorney, Captain Duncan Matheson and Lieutenant Charles Goff. Fickert did most of the talking. McDonald's affidavit is so important that I feel I should refresh your minds on it, although I gave it to you early in these series before McDonald had been found and repeated it.

As soon as I told them (the affidavit runs in part) that I saw a man set the suitcase against the building, and then talked to another man who came out of the saloon, Fickert said, "Do you know Tom Mooney?" I said, "No." Fickert said, "Well, he is a man with heavy dark eyebrows, he weighs about one hundred and ninety pounds. He is about five feet eleven inches in height. I had never heard of Tom Mooney before Fickert said this to me. Fickert then said, 'He is the son of a bitch we want.'"

Fickert said, "Are you sure you don't know Tom Mooney?" And I said, "Yes, I am sure. I never saw the man in my life." Fickert asked me if I thought I could identify the two men I saw, and told him the same as I told Hextrom, that I didn't pay much attention to it at the time, and had no idea that it had anything to do with the explosion, and that I could not identify the men. Then Fickert said, "It was Tom Mooney, all right, that did it. When I get through with the son of a bitch there will be nothing left of him."

Fickert said to me, "Now, the Lieutenant will take you up and show you Mooney." When we got to the city prison, Goff walked right up to the door of Mooney's cell. There was only one man in the cell. I had no recollection of ever having seen the man before, and of course could not have identified Mooney if Goff had not turned around to me when he stood by the cell door and said, in a low voice, "This is your man; this is Mooney." Then he said, in a loud tone of voice, "Mooney, here is a man who wants to take a look at you."

When I got downstairs Fickert said to me, "Well, you saw Mooney; that is undoubtedly the man; isn't it?" He said, "That is the man we want." I didn't make any answer to him, because I already told them on the first day that I did not know Mooney, and could not identify him, and I could not have told them that I had seen Mooney had Lieutenant Goff not pointed him out to me in the cell.

After we got in the Park police station Fickert said to me, "We are going to show you Billings." "Come out here, Billings." The young man came out, and he said, "Walk down the corridor there," and Billings walked down the corridor, then came back to the cell, and Goff then said, "Go on back, Billings." I did not

know Billings and did not remember ever having seen him before, and could not identify him, had Lieutenant Goff not brought me to the cell and told me who he was.

Fickert said, "Now those are the two fellows you saw, and those are the sons of bitches that I am going to put away." He then said, "Now, Mac, we'll take good care of you; we'll pay your hotel expenses." He said, "I will see the Chief about getting you a little money once in a while."

Then Fickert said, to Lieutenant Goff, "Take him to the Alpine Hotel and get a room for him and tell the manager to make out the bill every week and send it to the Detective Bureau."

I talked every day to Fickert for weeks about the case. He kept saying to me every time I came, always using hard names against Mooney and Billings, "Those are the men you saw there that day." I never told Fickert that I could have identified these men if they had not been pointed out to me, and I could not do so.

Some time before the trial of Billings, I was in the private office with Fickert, and he said, "Now, there is a reward of \$17,500 for the conviction of these people; and when I put them away I will see that you get the biggest slice of the reward."

He asked me if I thought I could identify Rena Mooney and Weinberg. I told him no, I didn't want to undertake any such things at all.

Before I went before the Grand Jury I was coached by Fickert himself about my testimony. He told me to make the identification of Mooney and Billings positive. I never only before the Grand Jury a very short time, and I made the identification just as Fickert told me to do it.

In the Billings trial I testified that I saw the man put the suitcase there at 1:50 p. m. That was my recollection of the time, and I was am very sure that that was the time I saw the suitcase placed there.

About a week before the trial of Thomas J. Mooney, Assistant District Attorney E. J. Cunha said to me, "You had better make the time that you saw the man set the suitcase at 1:30 instead of 1:50. You see, if the suitcase was set at 1:30 that would give me time to get back up Mission street, on top of the Eilers Building," which was about a mile away from the place of the explosion.

Before the trial of Tom Mooney, Fickert told me that Cunha was going to try the case, and that I should go through with Cunha, and act under his instructions; that perhaps there would have to be some small changes in my testimony, but that they had a man now who was worth over a \$100,000 and that he would back up everything I said. After I left the witness stand and was in the District Attorney's office I heard one of the clerks say Oxman was on the witness stand.

Before the Weinberg case came

up Cunha read over my testimony to me and said if they ask you if you saw an automobile at Steuart and Market streets at that time you say, "Yes, I think I did," and if they asked you what kind of a machine it was say, "I think it was a Ford." After I left the witness stand in the Weinberg trial Cunha said to me, "Why in hell didn't you say you saw a machine?" It would have been all right."

It has been the contention of Governor Young and the Supreme Court that McDonald's repudiation of his testimony was as likely to be a lie as his original testimony itself. But one asks: "Which of his original testimonies?" Either way—he is an admitted liar. Are two men to lose their lives in living graves on the word of such a man?

Inasmuch as other witnesses, both for the prosecution and the defense, saw a suitcase sitting beside the saloon wall, it is quite likely that McDonald's testimony came about in the way he details it. He must have seemed like manna to Fickert, who, stupid as he was, must have realized that McDonald was in a position to be easily coerced to testify as the prosecution wished and so help end Mooney's career as a labor leader.

