

Editor  
E. Halde-  
man-Julius  
Assistant Editor  
John W. Gunn

# The American Freeman

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## Here Is the Army's Greatest Chance! Join This Rousing Fight on Hoover's Policies!

The Freeman Army has a chance to do its greatest stroke of propaganda work in spreading broadcast the Hoover Special Edition of The American Freeman, dated November 29. There is no issue, no dramatization and concentration of an issue, upon which we can more readily appeal to the American people than this ghastly, overwhelming, indisputable issue of President Hoover's extreme unfitness. He is unfitted as a man, he is unfitted as a politician in the customary, special sense of the word, he is unfitted as an administrator of affairs, and he is unfitted as the exponent of ideas of "economic individualism" and "no government in business."

A great many Americans are familiar with this unfitness of Hoover in a general way, even in an acute and critical way as concerns the millions who are suffering most from the economic depression. Yet there is not a genuine, analytical, far-seeing comprehension of the unfitness of Hoover or the most important significance of this unfitness. Even the crowds who dislike Hoover and who exchange irritated or angry or, more likely, bewildered criticisms of him—even these masses, having a right attitude, do not thoroughly understand the soundest reasons which underlie their attitude. They do not, that is to say, understand just how the terrible conditions have come about—conditions toward which they rightly feel the most bitter resentment, giving them a natural and also a right feeling of antagonism toward the Hoover administration, but conditions which should stimulate far deeper thought than is implied by mere personal criticism of Hoover as a man.

### A Brilliant Opportunity

Personally Hoover is, in the opinion of The Freeman, a very unpleasant man. He is fatuous and smug and unimaginative and he tries to be tricky without knowing how to be tricky in a clever way. But our principal objection to Hoover is found in the ideas for which he stands, for which he stupidly and obstinately stands in the face of this colossal crisis which has shown the falseness of these ideas. It is Hoover's conduct as President of the United States, it is Hoover's policy of inaction coupled with false promises or pretenses of action, it is the anti-social and class-prejudiced attitude which Hoover incorrigibly holds toward the problems of the age which we dislike most intensely. With Hoover as an individual, if he were only a private individual, we should have no concern. He is not interesting. We wish we could have to contemplate the man nor to write about him nor to consider his existence in any way. Discussing Hoover is an unpleasant duty that is forced upon us by the challenging public role in which Hoover has been so inappropriately cast.

But we shall not let up in our discussion of Hoover—or in our discussion of the ideas and conditions for which Hoover stands—being determined, on the contrary, to raise this discussion to its highest and most effective level of fighting propaganda in our Hoover Special Edition of November 29. In that Special Edition we can clear up much confusion that exists in the minds of the American people—even among the people who need no persuasion to be against Hoover but who fail adequately to realize what it means to be against what we call, for want of a worse name, Hooverism.

There is no doubt about Hoover's unpopularity. He is the most unpopular man who ever went through the travesty of posing in the White House as the "head of the nation." So far, so good—this unpopularity of Hoover means that we can reach a far wider audience with a more certain response of friendly, interested hearing than is usually the case with our crusades. The important thing is what we shall tell this audience. We don't want to be superficial. We want to give them the bedrock truth. We want to make them see beyond Hoover, the fatuous image of individualistic chaos, to the background of economic insanity and injustice which throws Hoover's incompetence and futility and narrowness into such prodigious, mocking relief.

It is a brilliant opportunity—this Hoover Special Edition. We are so full of the possibilities of this Special Edition that we cannot bear the thought that the Army might fail us in the necessary work on the firing line—the work of building up a huge circulation for this Special Edition, so that our messages of analysis and sweeping, detailed, intelligent indictment of the Hoover regime will be read far and wide—the work of hitting the mark with the fullest broadsides of ammunition which we shall prepare for the Army in this Hoover Special Edition. Let us say again that it does not matter how strong and aggressive and enlightening is the material we put into this Special Edition if the Army does not circulate it widely. It is in vain that we shall write our most powerful messages if those messages are not read by the very people who are in need of a mental awakening to the fundamental meanings and responsibilities of the present situation in America. We want every word to count. We want every idea to be driven home with a vengeance. We want every fact to be impressed deeply upon the minds of the American voters. We want every aspect of the disgraceful Hoover administration to be clearly, critically scrutinized by the rebellious but bewildered victims of Hooverism and the system of "economic individualism."

The subject of Hoover and the economic failure with which his administration is notoriously associated is the liveliest subject in America. And there has been no big, adequate, daring handling of this subject. Our Hoover Special Edition will be the first great analysis and summary of the Hoover administration. It will be a unique, sensational, nationally important Special Edition—and it can be the means of introducing The Freeman favorably to thousands, to hundreds of thousands, of readers who are not now acquainted with this paper. By impressing these new readers deeply with this message on Hooverism, we can assure a more ready and extended hearing for our future messages. In this Hoover Special Edition we have the ideal means of making contact with a large group who do not now read The Freeman but who, after seeing this Special Edition, will be watching in the future to see what The Freeman has to say on economic and political issues. If on this most vital issue of national interest—the issue of Hoover-

ism and its causes and consequences—we can touch and awaken and irresistibly interest the minds of the people, we can be sure of a far greater influence in the months and years to come.

We repeat that this is our splendid chance, such a chance as will never come again, to put The Freeman in the front rank of American journals of criticism and enlightenment. In its contents, in its intelligent and crusading qualities, The Freeman is already in the front rank; but while members of The Freeman Army realize the importance of their paper, hundreds of thousands are not aware of the work we are doing. They can be made tremendously aware through the opportunely arousing medium of this Hoover Special Edition.

But we must reach the people. This is our first thought and our last thought and our constant, eager thought as we prepare the way and get ready our engines of propaganda for this superlative exposure of the conditions which we identify crucially as Hooverism. Everything is in excellent shape for battle here at the General Headquarters of The Freeman Army. We were never so vigorously and so fully equipped both with the spirit of crusading and with the facts and the intelligent reasoning materials of crusading. We know that our work on this Hoover Special Edition is going to be the finest we have ever done. And inevitably, with such a wonderful opportunity and such strong preparations, we are waiting and hoping with the keenest feelings to see what the Army will do. We expect, indeed, that the Army will do its best and that its best will be very good; but we tell ourselves that emphasis is never wasted and that never was it so important as now to call forth the greatest resources of The Freeman Army. We can't afford to fail with this Hoover Special Edition and we will frankly put it in this way: We shall consider this Hoover Special Edition a failure unless it is a brilliant, sensational success. This will be an Extra Special Edition and we know that it should produce extraordinary results.

Let us tell you again, most impressively, what we are going to do in this Hoover Special Edition. It will be hot and lively in style, and it will call a spade a spade, and it will spare no language in drawing full-length the true condemnation of the Hoover administration. But the vital thing about this Special Edition will be its sound and sweeping summary of the Hoover record. It will do more than denounce Hoover, it will do more than argue and condemn, it will do more than tell what The Freeman thinks of Hoover and his works. This Special Edition will attack Hoover in the most devastating way by reviewing thoroughly and in detail the actions and statements of the Hoover administration. It will place the Hoover political career fully on display, for all to see exactly what Hooverism has meant and what it means today.

### The Bluffer Exposed

A short memory, you will agree, is a weakness of the public. Many Americans who are strong in their antagonism toward Hoover have not clearly in their minds the complete record of Hoover in the White House. If they remember in a general way, they have forgotten many details and of course it is the one constant desire of the Hoover apologists to assist the public in forgetting the clear, accusing details of this disgracefully inept, untruthful and anti-social administration. One of the difficulties of American political life (or of politics anywhere) is that the politicians dare to make false statements or deceptive would-be explanations of events that happened some months ago, and that the people—or all too many of the people—are deceived or, if not that, are bewildered by these misleading statements. Even when they are convinced that the politicians are not dealing honestly with them, but that they are being trifled with in sheer misrepresentation, the people are not able to check up accurately on what the politicians say. They are all too often without the sharp, special memory or the ready sources of reference which would enable them to challenge these political statements. These politicians seek to obscure the thoughts of the people in a fog of generalities or they misinform them about specific issues, feeling safe in the assurance that the average citizen will not definitely remember the exact features of those issues when they were first discussed and handled by the administration.

Questions of public policy are reviewed in the newspapers for a few weeks or months, sometimes only for a few days, and even then these questions are surrounded by a mass of material (propaganda utterances, official excuses, political misrepresentations) which tends to turn aside consideration from the central, vital issue. Then the discussion subsides, other things are brought to the public attention, and in a short while the main, significant and specific features are but vaguely remembered by the public. Contending politicians come forward with contradictory assertions and the public are uncertain which to believe; maybe they consider that the politicians on both sides are deceiving them—but they can't put their fingers precisely on the facts which would expose these deceptions; or, as so generally happens, citizens are easily persuaded to believe this or that version of events for partisan reasons when they are not confronted undeniably with the facts.