For you must remember that it was Tom Mooney whom the utility corporations were really after. And, as it happens, his case is even more clean-cut than Billings' if possible, his innocence even more apparent. His alibi is such that it cannot be shaken.

The American Freeman is the only paper of liberal policy in America that circulates among the general public. All others are strictly limited in circulation and go only to select groups. Will you help get us a larger body of readers? By getting us more readers you become an active member of The Freeman Army.

The American Freeman has undergone a complete change of policy, with the result that it is now the swiftest and most fearless fighter and crusader in American journalism.

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Readers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine Find That It Keeps the Same High Standard in Every Issue

Five numbers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine have now been published (see the box at the right) and the readers of this new and daring publication are more than satisfied. They are enthusiastic in their appreciation of the wonderful culture-entertainment they are being consistently given in this twice-a-month magazine. The work of Joseph McCabe, who is the sole editor of this magazine, keeps to an unchanging high standard. He never lets the reader down. He always fulfills the brightest expectations. After reading the first five numbers, the readers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine are assured that the next five hundred numbers will be equally fine. Indeed, we have more interesting features scheduled for this magazine.

You can get the first five numbers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine (thus having your subscription begin with Vol. 1, No. 1) if you subscribe immediately on the blank below. The regular subscription price is \$6 a year, payable \$1 down and \$1 a month for five months. However, if you want to subscribe for a whole year in advance the price is only \$5 in one payment. The magazine is issued twice a month and contains 30,000 words. It is a beautiful job of printing. As for its contents, completely written by Joseph McCabe, they are the best to be had anywhere. Bear in mind that McCabe, the world's greatest scholar, writes exclusively for this magazine. Subscribe now and get the first five numbers.

Here Are the First Five Numbers of The Joseph McCabe Magazine

1. *The Morals of the Savage.* A fascinating review of the customs and moral ideas among primitive mankind.
2. *Morals in the Ancient World.* Tells of the moral practices in the civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon.
3. *Phallic Ancient Civilizations and the Cult of Love.* A candid account, written from original sources, of a picturesque and little understood phase of human morals.
4. *Morals Among the Greeks and Romans.* What moral codes men lived by in those superb and virile civilizations whose charm holds deathlessly through the ages.
5. *Morals in Early Medieval Europe.* Undoubtedly the most truthful and candid study ever written of the actual state of morals, as well as the moral ideas, that distinguished the first centuries of the Christian era.
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In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ruminations Isaac Goldberg

THIS MACHINE AGE The Dances of the Machines. By Edward J. O'Brien. New York. The Macaulay Company. \$2.50. Portrait of the Artist as American. By Matthew Josephson. New York. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3. The chorus of protest against the regimentation of the American citizen has itself acquired a routine sound. Human nature, strangely enough, can weary even of the truth. Just as one may so long repeat a lie that it takes on the color of veracity, so may one so long repeat a truth that its edges wear off. If this begins to sound like the plaint of a weary student, disabuse yourself of that notion. Your true student rarely gets weary; he may abuse his eyes, may tax his brain, may become momentarily disgusted with the various unpleasant phenomena of his occupation, but weary? Never. He knows that he is trapped by his temperament. He can't control the universe, but he can do the next best thing—seek to understand it, to alter it, to achieve a scientific and emotional harmony with it.

So that, when I enter a protest against the regimented assaults upon regimentation, upon the mechanical assaults upon the machine, upon the standardized arguments against standardization, I am simply trying to preserve a little calm amidst the storm.

Besides, if we must have protests against the mechanization of society—and we must—let them be written by such as O'Brien and Josephson. O'Brien you will recall as the authority on the short story. I used to see something of him in the old days when we wrote for the Boston Evening Transcript—I still write for that paper, chiefly on music and the drama—and he has his annual survey of the short story in its literary columns. He is something of a poet; he has written an excellent book on The Advance of the American Short Story; he is a man, in short, of parts. Josephson made his debut about a year ago with an excellent biography of Zola. He is one of the bright promises of our newer literature.

O'Brien's thesis—and this is but one of a series of three books that will consider the subject in all its phases—is that the American short story is the machine product of a machine age; that, together with our army and our industrial machinery, it exhibits certain well-defined symptoms of a disease that may devour us if we do not in time take steps to control it. Patiently, and in re-

The Strange Death of President Harding

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tentious detail, he analyzes the qualities and the habits of the machine, the army and the short story, showing how they resemble one another amazingly—how they acquire a personality that achieves dominance over us, how they sap our own personalities and leave us as undistinguishable from one another as the screws and bolts of any standardized product.

Josephson's book serves as an illustrative supplement to O'Brien's thesis. He studies the famous expatriates of our country—James, Whistler, Henry Adams, Ambrose Bierce, Lafcadio Hearn, Stephen Crane and others—who could not find a true home in the land of their birth. Neither book deals with new material; no new thesis is advanced. Yet each is well written, clearly thought and expressed, and serves as an admirable introduction to its respective topic. Josephson has been much influenced by Van Wyck Brooks. Indeed, without such studies as those of Brooks devoted to James and Mark Twain, the Josephsonopus could not have come to life.