The Hoover record—fact by fact, event by event, statement by statement, blunder by blunder, false step by false step—that is the most damaging thing which can be produced against Hoover. Please bear this thought in mind as you go out and work for the Hoover Special Edition: the supreme and worried effort being made right now by the Hoover apologists is the effort to divert attention from the Hoover record, from the actual record of what Hoover has said and done, from the details of this wretchedly incompetent administration. The very thing which Hoover doesn't want the people to realize is the full, connected scheme of inaction and falsehood and political-economic blundering which has marked his career in the White House. No doubt Hoover is sensitive to denunciation—but he doesn't mind being called names so much as he hates having attention directed simply and truthfully upon what he has done and hasn't done, what he has said and has failed to say, what he has actually represented in terms of uttering and definite antagonism to the true popular welfare since he took

office on March 4, 1929. Throughout his administration Hoover has endeavored to muddle along and fool the people by fixing their attention upon what he says today that he is planning to do tomorrow—but always trying to make the people forget what he neglected to do yesterday. Never before has a President of the United States attempted so brazenly to bluff and dodge and misrepresent his way through a terrible national crisis.

The strongest blow at Hoover is the telling, in clear and measured and incontrovertible facts, of the Hoover record. And this blow will be delivered mercilessly by the Hoover Special Edition of The American Freeman on November 29. We know Hoover's game—to pose and bluff and do nothing and hope that the people will forget and will not too closely examine his record in the light of yesterday and today—and we intend to spoil that dishonest political game by the exposure we shall make so convincingly in this Hoover Special Edition. Hoover wants the people to listen with believing appreciation to what he promises today; but in this Special Edition we shall make it plain that Hoover made the same promises a year ago and six months ago and three months ago—that he has persistently repeated these same promises and meanwhile has done nothing at all. We want to have the American people see the Hoover record in all the deadly clarity of events during the whole period of the Hoover administration. We don't intend to let a single aspect of Hoover's failure escape the attention of the readers of this Hoover Special Edition.

### What We Shall Do

In this Special Edition we will set forth clearly the Hoover record on unemployment—his statements, his promises, and his inaction. We will show what actually has been the Hoover record in political juggling and scheming for his own selfish advantage. We shall expose the weakness and dishonesty of the Hoover record with regard to Prohibition and the law enforcement commission which he has pompously paraded for political deception. We shall retell in plain language the story of Hoover's disgraceful failure in the field of foreign policy—his failure of the so-called "naval limitations" conference and the efforts that have been made to give a wrong impression of that farcical performance. We shall remind the people exactly how Hoover failed in leadership with regard to the tariff bill and the degree of responsibility that he must bear for the economic madness and political greed and cowardice which entered into the fabrication of this outrageous crime against the common welfare. We shall review the statements of Hoover concerning "economic individualism"—his friendliness toward the power trust that is extending its monopoly over these vital facilities of public life—his persistence in the stupid, capitalistic dogma of "no government in business," which means that he denies any real responsibility or effectiveness of the government in this great economic crisis—his false utterances about the fair opportunities of the system of "economic individualism" when that system has broken down and admits itself incapable of providing jobs and a decent livelihood and any kind of security for the masses.

This Hoover record, which will be fully displayed and analyzed in our Hoover Special Edition, should be placed in the hands of the American masses all over this distressed and perplexed country. We will print the facts. You members of The Freeman Army—we depend upon you to circulate the facts. Remember the three propaganda methods: Method No. 1 means that you buy a bundle of 50 or more copies of the Hoover Special Edition, at 2c a copy, for personal distribution. Method No. 2 means that you send us 50 or more names, at the rate of 2c each, so that we can send the Hoover Special Edition directly to these names. Method No. 3 means that you pay for mailing the Hoover Special Edition to good names in our possession, at the rate of 2c a copy, minimum order 50 copies. Let us remind you again that this Hoover Special Edition is the greatest opportunity The Freeman Army has ever had—so make the most of it—see that this Hoover Special Edition is read everywhere—get into action immediately and work in full cooperation for our greatest triumph. The Hoover record! Let us tell it to the world!

### "The Hoover Record! That's Plenty! You Tell It!"

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want to help in making the Hoover record fully and definitely known to the American people. You tell it—I am doing my part in getting the readers. I am using the method marked below.

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

Method No. 2. Send . . . . . copies of the Hoover Special Edition to the enclosed names and addresses, for which I am enclosing \$ . . . . . which pays for the papers and the mailing at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$ . . . . . which is to pay for your mailing copies of the Hoover Special Edition to good names in your possession, said copies being paid for at the rate of 2c a copy.

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

# American Hard Times Not Caused by World Depression --But Have the Same Cause

By E. Haldeman-Julius

Conditions are bad all over the world, say the Republican politicians, and therefore America's industrial depression is inevitable and is nobody's fault. But these politicians do not go on to explain why bad conditions in other parts of the world must affect America so disastrously. Such an explanation, if true and intelligent, would have to be a confession that the Republican party (and the Democratic party as well) is supporting a theory of government, a theory of industrial organization, a theory of social war and hazards which is absolutely contrary to the welfare of the people.

America is not suffering because of world conditions. The correct way to put it is that America is suffering because this country operates under the same unscientific system which is in practice among other nations. Apart from Russia, which is proceeding with remarkable determination in the face of heavy difficulties to build up a collective plan of social-industrial organization, America and the rest of the world cling to the old, unscientific, unjust and inevitably disastrous profit system of private enterprise.

If American industry were run wisely under a plan of collectivism—if our factories were publicly owned and operated for the public welfare—this country would be having good times, even though the rest of the world were still experiencing the failures of private enterprise. And the Republican party upholds this system which has brought us again to spectacular failure. The Democratic party also supports this system. That is why the Republican politicians dare not attempt an explanation of why hard times throughout the world should mean hard times in America. It would mean a condemnation of the system which they are pledged to maintain. They would have to admit that the Republican party is committed to a hopeless theory of economics.

THE ARGUMENT that America must go through a period of hard

times along with the rest of the world is seen to be absurd when we ask a few comparable questions. For instance, why isn't America torn with revolutionary strife because that is the condition of China and Brazil? Why doesn't America suffer from dictatorship like that of Mussolini in Italy? Why isn't America facing the same problems that are burdening Russia, which also has a dictatorship but which is notably proceeding with a bold, shrewd, modernized solution of the economic question? The "epidemic" theory of hard times doesn't bear analysis. We haven't caught any disease of economic paralysis from other countries. We have given ourselves this disease by wrong economic living. It is obvious that we couldn't have conditions in America such as exist in other countries unless we have had the same causes at work here. If our internal and international situation were like that of China, we would have the warfare and near-chaos that China has. In the same way, our economic depression is due to our own economic mistakes.

The rulers of other nations offer excuses similar to those put forth by the Republican politicians. In England the excuse is that America has hard times. In Germany the excuse is that England and the rest of the world are going through a depression—albeit Germany can trace a big share of her troubles to the heavy indemnities and exactions of the Versailles treaty. In no country do the rulers admit that they are in the least to blame for conditions. It is always some other country or, more broadly, the world that is to blame. But where did these hard times start? What caused them? Somebody—something—must be at fault.

Where else should we look for this fault but in our system of conducting our economic affairs? Hoover and the Republican party are to blame because they are the representatives and supporters of this system and because they in-

ist, even in the face of the most terrible lessons of disaster, upon continuing this system. It is a system that works well for a few—but that is hard and hopeless for the many. And everywhere, with the exception of Russia, this system is in control. I was about to say "in operation" but a great part of it is decidedly out of operation. Private enterprise fails in such a crisis; and it cannot avoid the recurrence of such crises, because when the people have, as the mocking term goes, "produced too much" the factories close down and the workers must idly starve until the private owners of industry can dispose of the surplus which the workers have created but which they are powerless, under the profit system, to consume.

Look at it sanely: America has mighty factories and machines. America has an abundance of raw materials. America has every needed mechanical facility of production and distribution. Yet the factories stand idle. The materials of living are here but the people cannot use them. Today this country could be and should be prosperous from coast to coast. There is one tremendous reason why it is not prosperous—and that is the fact that the country's industries are in the hands of private owners and these owners cannot run these industries fully at a profit to themselves and our government doesn't for a moment consider the obvious, sensible, just step of running these industries for the people's welfare. It is a crazy system—yet it goes on and Hoover praises it and the Republican politicians say nothing about the failure of the system but vaguely attribute our misfortunes to "world depression."

CONDITIONS are very bad the world over. But a clear view of the world's situation doesn't minimize the blunders, the hypocrisies and the anti-social policies of Hoover and his party. The world is struggling under various handicaps of antiquated, unscientific procedure. It is burdened with false ideas, with vicious conflicts, with bitter prejudices, with political and economic injustices—in short, with a tragic mess of superstitions and selfish interests which prevents the use of modern knowledge for the common welfare. Nowhere save in Russia is there even the convincing pretense of a desire to further the common good. Social aims are not held in view by the American government—Hoover fiddles on his string of "economic individualism" while millions walk the streets looking for work in a land filled with the finest modern machinery.