I do not find myself in agreement with all the implications and expositions of O'Brien or Josephson. Mere excretion of the machine will accomplish nothing. The machine is here to stay; modern civilization is too much involved with machinery to turn back the clock of time at will and step crabwards into a past epoch. As for authors and expatriation: leaving one's native land to seek fulfillment in an alien country is a luxury available to few. Besides, wherever they go these aliens do not find themselves at home. Is it not one of the stigmata of the artistic temperament that it is an eternal wanderer through the lands of time and the spirits of the nations? James, Whistler, Adams, Bierce, Hearn, Crane . . . did they accomplish so little? Is not their inner conflict at the very root of their achievement? Did Beethoven, on his native heath, repose upon a bed of roses? Was Wagner's career a primrose path? Does not the history of artistry in every land tell an unbroken tale of disillusionment? To be an artist is to be a loving, and often a beloved, alien.

To be an artist, too, is to live in constant warfare with the mechanical element in life. O'Brien considers chiefly the mass; Josephson considers chiefly the individual. When life had not yet become a network of mechanical devices were there no regimented masses? Has it not been the fate of the masses, in all regimes, to be the underdogs? It is not the machine that has made modern civilization—an ironic word—what it is; it is the nature of the control over that machine, which is in the hand of the profiteering capitalist.

Any deeper understanding of the problems that are posed by both Josephson and O'Brien must consider the economics of modern living. Exploitation creates inevitably a division between exploiters and exploited. The exploited easily degenerate, without the aid of machinery, into a herd. The exploiters, likewise, degenerate into an oligarchy. The machine, so to speak, is a neutral. It serves its master; it degrades its slave.

So, too, in the case of the individual, the remedy for conditions is not expatriation. In leaving one's country, indeed, lies a subtle cowardice. Flight is an elementary psychological recourse. If the artist must be a fighter, too, let him help in the remaking of his country. I have always thought that a stiff course in economics, and a certain participation in the practical affairs of government, were good for the artist. It gives him an appreciation of life as lived in the raw, and not in the studio and the library. It helps to balance a temperament too much given to imbalance. It restores, in a measure, equilibrium. It revivifies art, and gives it relevancy to daffy living.

I regard these books, then, as having performed their best service by posing a problem, or, rather, by restating it in clear terms. Man as mass must conquer the machine, not destroy it. Man as individual must conquer environment, not abandon it. O'Brien's complete thesis has not yet been stated; Josephson sees the need of returning to a new Humanism—not the Humanism of Campus and Academy that has lately been stirring the teacups of the colleges, but the rich Humanism of the Renaissance. I am not filled with despair. The machine age has given us an

O'Neill, together with a drama of renewed vitality; it has given us Lewis and Cabell and Dreiser and Mencken and Nathan and Brooks and their compeers; it has given us—or, at least, it has been coincidental with—a lively and fruitful period in national arts and sciences that we need be little ashamed of. Clearly the attack upon the machine needs better direction. Our critics have not yet hit upon the real underlying cause of their discontent.

THE NEGRO IN NEW YORK Black Manhattan. By James Weldon Johnson. New York. A. A. Knopf. \$2.50.

Mr. Johnson has written a book that does himself and his people proud. It is the tale of the black man in Gotham, from the earliest times down to the present, and a fascinating account it makes. Johnson is not a special pleader. He leans heavily upon documents, and presents a case unmarred by excessive subjectiveness. To read it is to become aware, once again, of the strange influence that has been exerted upon our national life by the Negro.

The Indian, in comparison with the Negro, has had little influence indeed. Once upon a time we imagined that the great American novel or the great American opera was in duty bound to concern itself with the India of our continent. He helped to create, if only passively, our Wild West fiction. That fiction, the circus, and the minstrel show, are perhaps our only contributions to the amusement forms of the nations. For the majority of the country, however, the Indian was never any more real than the wooden figure that used to be the tutelary god of the cigar stores. We went through our Indian phase in literature and music and in the other arts, and that phase seems now to have passed forever.

Not so with the Negro. He was our slave and he exercised upon us the peculiar influence that the conquered often have upon the conqueror. The Negro became a part of our lives. He worked over our speech, our songs, and contributed his own conception of music. Not this only; he became, as it were, our catharsis. This is peculiar, but true: we caricatured him and originated the minstrel show; we lynched him; we segregated him; and yet through all these disadvantages he wrought his spell. When we forgot how to make our own folk music, we sang through his dialect. When, as Anglo-Saxons, we feared this potency of song, it was through his mouth that we voiced our hidden lusts. What, do you think, is the significance of the coon song, of ragtime, of jazz? It is our blackface performance of those passions that we would not acknowledge in our more civilized moments.

That is too difficult a point to make in a few paragraphs; it is worth considering.

The Negro as a factor in the history of our entertainment looms large from the very days of slavery. Mr. Johnson, a poet in his own right, a student of the various arts in which his people have shone, has many sympathetic and instructive pages on the theater, the cabaret, the opera house. He has many pages, too, on the social and economic history of Harlem.

We have had, in the past five or ten years, many books upon the Negro—his songs, his social organization, his problems. Mr. Johnson's new book comes as a summary of the movement. It is well-conceived, pleasantly written, and authoritatively based. It should win many readers for its dignity and its intrinsic values.

THE PANURGE PRESS

This is a new firm in New York that specializes in erotica. The term "erotica," I know, has certain therian connotations, yet there is no reason why it should be made to mean only a cheap purview of the normal interest in literature dealing with sex. In a sense, all literature deals with sex. We can talk too much about it, but we cannot know too much.

Among the recent publications of the Panurge Press are

- Confessional, by Frank Harris. The Sward and Wensland, by Edouard de Beaumont. A Plea for Polygamy, Anonymous. A Strange Love, by George Helshout. Aphrodite, by Pierre Louys. The Stoatic Zone, by Francis Bur-

Harris collector will desire in any case, promises more in its title than it gives in its contents. It is made up of collected contributions.

The books are done with taste; they are attractively bound, carefully printed on a good stock, and make a fine appearance on the book shelf. As I list them above, they form a strange group, whether considered by subject or from the standpoint of esthetic values.

There should, however, be a press in this country devoted frankly to the type of erotic book that does not offend the law, and that is not written chiefly for the diversion of senile impotence. The Panurge Press seems to have made up its mind to supply this need in our publishing world.

THE FREEMAN ARMY REPORT SUBS AND SUB CARDS: \$2, Magnus Nordstrom, Alaska; Henry Huelshdonk, Wash.

Chas. A. Russell is another Californian who is not fooled by Governor Young's dodging. He knows the truth about the Mooney-Billings frame-up and he wants others to know it, too. He sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book.

Old friends are welcome. Now we have with us again in this column M. W. Wetherard, Tex., who sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book, which he will undoubtedly circulate where they will do the most good.

What for? "To strengthen your arm a little so that you might deliver another blow into the central plexus of the supreme court of injustice of California." That's why J. Mancil, Kans., sends us a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book. Nor does he forget justice elsewhere. He adds a dollar for the Centralia investigation fund.

Right again! We know the Army workers would be in favor of our plan for quick crusading against clericalism, by means of the page broadsides in The Freeman. Mrs. T. M. Nagle, Pa., responds quickly to this plan by sending a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the August 9 issue that carried the page broadsides against church lobbying.

The Unknown Soldier! We have received an order blank for 50 extra copies of the August 9 issue of The Freeman—and the dollar with it, right side up—but no name. We salute you, Unknown Soldier, and shall use your anonymous but perfectly good dollar for Method No. 3.

Victor Guercin, N. J., liked our Church Taxation Special Edition very, very well. He writes us a dollar because we shall have to tell you that he ordered 100 extra copies of the edition, accompanied precisely by \$2, which is proof that he is loyally with us in our crusade.

Elizabeth Artridge, Wis., sends a dollar for the Centralia investigation fund and says (in a personal letter to Marcell Haldeman-Julius): "I see by The American Freeman that you are going to make an investigation of the centralia case as soon as funds are donated to finance the trip. Am glad you are going to do this, for you will be doing a good thing to show up the corruption and injustice that exist at the hands of those having wealth and power in control. I enjoy reading your investigation of the Mooney-Billings case, and trust you will dig up as much when you go to Washington."

Fortescue Groesch, Md., has the right spirit even if just now he isn't able to contribute largely. He sends 80c for the Centralia investigation fund. Of course, the big money is supporting injustice. It takes the combined, even though individually small, efforts of the common people to expose injustice.

P. Brackett, Calif., is another Army worker who has complete confidence in our strategy. He sends us a dollar "to be applied where most needed." It will be used for Method No. 3. Every penny received in The Freeman offices is turned into propaganda for our good causes.

S. A. Mier, Calif., is 83 years old and still fighting in the liberation war of humanity. He tells us that he is disabled for much active, personal work but he sends a dollar for the circulation of The Freeman broadsides.

Hugo Wuefing, Ind., sends a dollar for Method No. 3 in circulating extra copies of our Church Taxation Special Edition. It seems that Mr. Wuefing read an item in an Indiana paper about this special edition of The Freeman. He sounded good to him and he wanted to see it. This does not mean good work spread and magnify itself in widening circles of enlightenment.

William Shannon, Idaho—yes, that's where Senator Borah is from—but Reader Shannon is a long sight more radical than Borah, so he sends us a dollar for circulating the Church Taxation Special Edition.

John Neekles, N. Y., pays in full his subscription for a year of The Joseph McCabe Magazine and calls our attention to an error which we are glad to correct: "Some time in May I sent you \$3.41 for Little Blue Books and \$3 toward the Mooney fund. I noticed some time after in The Freeman my name in the dollar list."

W. E. Wolfe, Mo., sends ten names that are to receive The Freeman on our ten-week plan. After reading The Freeman for some time we used to see how they can resist subscribing for a year. We are not modest. We say right out that this is the liveliest paper in America.

Wm. Lichtwardt, Ky., is a sure and fast worker. He sends a dollar for ten of the ten-week subscriptions to

The Freeman, a dollar for 50 extra copies of the Church Taxation Special Edition, and \$1.50 for a year's subscription to The Debunker under the old low rate.

Church taxation? There's a just cause. So Henry Moeller, Calif., sends a dollar for 50 extra copies of our Church Taxation Special Edition. The Centralia case? There's a case of injustice that needs exposing. So he sends a dollar for 50 extra copies of our Centralia investigation fund.