And let me say here that I am fully aware of the objections that can be made to the Russian government. It is a dictatorship of the Communist party. The country is ruled forcibly, even though for ends that are idealistic. Free speech doesn't exist in Russia (and we are frequently reminded that it rests on a very precarious footing in America.) It is also true that the Russian masses are compelled to go on short rations. The big problem in Russia is to build up an entirely new industrial system. Before the revolution, Russia was largely medieval, a land of peasants and very few factories and machines. The wealth of the country, under the Communist five-year plan, is being directed toward developing a system of modern industry. And even conservative economic thinkers admit that, if this five-year plan goes ahead steadily to success, Russia can offer her masses a higher standard of living than is possible under "economic individualism" in America or any other country.

Russia is proceeding on the modern plan of collectivism. The government is operating—for one illuminating example—a 350,000-acre wheat farm. The latest machinery is used. Production is done on a large scale. And this means that Communism can produce wheat at a cost of only 50 cents at Black Sea ports, in contrast with the 82-cent cost of American capitalistic agriculture. The 42-cent tariff on wheat prevents Russia from underselling in the American market, but it can beat us in the world market. It seems that Russia is fighting capi-

talism with the best of weapons—the weapons of economic superiority. Other countries feel the effects of Communist industry. We are unfriendly to Canada, industrially, so we allow Russia to bring in wood pulp in severe competition with the Canadian paper business. It is an endless, hopeless, insane circle of conflict, distrust and distress. Just now American capitalists are doing a big trade with Russia; significantly, however, the principal part of this trade is in the sale of machinery. Once Russia gets the machinery and builds up a self-sufficient economic system, it will be independent of America.

Russia has the prospect of being the world's richest and strongest nation in another few decades. This will not be due to the country's natural advantages. What country has greater natural advantages than America? Russia's supremacy will be due to the scientific system of collectivism and to the fact that (if the Communist ideals of industry are carried out honestly and successfully) it will be the one country in which the welfare of the people is given entire consideration.

Private enterprise has accomplished great things in America. We have seen the evolution of a magnificent system of production. Our machine technique is supreme in the producing end. But our system of distribution is unscientific. Private enterprise fails when it is a question of getting the products of industry into the hands of the people. Profits interfere at every turn with social welfare. Unless the masters of industry can collect their tribute, they stop the machines. They close the factories. They turn people out to starve. And Hoover praises this vast, staggering crime of "economic individualism."

TIMES ARE BAD everywhere—yes, but this is due to the conflict of uncontrolled, anti-social interests which goes on throughout the world. China's revolutionary troubles are explained, primarily by the efforts of the Chinese to break away from foreign, capitalistic domination. And within China itself there is the struggle of private interests which, as in America and elsewhere, stands oppositely in the way of the public good. It is plain that China has suffered from the capitalistic schemes of western civilization and, at the same time, these conditions have been introduced into China and the insane struggle repeats itself.

A few things stand out clearly. China has always resented the fact that the Christian missionaries came with their Bibles, their cant and their arrogance—and that behind each Bible was a bayonet. Christianity and commercialism were worked together. The Christian missionaries worked one side of the street while the commercial exploiters worked the other side. Now China has kicked out most of the missionaries and is struggling for complete industrial and cultural independence. But its problem is not as simple as that. There are Chinese exploiters, too, who are eager to rob and oppress their people (in the same way that American exploiters prevent the American workers from enjoying the products of their labor).

This age has the greatest possibilities of any age in the world's history. It has also achieved wonderful things—but it hasn't yet learned how to bring comfort and security to the masses. In England, in Germany, in Italy we find the same tale of distress. Unemployment is widespread. Industry is disorganized. Is America to blame for conditions in these countries? Are these countries to blame for conditions in America? Indeed not; but the real cause is that system of "economic individualism" which Hoover tells us to fall down and worship. Well, millions of workers have been knocked down by the system. Surely they don't worship it. Yet they don't understand what is wrong.

Italy has special troubles under the dictatorship of Mussolini. The country is heading toward bankruptcy; it is already bankrupt and Mussolini is trying to stir up a war with France or Yugoslavia, so that the madness of patriotism will draw attention from his criminal misrule of Italy. He is the Al Capone of international affairs. And in Italy, as in other countries, private greed and ambition are at the bottom of the present suffering.

Farther away, in India, we are witnessing another spectacle of misgovernment in the interests of private enterprise. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the Indians

are rebelling against the long exploitation by British capitalists. Instead of a military revolt, Gandhi is persuading his followers to use their own native cloth in hand spinning, thus boycotting the products of the British mills. In turn the British mills are buying less American cotton; and the system of private enterprise doesn't permit Americans to use the cotton which is raised in this country. All products must be sold at a profit—or the masters of industry won't let the people use them. There is a limit to the people's ability to buy; and when that limit is reached, the crash comes inevitably.

World conditions? Yes, they are bad—very bad. But the Republican politicians, who are trying to dodge responsibility by pointing to these bad conditions, dare not analyze the world situation. They dare not tell the people why conditions are bad in America and the rest of the world. The causes of these bad conditions are right here, at home, in America, in our unscientific system of private enterprise. Our troubles are not due to something that has happened at the other side of the world. We suffer because our society is mismanaged and its principles of procedure are essentially unsound. And Hoover, "the Great Engineer," says that our government would fail and our society would fail if we departed from these principles which, as all can plainly see, have plunged us into disaster! The unsoundness of Hoover's mental processes is typical of the unsoundness of the social and industrial processes of a system which dictates that a great country, with every natural and technical condition of prosperity, must starve in the midst of plenty.

## CHURCH TAXATION—A REAL ISSUE OF JUSTICE

The American Freeman, in its Church Taxation Special Edition, performed a valuable service in calling large attention to the evil of church tax exemption. Following that special edition we ran a series of articles by Harry Hibschman, in which the record of this aggravated form of church parasitism was given fully. We believed, and we still believe, that this is one of the features of injustice to which an enlightened citizenship must direct its critical thought.

We are therefore glad to see that this issue of church taxation is being agitated in New York City, the injustice being illustrated by the exemption of a big Catholic (Knights of Columbus) hotel in one of New York's busiest districts. This hotel, worth more than \$2,000,000 and containing various lucrative businesses in addition to the hotel business, does not pay a cent in taxes.

In reply to unwelcome publicity regarding this graft, the defenders of this exemption for a Catholic hotel assert that a Masonic building in New York City is also exempted. If true, this doesn't affect the issue save to broaden the offense. Both the Masonic building and the Catholic building should be compelled to pay adequate, proportionate taxation. The discussion has even brought a few words from Arthur Brisbane, characteristically evasive and sentimental. In his newspaper column Brisbane poses this question: "Suppose the founder of Christianity returned and were asked: 'Would you free from taxation the humble dwelling of a poor man and woman with five or six children or would you free a fine building costing millions erected in Your honor?' What do you think He would answer?"

The capitalization of "You" and "He" is amusingly Brisbane's. We infer that Brisbane is in favor of church taxation but doesn't wish to express his opinion plainly. The issue is a good deal simpler and more practically important than the question, "What would Jesus do?" It is a flagrant case of grafting favoritism that the churches should be supported by a community in which the majority do not attend the churches and by a government which is secular in its legal foundation. It doesn't matter at all what Jesus would or wouldn't say. Fair-minded citizens agree that church tax exemption is an outrage. The issue is clear. The Freeman intends that it shall not be forgotten.

POLITICIANS, priests, preachers, reformers and others who seek power and who live by power are the obvious enemies of justice.

HOOPER talks while millions starve.

## Cannon Fails to Suppress Charges

Bishop Secretly Talks with His Accusers, Who Insist on Inquiry

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Church, South, has tried vainly to suppress investigation of the charges brought against him by four of his brother Methodist ministers. He secretly met with his accusers in Richmond, Va., but they would not be induced by the bishop to drop the demand for an investigation.

The four ministers have insisted that a church committee, appointed by Bishop Ainsworth of Alabama, shall examine the charges against Cannon. If this committee decides that the charges are sufficiently serious or substantial to justify further inquiry, the bishop will have to stand trial in an ecclesiastical court and answer fully the questions that will be put concerning embarrassing features of his recent career. And so far it looks as if the bishop will have to go through with the ordeal. A whitewashing or a sidetracking of the inquiry at this stage would be equivalent to an admission of guilt. The public would not hesitate to put the true construction upon such an act of suppression.

And doesn't Cannon emphasize the belief in his guilt when he thus attempts, in a secret conference which wasn't discovered until the next day, to call off his accusers and dodge the firing line of publicity? Reflect what the natural attitude of an innocent man would be. He would demand a quick and thorough trial. He would want the charges to be investigated to the full. He would insist upon clearing his name in the most direct and open way possible—that is to say, by proving his innocence in an honest, fearless trial.