Make the churches pay! That's the idea of F. W. Kenney, Miss., who sends a dollar for the circulation of our Church Taxation Special Edition. Living away down in Mississippi, he ought to know something about churches.

"I am in the fight to win," says Edwin H. Puchta, Wis., as he sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book.

Will C. Stobie, Tex., orders 6 Freeman sub cards and The Debunker for one year. Both of these Haldeman-Julius Publications are brave fighters for justice.

Mrs. Mary Hencke, Ohio, will join a lot of other good names in the Roll of Honor of our Mooney-Billings book. She sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of this valuable book.

Henry Huelshdonk, Wash., orders 4 Freeman sub cards and we just have a hunch that he is going to persuade an equal number of Washington subscribers to buy the cards and thus become serious readers of this great fighting weekly.

Utah steps forward in the person of W. F. Schoenberger, who sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book.

CENTRALIA FUND: \$2, Eva Steiner, Ill.; \$1, W. Henry Thompson, N. J. Previous report, \$117.40. Latest figures, \$120.40.

On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

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Harold L. Peterson, Minn., orders 20 Freeman sub cards. Yes, indeed, that state is going to be waked up! All for its own good, too.

P. H. Landis, Pa., wants to be in the thick of the struggle and the glorious joy of crusading with the Haldeman-Julius Publications, so he orders 6 Freeman sub cards and The Debunker for a year.

Fellow Army workers, this is Chas. Gustafson, Idaho. He is still actively with us in the Mooney-Billings fight. He sends a dollar for 4 Freeman sub cards and 4 free copies of the Mooney-Billings book.

E. S. Pollard, Mont., sends \$5 for a year's subscription to The Joseph McCabe Magazine and a dollar for our Centralia investigation fund. He says: "Extend to Marcell my sincere admiration of her crusade for the liberation of Mooney and Billings. Hope she will tackle the Centralia victims next." Reader Pollard signs himself: "One of your old standbys."

V. K. McKinney, Calif., sends a dollar for 4 American Freeman sub cards and tells us: "Since last February I have mailed, to strangers mostly, 489 pieces of mail bearing your advertisements, periodicals, or Little Blue Books that contained advertisements of other books. I hope that others have or will exceed this."

E. D. Harkness, Wash., is thoroughly earnest in supporting our policy of crusading for justice. He sends \$5 for Method No. 3 in circulating The American Freeman and \$5 for our Centralia investigation fund. He says: "I want to see you succeed in your good work of trying to educate people to use their brains."

James Bann, Ohio, orders 50 extra copies of the Church Taxation Special Edition—Method No. 3. This special edition is being widely circulated and is hav-

ing a fine propaganda effectiveness. Samuel Van Sciver, Fla., sends a dollar for 50 extra copies of the Church Taxation Special Edition and writes: "Somewhere, at some time, you have written: 'None of our ideas can be held aloof from the test of experience or can plead itself out of the jurisdiction of the court of reason.' Now I wonder just how are the clergy going to wriggle away from the test of experience and eloquence and facts. Haldeman-Julius—well, he is THE one modern gladiator in the cause of truth and liberty: unafraid, invulnerable and beyond all value in this cause of liberty and truth. Sorry Hibschan is missing, but oh, the thrill of anticipation! As to your ten demands, why not perpetuate them as The Ten Demands? DON'T LET UP!"

Here's somebody else from Utah. Annie J. Sandberg orders 4 Freeman sub cards. She has the satisfaction of helping in the spread of civilized ideas.

More people in Illinois are going to learn things and be awakened to the cause of justice. How do we know? Because Carl H. Newburg, Ill., orders 20 Freeman sub cards. That means good propaganda in a state which, like the other 47 states, needs it and needs and needs it.

H. R. Timm, N. J., sends a dollar for circulating our Church Taxation Special Edition and says: "In order to encourage thought on this issue, I think it would be a good idea for the members of The Freeman Army to write letters to the editors of their local papers."

Harry Hibschan's Great Series of Four Articles "Why Church Property Should Be Taxed" to Begin Soon in Freeman

We have the manuscript of Dr. Harry Hibschan's series of articles on the Church Taxation Question! These articles will run in four consecutive issues of The American Freeman, beginning soon. We thus continue our anti-clerical campaign with new vigor and enthusiasm.

Our recent special edition devoted to this great public question created a great deal of attention. We can say now, quite definitely, that this new series of articles on the same subject will open new angles that will surprise our readers.

Dr. Hibschan has gathered an immense arsenal of facts. His articles are crammed with convincing and eye-opening statistical information that will give our friends new ammunition in their war on the evil of Church Tax Exemption.

Dr. Hibschan gives accurate statistics on the actual value of various forms of church property in the United States. He also will give American Freeman readers the history of this unjust exemption, telling how it got started and the methods used to put it over on the people.

Dr. Hibschan also goes into the legal and political aspects of this vital subject. He gives you more than the bare statement that church property should be taxed. This author believes in cold facts, and he has facts galore. Freeman readers will be delighted with this new attack on the church grafters.

In addition to the above, Dr. Hibschan goes into the so-called moral arguments for church exemption, and how he does tear those arguments to pieces! He has also gathered a great amount of material to show how churches in the very large cities—particularly in New York City—wait until property becomes extremely valuable, and then sell their holdings at immense figures and move away to cheaper neighborhoods, pocketing the hundreds of thousands of dollars in increased land values that were really stolen from the people. By being allowed to erect tax exempt churches in cheaper neighborhoods, after getting all they can out of the expensive sections of the city, the farce is repeated—the churches wait calmly for land values to go up again in order to repeat the swindle.

You simply must help us get Hibschan's four magnificent articles read by thousands of new readers. Remember, this question of church taxation is covered in a plank in the platform of the American All-Radical Party, so we are also continuing the propaganda work of the Party when we go more thoroughly into the church taxation question.

If you believe wholeheartedly in the great crusades now being conducted by The American Freeman you will want to help us get a new club of readers. Send in a club of subs right away. Order at least four sub cards at 25c each, each card good for 25 weeks of The American Freeman. You can send in ten names for \$1—ten cents each—good for ten weeks of The American Freeman. Such a club will be welcomed at this time, for as already stated we are extremely anxious to enroll new readers. Without new readers our campaigns will fail. It is the duty and privilege of members of The Freeman Army to help us reach our goal. By getting us new readers you make it possible for us to go into one question after another, doing good work for progress all down the line.

Owing to the fact that this Church Taxation Issue is a demand of The American All-Radical Party (which we are organizing) we have decided to tie up the Hibschan series of articles with the drive to obtain new members in the American All-Radical Party. Those who use the blank below and order at least four sub cards at 25 cents each will not only get the sub cards by return mail, but they will also be made members of the party without the payment of any kind of an initiation fee. After you join the Party you agree to pay dues in an easy, simple manner—you buy one sub card each month at 25c per card. That keeps you in good standing. You can sell the cards at 50c each, thus actually making a profit out of your membership in the American All-Radical Party.

If you want to help us in the fight against Church Tax Exemption and at the same time help us build up the Party, please use the blank below immediately.

Let The Church Taxation Fight Go On! And Let The American All-Radical Party Get Its Membership! The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas I want to see the Harry Hibschan articles on the question of Church Taxation reach a wide audience. I want to be admitted to membership in The American All-Radical Party. I enclose \$1 for 4 American Freeman sub cards, each good for 25 weeks. This entitles me to admission into the membership roll of the American All-Radical Party. Send me a membership card. I understand that I am to purchase one sub card each month at 25c each, in order to remain a member of the American All-Radical Party. I want to pay up now for months, at 25c each. I am enclosing an additional remittance for this purpose, for which please send me sub cards, each 25c. It is understood that these sub cards have printed on them the regular price of 50c, at which price I can sell them, and since they cost me only 25c I am to be permitted to keep the profit of 25c on each card as a reward for my services. Name Address City State

Extra

We cannot afford to continue to publish THE DEBUNKER at the rate of \$1.50 a year (\$2 Canada and foreign). We have on hand a treasure house of debunking articles more sensational than anything heretofore published. To put these accounts before readers we must advance the yearly subscription rate from \$1.50 per year (\$2 Canada and foreign) to \$2.50 a year (\$3 Canada and foreign). The advance in prices will be effective September 1, 1930. You may subscribe at the old rate until midnight August 31. Therefore if you send in your subscription, renewal or extension at the temporary rate of \$1.50 before September 1 it will be honored. This is the last opportunity you will be given to subscribe at the old rate. Consider

what a bargain you are getting at even \$2.50 a year—this is less than 21 cents a copy. You will receive a magazine 5½x8½ inches in size, bound in an attractive cover and containing from 12 to 20 articles each month. Information that is unobtainable elsewhere is found in THE DEBUNKER each issue. Puritanical and conventional publications do not dare to touch what the fearless DEBUNKER prints as its regular fare. And you can have this magazine at the remarkably low price of \$1.50 a year—this is 12½ cents a copy—if you act before September 1. This offer is not limited to only one-year subscriptions. Subscribe for as many years as you wish. If you are a subscriber extend your subscription as long as you wish.

A sensational exposure of a quack rejuvenation scheme—the sale of goat glands as the fountain of youth—is published in the September issue of THE DEBUNKER. “Dr.” John R. Brinkley, owner of a hospital in Milford, Kans., is shown to have lured aged and impotent victims to his hospital through clever radio programs. Then the quackery began. The story tells of a Mexican goat—a little more expensive to the gland seekers because it had to be imported—which did not have the usual goat odor found in the American can-eating variety. The youth seekers paid the price. Read other amusing episodes brought to light in this amazing exposure. The article is full of chuckles but it drives right to

the core and shows up the practices of this quack. Not only medical quacks but all sorts of frauds are brought to light in the pages of THE DEBUNKER. In this age of high pressure trickery it is best to be forewarned. THE DEBUNKER gives the facts; it sounds the warning. Send in your subscription to this magazine and learn about modern confidence games, crooked financial schemes, religious frauds, racketeering and hundreds of other pieces of hokum. Here is a magazine that caters to no one and is obligated only to its readers. It gives its readers the facts. Here is a magazine that you cannot afford to do without. Send in your subscription while you can get the magazine at the temporary rate.