But Bishop Cannon behaved in a guilty, whipped and frightened manner. He tried to prevent a hearing rather than facilitate it, as an innocent man would do. This is the policy of a man who has something to hide. Bishop Cannon has been a leading American reformer and now he stands forth in the relentless light as a hypocrite. He will continue, doubtless, in his efforts to suppress or divert the investigation. But, whether he succeeds or not with regard to an inquiry by his own church, the public will demand a full explanation from the bishop concerning his relations with Mrs. Helen McCallum, dashing widow, with whom the bishop played around most intimately while his first wife was yet alive; an explanation of the bishop's stock gambling activities; an

explanation of the more than \$40,000 of the Virginia anti-Smith campaign fund which the bishop never accounted for; and an explanation of the bishop's hoarding and disposal of 650 barrels of flour in 1917, in violation of the wartime law against such hoarding.

Ordinarily The Freeman would not concern itself with a man's sex life, with his private conduct; but plainly the case of Bishop Cannon is different. It is not his specific sexual behavior that we are interested in discussing, but it is the hypocrisy of the man and the fact that he has been notorious in his efforts to force a rigid moral and Christian code upon others. The exposure of such a reformer is always a useful service performed in the cause of toleration, freedom and candid, debunked realism.

## CANNIBALISM IN BIBLE

Let us turn to a specific moral inspiration in the Bible. Cannibalism, for instance, is enjoined as the law of Yahveh, given unto Moses, in Leviticus xxvi, 14, 16, 28 as follows:

"But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments . . . I will also eat this unto you . . . Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat."

Yahveh repeated himself, so mightily concerned was he that this divine law of cannibalism should be well understood. Read Deuteronomy xxviii, 53, 58:

"And thou shalt eat the flesh of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters . . . if thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law."

Read also Jeremiah xix, 9 and Ezekiel ix, 10.

THE CITY ATTORNEY of Washington, D. C., has issued a public statement to the effect that citizens will have to suffer unpleasant consequences if they "talk back to or abuse a policeman, regardless of whether or not the policeman is abusive to them." Few, we believe, are under illusions about policemen. And wouldn't it be fairer, simpler and a good deal more practical to instruct policemen that they should behave decently toward citizens?

"DR." JOHN R. BRINKLEY, "sea-gland" quack whose license was recently taken from him by the Kansas state medical board, is running as an independent candidate for governor; which is to say that the medical quack has invaded the field of the political quacks.

FALSE BELIEFS are childish and are never beautiful to minds that are mature.

## The Works of Clarence Darrow

Clarence Darrow is the most charming, convincing, appealingly human writer of our time. When he touches a subject he makes that subject come to life. He has all the arts of humor, sharp and surprising logic, wide culture and the uncommon faculty of common sense. In this set of 18 books, Darrow discusses religion, science, philosophy, literature, ethics and human nature—all in the most intimate, engaging manner. In these books you have Darrow at his best. It is a liberal education to read these Darrowian masterpieces. You will realize, after reading these books, that Darrow has fully earned his reputation as the most acute and attractive exponent of free thought in the modern world. In these books the intelligent mind finds the essence of sound, enduring entertainment. And the entire set is sold at only \$1. You can't afford to miss this bargain. Ask for *The Works of Clarence Darrow*.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

## Free Catalog of Little Blue Books

The Little Blue Books are the most interesting and useful library of popular modern culture. By "popular" we mean readable, understandable, attractive to the average reader. These books cover every field of controversy, education, self-help, practical information and literary and artistic culture. There has never been anything like this fascinating series of low-priced books for every conceivable taste in reading. Every book is useful. Every book is thoroughly readable. Every book is worth many times its very low price—a price that places the best of literature within the reach of every man and woman. You should be familiar with this list of more than 1500 Little Blue Books at 5c each. A study of the list will make you want to read these irresistible, important titles. Send today for our free catalog of over 1500 Little Blue Books.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

## What Can A Free Man Believe?

It is the fashion in certain literary circles to say that modern men and women are in a sadly distressed condition because they have lost the old religious and sentimental beliefs and do not know where to turn for a philosophy of life. But this is true only of mental weaklings or of persons who are only in the process of becoming intellectually emancipated. Free thought is really the most healthy state of mind. It is encouraging and inspiring. To see life truly is to see it in a robust and vivifying way. The essential soundness of a realistic philosophy of life has never been so well explained as in the latest book by E. Haldeman-Julius, entitled *What Can A Free Man Believe?* This is a large work, 177 pages, 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches in size, bound in stiff card covers. The price is only \$1. A book for free thinkers and for all who wish to be mentally free.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

## Church Tax Exemption

Harry Hibschman has given remarkably the facts and figures about church tax exemption in his book, *Should Church Property Be Tax Exempt?* This is a study of a vital social problem—one which is being increasingly discussed—which every citizen should know about. You will be surprised to learn, in this book, exactly what is the size of the burden which the people must shoulder because the churches are permitted to thrive parasitically without paying their fair share of taxation. Millions who don't go to church—hundreds of thousands who do not believe in the doctrines taught by the churches—are made to pay for the maintenance of these temples of superstition. Read Hibschman's book and understand this situation fully. This is a finely printed book, large size of 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches, and is sold at only 50c a copy or 5 copies for \$2.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

## The Story of Human Morals

Joseph McCabe, the world's greatest scholar, is seen at his very best in these twelve volumes of *The Story of Human Morals*, which trace remarkably the evolution of human behavior and ideas of behavior throughout the ages. This great work ran as a series in THE JOSEPH McCABE MAGAZINE and, although these volumes are really worth 50 cents each (that is their standard price), we are offering the twelve volumes to you for only \$2.90. In this book McCabe casts light upon many of the problems which are so hotly disputed today—for he shows convincingly and completely what has been the origin of moral ideas and what is the real basis of ethics. As a superb illumination of the enigma of human behavior, this series is valuable. As a thrilling story of the strange ways of men in different civilizations, it is alive with drama and significance on every page. It tells about sex and morals, religion and morals, government and morals, economics and morals, geography and morals—the book has a marvelously encyclopedic range. The scholarship of McCabe is triumphant in this book. Just send \$2.90 to the Haldeman-Julius Publications and say that you want *The Story of Human Morals*.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

## The Rise and Fall of the Gods

Here is a new series by Joseph McCabe, just beginning in THE JOSEPH McCABE MAGAZINE—the fascinating story of how man made gods, how the gods developed in man's imagination through the different social environments and the guile of priestly organizations, what common men and philosophers and theologians have thought about gods or God—and, finally, what are the conclusions of modern scientific knowledge on this age-old subject. This series will run through six numbers of THE JOSEPH McCABE MAGAZINE (issued twice each month) and to introduce the magazine to new readers we are making a special offer of a three months' subscription, bringing with it the complete series on *The Rise and Fall of the Gods*, for the low price of \$1.50. You have a chance to become acquainted with this unique, important magazine—entirely written by Joseph McCabe—and to possess what is really a valuable set of books on the evolution of the idea of God. Just send \$1.50 to Haldeman-Julius Publications and say that you want *The Rise and Fall of the Gods*.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ruminations Isaac Goldberg

APOCALYPSE

Mencken and Shaw. By Benjamin de Casseres. New York. Silas Newton. \$2.50.

This is, for the greater part, a venture in epigrams and marginal notations, set down often in haste and not repented in leisure. We have long been familiar with Ben's explosive style; with his sidereal collisions; with his apocalyptic pronouncements declaimed to the cosmos, as it were, from a mountain as pedestal. Ben contemns logic; he glorifies intuition; modesty and moderation are vices to which he lays no claim. The present study shows him both at his best and at his worst. It is an ink-pot hurled at his familiar devils, and the spots are the epigrams.

II

Shaw, in a very brief essay, is presented as an arch-mountebank. Mencken appears, for all the faults with which De Casseres caresses him, as the great rationalist of our day. Mencken, in a word, really is what Shaw pretends, for self-interest and self-aggrandizement, to be. Many of Ben's arrows find a fleshy target in both Mencken and Shaw, although I am well satisfied that De Casseres is happier in his treatment of the Baltimorean than in that of the Irishman. It is possible to suspect Ben, indeed, of some of the vices that he attributes to St. Bernard.

III

I do not like, in De Casseres, his wilful assumption of prejudices. He is all for the Latins, right or wrong. He sees the world too often in sharply differentiated blacks and whites.

IV

In one part of his epigrammatic spree he becomes a parody of Mencken. Seizing upon that paragraph in Mencken's Treatise on the Gods which caused such disturbance among the Jews, he seeks to go the Baltimore theologian one better. I was among those Jews who discerned the truth at the bottom of Mencken's paragraph; I felt sorry that he should have expressed himself just as he did, and told him so. Mencken is no anti-Semite; he did not intend a blanket indictment of the race. All blanket indictments are manifestly unfair. He even ad-

mitted to me that he had been tempted to change his language in such a way as to make it clear that he was aiming at a class of individuals, not at an entire people. He did not do so only because the type of Jew that rose up in arms against him was, on the whole, precisely the kind he had aimed at. And, very properly, he declared that he'd say what he damn pleased about whom he damn pleased whenever and wherever he felt like it.

Now comes Ben de Casseres to gild Mencken's lily:

"When Mencken said the Jews were the most unpleasant race in the world—which brought all the ghetto-brained Jews down on him when Mencken said this he uttered only a half-truth. The whole truth is that the Jews are not only the unpleasantest race in the world but the most cowardly and unfair also."

Well, well. De Casseres has often boasted that he is a collateral descendant of Baruch Spinoza, who, though a Jew, was not particularly unpleasant or cowardly. Nor was he conspicuously unfair. One wishes, too, that De Casseres himself were as unpleasant, cowardly and unfair as Albert Einstein. But this sort of thing gets us nowhere.

De Casseres, by using a trowel where Mencken used a rapier, smears himself all over with mortar. The paragraph may get him plenty of publicity; it is not going to garner him any esteem.

I am an atheist; Judaism, to me, is but one of many cultures, and I know that each culture contributes something to the general store; I have good eyesight, and I can see across boundaries. What offends me in the De Casseres paragraph is its soft yielding to something lower than intuition. Such a statement, in this age, should not be made of any race under the sun by any man who calls himself a thinker. Give me rather the "mountebankery" of Shaw's internationalism, with all its overtones of Puritanism and Capitalism.

As a Jew I resent De Casseres' gratuitous insult, if only because my life has been thickly populated with Jews of eminent fairness, of exemplary courage, who radiated pleasantness. Indeed, when I've met De Casseres himself, the dominant impressions I have received were those of the very qualities which he denies to the race.

V

This animadversion aside, I can conscientiously recommend the volume for any number of felicitous observations—for its misuses as well as its hits. De Casseres has little patience with orthodox

critics and the elaborate structures by which they seek to bolster up their intuitive—or even prejudicial—attitudes. In defending the poet as against the rationalist he vindicates, in an age that begins badly to need that service, the life of the imagination, which may be just as real as, and sometimes more real than, the terrible routine that we humorlessly call reality. Imagination and Reason are at their best in association; to believe that one may be completely dissevered from the other is to exhibit a lack of both.

VI

The assault upon Shaw, "England's other John Bull" (the italics belong to De Casseres), is chiefly directed against Shaw's guide for intelligent women through the mazes of Socialism and Capitalism, and, within that labyrinth—has anybody ever read it from first page to last, including the judges of the Book-of-the-Month club who selected it for mensural distinction?—against Shaw's pet notion of dividing up all wealth equally.

I am sure that there is more in Shaw's plays than De Casseres has been able to discover. They are gabby, but I can listen to an evening of Shaw's garrulity any time of the year. Irrational? But who is De Casseres to ask for reason from a playwright? It is barely possible—whether this is a knock or a boost I leave to others—that De Casseres' violent detestation of Shaw is based upon a fundamental similarity of personality that links them in conflict.

VII

Mencken and Shaw. Ben calls his book. But there is more of De Casseres in it than of either Shaw or Mencken. That, too, is as it should be.

It is the first offering of a new publisher who intends to specialize in De Casseres, the most unpublished author in the United States. Among the works announced for forthcoming issuance are Spinoza: Liberator of God and Man, The Comedy of Hamlet, The Complete American, The Ego Epic, The Elect and the Damned.

Fine titles, that's certain! And I shall await them with pleasant courage and fairness, despite Ben's lapse from grace.

A DODGER—NOT ARTFUL

Dr. Clarence True Wilson, grand mogul of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, is a dodger—but not an artful one. He has been debating throughout the country with Clarence Darrow, on the issue of Prohibition. A few nights ago the two debated in Kansas City before an audience of twelve hundred people; and the crowd was decidedly for Darrow. Wilson accused Darrow of dodging the real issue. He said:

Almost every night Mr. Darrow brings up that "personal liberty" point, to a chorus of applause from the avowed wets in the audience. We aren't debating the question of temperance for the individual at all. The question of Prohibition is not the question of temperance. Prohibition is control of the liquor traffic as a whole.

Now, who is the clumsy dodger? Nobody but Dr. Wilson. Obviously the issue of personal liberty is fundamental in a discussion of Prohibition. The dry law is flagrantly a denial of the liberty of the individual to control his own habits or follow his own tastes in the matter of drinking. Personal liberty, in fact, is a point directly important and inseparable from the subject of debate. Dr. Wilson is attacking personal liberty or his support of Prohibition means nothing. And, in the same way, Darrow must logically press home the message of personal liberty in his attack upon Prohibition.

When Dr. Wilson declares that he and Darrow "aren't debating the question of temperance for the individual" and that "Prohibition is not the question of temperance," he but repeats the obvious. That's exactly the point. Darrow believes that temperance (or intemperance) should be left to the free choice of the individual; but he wouldn't force an ideal of conduct upon anyone. Dr. Wilson believes that Prohibition (not temperance) should be forcibly imposed upon the country. Darrow sticks to the issue. It is Dr. Wilson who tries clumsily to obscure the issue.

PREACHERS speak loosely of "our Christian civilization." The student of history is more interested in the conflict between Christianity and civilization.

WE ARE opposed to Christianity because, as Nietzsche says, so eloquently in The Antichrist, it is the enemy of all life's noble values.

On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

Louis Baer, Minn., sends a dollar for the Centralia investigation "with the hope that the effort will be crowned ultimately with success." That depends on the Army—and we have unshakable confidence in the Army.

A. H. Warnke, Wis., recognizes the great educational value of the Haldeman-Julius Publications, and so he assists us to pull through these difficult times by sending \$5 order for our new trade coupons.

W. J. Sanderson, Ill., sends a dollar for the renewal of his subscription to The Freeman and adds \$2 for the Mutual Aid Fund. He says: "For fifty years I have always subscribed to papers like this, and unfortunately many of them have had to be discontinued. I do hope this won't happen to The Freeman if we can persuade the believers in a free press to support our policy of fearless crusading. Our future is in the hands of our friends and (we hope) the increasing number of friends whom these friends will bring to us."

Charles E. O'Shea, Mo., is a steadily active Army worker. Now he sends a dollar for four Freeman sub cards and \$50 for trade coupons. This is the kind of loyal support upon which we are necessarily counting in this crisis.

Neils Schallme, N. D., sends a dollar for four Freeman sub cards and, as a token of his support for our ideas, for a membership in the American All-Radical Party. Let us remind our readers that this party is, first and last, an educational movement. It helps to draw more interested attention to our propaganda.

A Way to Double Our List of Readers!

W. S. Toppamy, Pa., has an excellent plan for immediately doubling the circulation of The Freeman. He sends \$1 for a year's subscription, putting an acquaintance of his on our list. He suggests that every reader of The Freeman do the same. Think of a certain acquaintance, friend, neighbor or fellow worker whom you would like to see as a regular reader of The Freeman. Send us his name, with a dollar, and we will put him on the list for a year. Obviously, if every reader would do this, we should at once have double the number of readers. And this isn't an excessive task for any one reader; whereas, with all our readers thus working together—each one sending in a yearly subscription for a new reader—we can quickly and militantly extend the circulation and influence of The Freeman! Reader Toppamy has shown the way. How many readers will follow him?

C. J. Lovick, N. Y., is another reader who believes concretely in the American All-Radical Party, sending \$1.25 for a membership and an extra month's dues (on sub-card purchase) in advance. Strictly speaking, this party has no system of dues-paying, but members pledge themselves to buy one Freeman sub card each month after paying a dollar for four sub-cards as their original pledge of membership.

R. A. Glick, Mo., thinks that our educational work needs to be done more than ever in these hard times, and that it should go on after the depression has run its course. Believing this, he sends us a \$2.70 order for the new H.-J. coupons.

John Syrick, sends a dollar to be used according to the plan set forth in spreading the circulation of The Freeman. The effort to obtain new readers should never cease. The mission of this paper is to circulate ideas and the more widely they circulate, the better.

Leonard Schwarz, Del., encourages us in this way: "Enclosed please and a dollar bill to pay for the subscription of at least one man or woman who is worse off than I am. I know from experience that those kept on the list in this way usually stick and may later on do more for the cause than I am able to do."

S. E. Monk, Texas, sends a dollar and four names to go on our list for twenty-five weeks. "We shall be glad to talk to four new readers—and to send more—and to four thousand more. Give us the readers and we'll give them the ideas."

W. H. Towner, Okla., sends \$5 for use in spreading the circulation of The Freeman. He is a steady subscriber to this paper, but he believes in helping it along to new audiences.

Miss Amber Grub, Mich., sends \$5 for use in removing The Freeman's deficit which means, of course, that we will use the money in the logical way of getting our message to new readers.