Quack

Love

King Carol the Second of Rumania will probably go down in history as one of the greatest and most colorful lovers of all time. His return recently to the throne which he sacrificed for love was a signal for a new flood of reports about the love life of this modern Casanova. King Carol's idol is Cellini, the fiery artist-lover. An early issue of THE DEBUNKER will tell the truth about King Carol's love life in a special article by Raymond Everett Wilson, entitled “The Amazing Loves of King Carol of Rumania.” It is the hottest, most passionate, most bedromy stuff written since Rabelais penned his famous Sunday School tract. It will tell all of the thrilling royal love secrets. It will run in THE DEBUNKER 100

percent—not a word of this charming, scintillating, dazzling, stimulating love story will be expunged. THE DEBUNKER takes a healthy attitude on the subject of love. It believes that this subject should be frankly discussed on all occasions. Much misunderstanding of life has resulted because love has been misinterpreted. THE DEBUNKER prints important discussions on love and sex by the world's greatest authorities. Other forthcoming articles on this subject are: “The People Who Need Birth Control,” “The Roman Catholic Church and Sex,” and “Homosexuality in the Lives of the Great.” The magazine discusses sex questions quite frankly. There is no magazine like THE DEBUNKER for those who wish to obtain the facts of life today.

An array of sham-smashing, lively, debunking articles are in store for subscribers to THE DEBUNKER. The magazine has a large number of manuscripts on hand of a most interesting caliber. You will be able to read them all if you subscribe at once—but they will be only a small part of the reading you will get. Every article exposes bunk of some sort, every one is of timely interest to readers everywhere. Here are a few of the titles to appear soon: “The Downfall of a Smut Hound,” by E. Haldeman-Julius; “Daily Doses of Bunk,” by Robert E. Hester; “Philadelphia Votes Against Blue Sunday,” by John W. Gunn; “Meddlers and Uplifters,” by L. M. Birkhead; “The Holy Rollers at Bat,” by Booth Mooney; “Deathbed Scenes,” by

James W. Smith; “The Roman Catholic Church and Sex,” by E. Boyd Barrett; “Bal-lyhoo,” by Gilson Vanderveer Willets; “Porto Rico Blue Sundays Urged by Protestant Bloc,” by J. M. Toro-Nazario; “Debunking the Coolidge Myth,” by Harry Elmer Barnes; “Where Do We Get Our Prohibition Tricks?” by R. R. Winterbotham; “Have You Been Enumerated?” by Paul Spencer; “Are You Losing Your Hair?” by Sigmund S. Greenbaum; “Decline in the Missionary Business,” by Rees Harcourt, and other good reading. You are missing a lot of fun by not reading THE DEBUNKER. Subscribe now while you can get it at the low rate of only \$1.50 a year. This magazine does not dodge behind euphemisms, but calls a spade a spade.

Bunk

Religion

THE DEBUNKER has no superstitious fears. It sees religion clearly for what it is. In forthcoming issues it will present a wide selection of articles from leading freethinkers frankly discussing religion. The philosophy of the atheist, the agnostic and the superstitious believer will be discussed. In addition there is the comedy that makes THE DEBUNKER famous. Here are some of the titles: “The Virgin Mary and the Butter and Egg Man,” by R. Resin; “Some Twentieth Century Persecutions,” by M. Renevais; “Theodore Dreiser Shocks El Paso,” by Liston M. Oak; “Brother Briles—Trailer of the Slimy Serpent,” by Harold Preece; “An

Atheist Speaks out,” by Joseph Lewis; “What Is the Purpose of Life?” by Prof. Sigmund Freud; “Decline in the Missionary Racket,” by Rees Harcourt; “The Holy Rollers at Bat,” by Booth Mooney; “Thomas Paine's Deadbed Conversion Once More,” by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, and other articles. THE DEBUNKER is a magazine for those who are not afraid of “dangerous” reading. If you wish to see the facts clearly, if you hate the bald bigotry that persecutes freedom of thought, read THE DEBUNKER. Subscribe and support the cause that is fighting fanaticism. Superstition worthy of the middle ages is still being practiced.

Where does big business reap millions from an unsuspecting public? What things point to graft and corruption? THE DEBUNKER carries many thrilling articles each month that give facts. In the September issue there is the account by Theodore Dreiser, famous novelist, entitled “Big Business Rules the Nation.” Forthcoming articles showing a conspiracy against the public include “Oil Conservation Bunk,” by Thos. A. Latta. Mr. Latta knows the inside of the oil business and he is giving the real facts of the conservation situation straight from the shoulder. The article will be of importance to every automobile owner and user of oil. “No publication enjoying the patronage of the great oil advertisers would touch this article,” Mr. Latta declares.

“Yet, strange as it may seem, the preponderant sentiment of the oil regions is reflected in this account. It will take courage, ability and some time to thoroughly debunk this oil conservation movement which is in fact a conspiracy against the American public.” Chicago crime conditions and gang rule will be discussed in articles now being prepared. Religious graft and lobbying has been shown up in the columns of this magazine. THE DEBUNKER takes up angles of every situation that has never occurred to you and which you cannot get elsewhere. It fearlessly attacks graft and corruption. Those exposed fight back hard and often unfairly, but THE DEBUNKER has the facts.