Richard P. Druce, Ohio, is unpleasantly collision with Hoover, properly but he makes a special effort to help maintain this paper which tells the truth about conditions. He sends \$2 for use in spreading the influence of The Freeman.

L. A. Hendon, Kans., is very well and favorably known to us—he has been a good Army worker from the first. He hasn't quit, either, for now he sends \$2 for eight sub cards.

J. W. Johnson, Ariz., sends \$5 and tells us to use it in the way we think best for advancing our common cause.

Salvador C. Ballaght is another of

our readers who is spreading the message of free thought and social justice to the Philippine Islands. He remits with a list of thirty names who are to receive The Freeman.

C. C. Antoni, Calif., sends \$5 for helping The Freeman to keep its excellent work going during these hard times when our work is most urgently needed.

J. F. Warner, Ariz., thinks fraternally of others as well as himself. He sends \$1 for Little Blue Books—that's for himself. He sends \$1 for The Freeman Mutual Aid Fund—that's for others.

Mrs. Wm. Welch, Wis., sends a dollar to the Mutual Aid Fund. She may rest assured that this will enable some poor reader to continue on The Freeman list.

Jackson C. Staples, Mich., remembers the 10 weeks for 10 cents circulation idea and puts it to use by sending a dollar and a list of ten names.

Frank R. Ellis, Ohio, sends a dollar for H.-J. coupons. He knows that NOW is the time to help the Haldeman-Julius Publications so that they can persist in their much-needed work.

M. A. Goodwin, Canada, is another who promptly sends in a dollar for coupons, thus assuring us that he wants our educational enterprises to live through this crisis.

Harry W. Meyer, N. Y., leaves us in no doubt as to his friendship and his realization of our good work. He sends \$4.50 as an order for H.-J. coupons.

Fred Lindgren, Minn., is another convincing supporter. He also sends \$4.50 for coupons, which he gets along with our sincere thanks.

C. H. Belden, Mo., has the real Freeman Army way of doing things. He sends a dollar for the renewal of his own subscription to The Freeman—that's good. But, as an Army worker, he does better—he sends another dollar "for the good of the cause" which means that we shall use this money in bringing The Freeman to new readers.

BIBLE LESSONS—LET'S HAVE MORE OF THEM

It is the custom of many daily newspapers to print a Bible text on the editorial page, as a regular feature meant (we suppose) to be educational or uplifting or something. Probably not one in a hundred readers so much as glances at these texts; and those who look at them must often wonder what they mean or doubt seriously if they mean anything at all. Vague and pointless, these texts usually have nothing to distinguish them save that they are quoted from the Bible. It is a traditional notion that any words from the Bible have irrefragably a sacred significance. And frequently there are sentimental or pious texts which have a fine air—to the impressible person who has an uncritical respect for the Bible—and sometimes these texts have a gorgeous sound, even though signifying nothing of clear intelligence.

Presumably the editors of daily newspapers feel that they are guaranteeing their respectability by the use of these Bible texts. A few editors may even feel that they are rendering a social service by reminding their readers of the "beauties" of the Bible. Aren't we told by preachers that the Bible is a great book of moral guidance and spiritual wisdom and that for this generation to be reared in ignorance of the Sacred Book is to leave this generation unprotected in the face of sin and crime? It is even asserted that, contrary to the secular purposes of education, Bible lessons should be taught in the public schools; only by reading the Bible, many preachers say, can anyone have a true moral education.

The person who believes these assertions is certainly not familiar with the origin and development of moral ideas (as told so fully, for example, in Joseph McCabe's The Story of Human Morals). Such a believer in the Bible as the foundation of morality does not properly study the realistic factors which determine behavior. And there is another lack of understanding, or lack of familiarity, which can be quite simply pointed out as explaining this exaggerated opinion of the Bible: the fact is that few of these Bible defenders or Bible admirers are well versed in the actual contents of the Sacred Book. Their attention has been centered upon vague, meaningless or sentimental texts. They have been impressed by obscure texts which are used as the basis for disputes concerning points of theological doctrine. They are offered texts with interpretations ready-made, so that they are not inclined to reflect independently and intelligently upon the meaning of the texts.

And all the while they remain unaware of many significant, emphatic and characteristic lessons which are given in the Bible. We are willing to assume that they are probably honestly unfamiliar with the crudities, contradictions, barbarities and insanities of the Bible. They are given only selected, tame glimpses of the Sacred Book. These scriptural lessons, as published in the daily newspapers, are very incomplete. For this reason The Freeman thinks that, if the people are to have Bible lessons, they should have

more of them and thus obtain a wider, more realistic, more thorough view of the Sacred Book.

Guided by this conviction, we shall print from time to time in the columns of The Freeman a collection of Bible texts and lessons which will serve impressively to correct the balance and give the other half—or indeed the far more than half—of the picture which the daily newspapers omit in their conventional selection of texts. We have printed a few of these "beauties" of the Bible and many of our readers have commented upon them as interesting features. We shall have more Bible lessons in the future—brief lessons that pungently reveal the Sacred Book in lights (or shadows and blots) very different from the traditional attitude of uncritical, uninformed veneration.

THE BIBLE AND WITCHCRAFT

After Rev. Bro. Bunkum has finished his sermon on the ennobling influence of the Bible, we turn to Exodus xxii, 18 and read: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Again, we discover this specimen of divine law (and "science") in Leviticus xxii, 27: "The man also or the woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them."

Oh, yes, it would be a great aid to morality if this grotesque and cruel delusion of witchcraft were taught to the people in this age. If people could only be taught the morality of the Bible, we should have the stoning of suspected witches on every hand, arrests and trials and executions for wizardry, shocking spectacles of punishment for alleged dealing with familiar spirits.

Great is the morality of the Bible!

THE REPUBLICAN national committee has decided to publish a weekly paper which may be called Washington. A Washington dispatch says: "The editorial page will inform its readers it is 'frankly and openly Republican,' but not the spokesman for the Republican party or of the Hoover administration." It will be and it won't be! Our regular staff logician has already laughed that one off for you.

THE LIBERAL preacher says that we have fortunately advanced beyond creeds and that religion is now being made intelligent. Then he talks about God and immortality, which are the basic superstitions of theology. His creed is not enlightened; it is only modified here and there; trimmed and smoothed a bit; decorated in a different way.

RIGHT, MISS GISH —THEY'RE HANDY

Lillian Gish, the celebrated talkie actress, evidently realizes the usefulness of the Little Blue Books. In The New Movie Magazine for November, Herb Howe reports a conversation with Miss Gish as follows:

"Visiting my former villino in Beverly Hills with her mother, she remarked: 'You should never be a householder, you should be a gypsy.'"

"I wanted a place for my books," I bromided lamely.

"You can carry a whole library of the Little Blue Books in a suitcase," she retorted.

Of course we think that Lillian won that argument. Finding room for one's books is no longer the problem. The modern aim is to find room in one's mind for the ideas in the books. And the Little Blue Books represent an immense wealth of thought and culture hardly put into a little space and at a cheap price.

You're right, Miss Gish—the Little Blue Books are the books for moderns.

CRAZY? OH, QUITE!

America's troubles are due to "over-production," say the conventional prophets of profits. We have produced too much, therefore we must suffer: so runs the astonishing formula meant to blind the people. Yet its insane upsetting of common sense is obvious: so obvious that this version of economics is reduced to an absurdity in the form of a bit of humorous dialogue in Life, entitled "Modern Economics":

"I hear your country is prosperous."

"Never better. We've got a shortage of food, clothing, machinery and luxuries."

Yes, yes, we are actually told that we are having bad times because we have too much wealth. It follows, with ludicrous logic, that according to this method of "explaining" things we should be much better off if we had far less wealth.

Is it crazy? You don't have to dwell upon this idea in profound thought. Just look at it—one glance from the sane is amazingly enough.

SEEING that he has appointed numerous commissions to investigate this, that and the other, we suggest that Hoover appoint a commission to investigate the Hoover administration.

The Mooney-Billings Frameup

How two labor leaders—Thomas Mooney and Warren Billings—were railroaded to prison by corrupt officials of San Francisco and how they have been kept in prison by labor-hating California politicians is told fully and dramatically in the large book by Marcell Haldeman-Julius, entitled The Amazing Mooney-Billings Frameup. Every American should read this story. It is more than the complete, damning story of one frameup conspiracy. It is a blasting exposure of the frameup system. It is a drama of economic injustice, class war, political dishonesty and cruelty. Marcell Haldeman-Julius conducted a special investigation in California and her book is based upon the impregnable proofs of the conspiracy. It will stand as the greatest record of this amazing plot, which was so successful that Mooney and Billings remain today in the prison cells where they were unjustly placed. This is a large book, 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches, and is priced at only 50c a copy or 5 copies for \$2.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

Debunking the Lourdes Miracles

As a rule, Protestants believe that miracles were confined to Bible times and that they cannot happen today. Catholics, on the contrary, insist not only that miracles can happen today but they claim that a number of most astounding miracles have happened, under Catholic auspices, of course. It is strange that any mature person should believe such superstitious nonsense, yet many do believe and for these, as well as for the curious free-thinker, this book by Joseph McCabe will be very interesting. He thoroughly debunks the miracles alleged to have occurred at the shrine of Lourdes in France. This is an exposure not only of the specific miracles which Catholics claim but more broadly of the whole superstition of miracles. A big book, 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches in size, and only 50c a copy or 5 copies for \$2. Ask for Debunking the Lourdes Miracles.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

The American Freeman

There is no paper in America which can be remotely compared to The American Freeman. It is not merely radical or liberal on this issue or that issue—but along the entire range of modern issues, political and economic and religious and literary, this paper literally lives up to its name. It is perfectly free. It admits no sacred premises where discussion is not supposed to intrude, but instead it fearlessly expresses itself on all problems. Even among the few liberal or radical publications, The American Freeman stands forth as a unique and daring and entertaining in the most vital way. No one can resist reading every line of this provoking and irrefragable weekly paper of facts, ideas and uncompromising analyses of the current events and controversies which engage the minds of thoughtful people. This four-page weekly, attractively printed and piquantly as well as seriously interesting in every line, costs only \$1 a year.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

Joseph McCabe's The Catholic Church As It Is Today

Many who are familiar in a general way with the history of the Roman Catholic Church are not fully aware of what the position of this church is today. In this book Joseph McCabe—who was in his young manhood a Catholic monk and professor and who knows this church inside and out—explains precisely what are the beliefs and aims of the Church of Rome in our time. He gives incontrovertible and alarming proof that this vast organization is absolutely as bigoted and cruel in its designs as it was in medieval times. Every man and woman should know and profoundly realize the information that is given in this volume. A big book, 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches in size, and only 50c a copy or 5 copies for \$2. Ask for The Catholic Church As It Is Today.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

Studies in Rationalism

This delightful book of sham-smashing by E. Haldeman-Julius should be in every free thinker's library. And, of course, those who are not mentally free are most of all in need of this book. It is a very fitting gift for your friend or neighbor whom you wish to introduce to the important and many-featured world of intellectual liberty and criticism. This book has various aspects—it is humorous and satirical and informative and critically argumentative and is throughout illuminated with the zest and insight of an unusual personality. This is a book that should be read not once only but over and over again. A big book, 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches in size, and priced at only 50c a copy, or 5 copies for \$2. Ask for Studies in Rationalism.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

The Joseph McCabe Magazine

This is the Magazine of Popular Culture, for readers who are entertained by the most intellectually interesting, dramatic and significant stories and studies of the life of mankind. Joseph McCabe, the world's greatest scholar, writes exclusively for this magazine—in its pages all of his great works are published just as they come from his pen (and he does use a pen, not a typewriter)—the range of this magazine's subject matter is magnificently wide and every subject is treated in a manner that is at once scholarly and thrilling. McCabe writes the truth about morals, gods, great men, science—in fact, all the subjects in which thoughtful readers are most interested. THE JOSEPH MCCABE MAGAZINE is published twice a month, each issue containing 30,000 words. The price is \$5 a year in advance; or \$1 down and \$1 a month for five months (in all, \$6 in these easy payments). Just send your remittance and say that you want THE JOSEPH MCCABE MAGAZINE.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

Angel Farce

Angels? Rev. Ben M. Bogard, Arkansas Baptist preacher, knows all about 'em. At any rate, he says he knows. He gets his information from the Bible. He is rather negligent in slipping over the detail of how and where the fabricators of the Bible got their information—though, undoubtedly the rev. bro. intends for us to believe that God passed the knowledge directly to some unknown Israelites scribes several thousand years ago and they set it down, not as speculation or fantastic tale-spinning, but as God's own holy word.

It would evidently be a waste of time to argue with Rev. Bogard. He just takes the position that he knows and all we need do is listen to him. Well, it can at least be said that he furnishes a few idle moments of amusement. Under the head of farce, we can spare him fleetingly an ear. And don't we get an earful! Say! The title of Brother Ben's radio sermon, as reported in The Arkansas Gazette, is "Angels, Their Origin, Nature, Occupation and Destiny." That seems to be a lot of ground for one man to cover, but this baptistical showman doesn't hesitate. If you agree with him that he knows, then you can see how simple is his task; and if you understand that he is dealing merely in wild, extravagant, childish fancy—then also you see how simple it is for him to invent a few absurdities and play them up in his angelic farce.

One of the points which Rev. Bogard stresses is that there are good and bad angels. It is logical, he says. "Beelzebub is called 'the prince of the devils,'" we are told, "and our Lord himself recognizes that fact. If there is a prince of the devils, there must be subordinates, and so we read of the devil and his angels." It is all perfectly natural, once you hoist yourself into a position of supernatural spectatorship. And the devil's angels are absolutely doomed, according to Bogard. "These wicked angels," he says, "who followed the devil out of their first habitation and left their first estate and who are subject to the devil's control, living in chains of darkness, and doing dark and wicked work, will come to the terrible end their prince will come to." Apparently (as Bogard reports the matter)

the devil's angels are happy in their "chains of darkness," enjoy the climate and fashions of Hell, and must have a more smashing doom reserved for them.

Rev. Bogard throws in another little remark that is, for a wonder, true enough although not true in quite the sense intended by the baptistical Brother Ben. "Angels never have been human beings," he says, "and it is far better to be a man than an angel."

This picture by Brother Ben is also entertaining in a dubious sort of way:

Angels rejoice when a soul is saved. Heaven is wild with joy when a sinner repents. After they rejoice over your salvation they watch over you and protect you all through your life and in death they become your escort to heaven. I used to think it would be a lonesome journey from the earth to heaven, and I wondered if there was any danger of losing the way, and I thought of death as a leap into the dark, but with more Bible knowledge I found that God used his angels to escort his children home to glory.

Looking at it in this way, we are to understand that even a small yearly harvest of repented sinners would keep Heaven continually in an orgy of celebration; and when the repented sinner backslides, is Heaven afflicted generally with that morning-after feeling? Rev. Bogard, as a tireless evangelist, no doubt regards himself as occupied in giving the angels an excuse for making whoopee in Heaven. In sheer gratitude, a vast company of angels should be delegated to show Brother Ben the way to Heaven. He suggests that, without the guidance of the good angels, he (or his soul) might get lost. And what if the bad angels should pass themselves off as good angels? Then Brother Ben might be decoyed to Hell and find out his mistake only too late.

For Brother Ben believes that there is a tremendous struggle between God and his angels and the Devil and his angels and that the former are not yet triumphant. "There is a God," he declares, "and just as certainly there is a devil, who is a fallen angel, and this devil has under his control numerous angels or demons who do his bidding. But God and his angels will some day prevail." Why God and his angels delay their triumph—this point is not explained. If they can't win now, how can Brother Ben be certain that they will ever win? Either God is enjoying the strug-

gle and prolonging it for his pleasure or glory (and it seems also for his considerable humiliation) or he is powerless to bring the monstrous supernatural war to a victorious issue; and either way the view isn't so good.

We decline to worry. Let Brother Ben and the angels have it out in the hills of Arkansas.

THE ABUSES OF ADVERSITY

There has been dinned into our ears an endlessly repeated patter of bunk about "the uses of adversity." Usually it is argued in justification of the system of "economic individualism" (a la Hoover) that the hardness and intense conflicts of the individualistic struggle for existence bring out the strongest qualities in the survivors; and that to suffer much poverty and hardship, to be battered and toughened in this economic war, is to be extraordinarily trained in character. This bunk has been exploded time and again by thoughtful persons and its essential falsity is again stated clearly in a book by Walter B. Pitkin, entitled (with not a little irony, it seems to us) The Psychology of Achievement. Mr. Pitkin says:

It has been the fashion to fancy that their [great men's] hardships and handicaps have not only tough-

GETTING READY FOR BIG HOOVER SPECIAL EDITION

This week's issue and the next week's issue of The Freeman are being printed and mailed early so that we can have the decks clear for our big Hoover Special Edition. This also gives our readers more time in which to roll up a huge circulation for the Hoover Special Edition. Remember the date—November 29.

ened their fiber, but improved their mental texture. But every close-up discloses the opposite state of affairs. No man was ever the gainer for being beaten down or retarded or filled full of superstition or starved to the edge of collapse or overworked. If he had a fine mind, it will not even under these adversities. But its flower will be stunted, and its fruit garbled.