Graft

“Sin”

Startling revelations concerning the behavior of the founding fathers will be made by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, famous writer, in the most sensational debunking article of today which will appear soon in THE DEBUNKER. It is a spicy array of facts that Barnes brings into the open for the first time, all taken from original, authentic sources. Did you know that George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and many other revolutionary leaders were not Christians? Did you know Jefferson was attacked by the clergy for his “atheism”? Yes, the founding fathers were freethinkers and rationalists. Dr. Barnes quotes Franklin's famous letter of advice telling a young man to take an old woman for a lover instead

of a young one! And what a line of logic Ben hands out! “All cats are gray in the dark!” Franklin says, among other things. And what of Washington? What about his dancing, his love of liquor? What about his affair—but there are many things to be told by Dr. Barnes in THE DEBUNKER. A charming section of this article is devoted to Alexander Hamilton's affair with Mrs. Reynolds. The story is, beyond doubt, the most important and stimulating article of the day. America will want to read the facts about its founding fathers. Only THE DEBUNKER is fearless enough to give all the facts without sickening at the thought of boycott and revenge from the puritanical blue-noses.

If the allegations of Gaston B. Means, former Department of Justice investigator, are true, one of the greatest crimes of the century has never been investigated. Means says in language that cannot be mistaken that President Warren G. Harding was murdered! Read about his sensational charges in the September issue of THE DEBUNKER. John W. Gunn, assistant editor of this magazine, has written the article entitled: “Investigate the Death of President Harding!” His demand that Means' charges should be looked into is made in no uncertain terms. This article is sure to cause a sensation. You must read it. “If Means has lied in any feature of his narrative and especially in his amazing story of

the death of President Harding,” says Mr. Gunn, “he should be exposed and American history should be purified of an ugly scandal—or a dark and dreadful scandal—while it is yet possible to conduct such an investigation. If Means has told the truth—well, the truth precisely defined and explained is better than speculation which outruns all bounds.” This article will positively appear in the September issue and you may obtain it if you subscribe on the blank below. Remember that THE DEBUNKER is not on sale at newsstands. You can only secure it through Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kans. Read the story of this startling crime of the century.

Crime

LAST CALL

“How to Avoid Catching Venereal Diseases”

Do you know that venereal diseases could be wiped out in a generation or two but for the puritanical attitude toward sex in this country? Bigots believe that diseases curb “sexual transgressions” and condemn the race to suffering so that a fanatical double standard may be maintained. As part of THE DEBUNKER's program, a book entitled “How to Avoid Catching Venereal Diseases,” by Heinz Norden, has been published. It is based on latest scientific data with chapters for both men and women. The information contained in it is worth at least \$5 and we are giving it to you FREE if you use the blank to the right in sending in your subscription to THE DEBUNKER. In the October issue there will be an editorial, “The Serious Lesson in President Harding's Case of Gonorrhea,” which will open THE DEBUNKER's war on the menace of venereal diseases. Use the blank and get the book.

This is the last opportunity you will be given to subscribe for THE DEBUNKER at \$1.50 a year (\$2 Canada and foreign). A minute's delay may mean that you will lose this opportunity—so fill out the blank now before you forget. Your subscription will start immediately. The price will go to \$2.50 a year (\$3 Canada and foreign) on midnight of August 31. This means, that if you subscribe now you will get THE DEBUNKER at a saving of \$1 a year. You cannot duplicate such a bargain. And you may subscribe for as many years as you wish at this bargain price! Thus, if you want one year, send \$1.50 (\$2 Canada and foreign); for two years, send \$3 (\$4 Canada and foreign); three years, \$4.50 (\$6 Canada and foreign); four years, \$6 (\$8 Canada and foreign); five years, \$7.50 (\$10 Canada and foreign), and so on for as many years as you can afford. Persuade your friends to subscribe and save money at this price. A year of debunking might make them better neighbors. Every issue is full of short, snappy, peppy articles. Humor, satire and ridicule will make you laugh. You cannot duplicate the good reading you can get at this temporary price of \$1.50 a year. This is the magazine bargain of the day! It is the LAST CALL for subscriptions at \$1.50 a year. Only a few days remain for you to fill out the blank and mail it with your remittance to us for one, two, three, four, five or more years of THE DEBUNKER. You must act today if you want this bargain! Not only will you save a lot of money by renewing for as many years as you can afford, but you will be saving yourself the future bother of having to renew again. Save time, money and effort by using the blank to the right now! Every issue takes up a wide variety of subjects and is sure to please you. It cannot be bought at newsstands, you must send to us for your subscription.

Use This Blank NOW!

THE DEBUNKER, Girard, Kansas

I am enclosing \$..... for a subscription to THE DEBUNKER at the temporary rate of \$1.50 a year (\$2 Canada and foreign) as I have checked below.

Please send me as a premium a FREE copy of “How to Avoid Catching Venereal Diseases,” by Heinz Norden, a book issued by THE DEBUNKER in its war against the venereal menace.

..... \$1.50 for one year (\$2 Canada and foreign).

..... \$3 for two years (\$4 Canada and foreign).

..... \$4.50 for three years (\$6 Canada and foreign).

..... \$6 for four years (\$8 Canada and foreign).

Name

Address

City State