The average man, who takes just one pariah thought about this blessings-of-hardship philosophy but who does not take the fully considerate second thought, sees a bit of plausibility in the argument because he reasons that effort is a useful and developing factor in life. But the difference to note is that which lies between healthful effort, under wholesome conditions and with the prospect of fair reward, and deadly struggle which grinds out the best in a man and calls forth most ugly impulses of greed and hardness and trickery. It is viciously false to argue that a terrible, competitive struggle among human beings to beat each other in the race of life has really good features or consequences. Even the few who win spectacularly are marred in the winning. Their victory grinds out the best that is human in themselves. They have to be enormously selfish in order to enjoy their victory. They may have proved their fitness, in a narrow sense, but it has been at the expense of their humanity. And what is most important is that this insane struggle means inevitably the most difficult, unhappy and helpless conditions for the masses of men and women and children.

A scientific civilization should abolish poverty and hardship—which does not mean that it should abolish sane, wholesome, worthwhile effort. The line about "the uses of adversity" may have been a necessary bit of self-deception in the days when mankind did not know how to produce boundless wealth and transform themselves from slaves of nature into conquerors of nature. But in this modern age we should recognize plainly the abuses of adversity and employ our wisdom—or, more vitally, develop our social consciousness—for the removal of those abuses.

THE SUPERSTITION of the fatherhood of God has been profoundly inimical to the ideal of the brotherhood of men. This superstition has not only divided men into the most bitter, wrangling, power-greedy theological sects; but it has persistently interfered with the study of human interests and the work of progress.

"HUMAN NATURE" changes as the ideas of men and the conditions under which men live change.

THE MYSTIC is a man who loves mystery and is bored or annoyed by facts.

Tom Mooney Is Persecuted by His Malicious Jailers

Tom Mooney, for thirteen years a helpless and innocent prisoner, whom California authorities have shamelessly refused to release although the "evidence" against him has been exposed as a deliberate (and official) frameup plot, is now being subjected to a malicious persecution in the San Quentin prison. This is the charge made publicly by Mary Gallagher, secretary of the Mooney defense committee, and strengthened in a sinister way by the very denial which it has drawn from Warden James B. Holohan of San Quentin.

"Mooney's spirit and health are being broken behind the walls of San Quentin by a terrible and abusive campaign of cruelties and injustices," says Miss Gallagher. "And it is being done as part of a plot to drive him beyond self-control, goad and incite him to rebellion so that he can be put in the dungeon and Warden Holohan can then hold him up to the world as a 'bad character.'"

Last July, when Mooney issued a strong statement against Governor Young in comment upon the refusal of pardons to him and Warren Billings, the usual-privileges of writing and receiving letters and of having visitors were taken from him. In that statement Mooney declared that Governor Young himself was present when Martin Swanson, corporation detective, offered \$5,000 to Billings if he would testify against Mooney in the Preparedness Day bomb trials. At that time Young was a state senator of California. Thus, according to Mooney's story, which has not been successfully denied, Young knew of the frameup conspiracy. It would follow that Young's "doubt" about Mooney's innocence was a political pretense and a personal falsehood.

Warden Is Bitter in Denunciation

As a punishment for defending his innocence and branding his political persecutors in an open statement to reporters, who had full permission to interview him about his case, Mooney was deprived of the decent, ordinary rights which even a prisoner should have. And, says Miss Gallagher, he has been viciously persecuted. Warden Holohan's denial simply adds to the conviction that Miss Gallagher's accusation is true. The spite of the warden toward Mooney is clear and bitter in every word of his statement in reply to Miss Gallagher.

"Mooney is being treated fairly in every way," says Warden Holohan, "a whole lot better so than he deserves. I'm sick and tired of these blurbs and blabs from Miss Gallagher and her defense committee. It's none of their business how we conduct our prison."

"This young woman comes over here and Mooney holds her hands and pours a lot of rot in her ears, and she goes out and broadcasts it to the world. You can say for me that he holds her hands entirely too much and she and other people pay entirely too much attention to his complaints."

"Mooney ought to be back in the yard; that's where he should be, instead of holding down a nice easy job of peeling potatoes. He knows why he was taken off his job as a waiter and denied the privilege of seeing newspaper men. He's not going to broadcast any more of his poison propaganda from this prison, either to prisoners who are going out or to reporters. He's been doing it too long and I should have stopped him a long time ago."

Cruelty Is Typical of Frameup

In this statement Warden Holohan crudely displays his prejudice and malice toward Tom Mooney. We cannot doubt that Miss Gallagher is right when she says that Warden Holohan would like to confine Mooney in a dungeon. That brutality would not be inconsistent with the attitude California authorities have already shown toward this innocent man. By their treatment of Mooney and Billings, from first to last, they have violated every principle of justice and humanity. They have especially marked Tom Mooney as the object of their persecution.

Nothing could better show the unmanly vindictiveness and disgusting meanness of Warden Holohan than his slur about "holding hands." This caddish insinuation is ridiculous when it is known that Mooney can meet Miss Gallagher or anyone else only in a public room where they are in full sight of other visitors, prisoners and guards and with a guard standing close enough to overhear every word that is spoken. Warden Holohan reveals himself as the type of brutal, vulgar, unprincipled jailer. Judged by California's treatment of two innocent men, by the shameless way in which California authorities have persisted in upholding the outrageous consequences of the frameup long after that frameup has been thoroughly exposed, Warden Holohan is a fit specimen of California officialdom.

Anything But Decency

California authorities have robbed Mooney of thirteen years of his life. They have kept him in prison when his innocence has been proved completely and the truth of this infamous case has turned into a blasting accusation of the California authorities who have used legal machinery as a trap of class hatred for innocent labor leaders. Now it appears that California authorities have descended to the despicable level of persecuting a man who is helplessly behind prison bars.

And this latest news, reminds us again, more forcibly, that California's greatest crime and greatest brutality and greatest work of malice has been in keeping Tom Mooney and Warren Billings in prison long after the cases against them have been discredited and disproved as a perjured, vindictive, class-inspired conspiracy.

When California thus keeps innocent men in prison, although the world knows that the officials and not the prisoners are the guilty ones, we can expect anything from the officials of that state, excepting decency.

GODS are the distorted shadows cast by men's ignorance and fear.

THE MAN out of a job is not exactly thrilled with joy when he is told that conditions will be better or not so bad next spring.

THERE IS NO sharper living contradiction than the man who talks in terms of mysticism and behaves—necessarily—in terms of materialism.

A BELIEF is no better than the reasons that are back of it. Faith has no reasons and a belief founded, as is paradoxically said, on faith is intellectually worthless.

BEFORE he entered the White House, Hoover was eager for publicity and he had a vast machine of press agency to keep his name and his statements and his doings before the people. But now—ah, how different. Hoover is worried by the publicity which he is getting. He doesn't want the people to know what he is doing or is not doing. Hoover is a stubborn man; but he has changed his mind about publicity.

INTEREST in human progress grows as the belief in gods is outgrown.

PATRIOTISM demands loyalty to a single country. Humanism urges intelligent cooperation among all nations.

WHAT IS truth? You will say that no one can answer this question fully. But remember that it has only been through persistent asking of this question that man has widened his knowledge of truth.

THE HISTORY of the past has been dominated by the struggles of men for power over their fellow men. The history of the future will be written in terms of men's cooperative struggle for power over nature.

THE ERRORS of mankind have been tragic. They have taught bitter, terrible lessons. And again and again mankind have refused to profit by these errors, until conditions simply forced upon them some new way of life. The sufferings due to ignorance are slow and difficult of eradication. They ought to be easily removed, in view of the knowledge available, but they aren't. Social, popular education is still an immense work that needs persistently to be done.

A BIG MAN who likes to tackle big problems (so runs the Hoover legend). In his speech in Palo Alto, Calif., accepting the Republican presidential nomination in 1928, Hoover said that our wonderful economic system had solved every problem excepting poverty—a pretty big exception, you will agree. The next step, he said, would be to abolish poverty. The method of doing this, however, was passing strange. The first step was a disastrous increase of poverty. And we might reason wildly that Hoover, if he is going to deal with the problem of poverty, wants it to be a big problem—bigger and bigger. Three jeers for Hoover and the abolition of poverty by the ingenious method of unemployment and hard times!

BIBLE SLAUGHTER AND RAPE

Saintly Moses, the lawgiver inspired by God, was exceedingly angry when the soldiers of holy Israel, after a raid of wholesale destruction against the Midianites, brought back all the women and children of the enemy to the Hebrew camp. Moses didn't hesitate. Wasn't he a holy man? Uh-huh! His orders are thus given in Numbers xxxi, 14-18: "Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the women children, that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves." Yet we are told that there could be no civilization without the Bible.

The Nature of Things

[Stanzas from The Nature of Things, by Lucretius, Roman poet of the first century B. C.]

Did Nature, in the nurseries of the night Tend it for this—Nature whose heedless might, Like some poor shipwrecked sailor, takes the babe, And casts it bleating on the shores of light? What is it there? A cry is all it is. It knows not if its limbs be yours or his. Less than that cry the babe was yesterday. The man tomorrow shall be less than this. Tissue by tissue to a soul he grows, As leaf by leaf the rose becomes the rose. Tissue from tissue rots; and, as the Sun Goes from the bubbles when they burst, he goes. Ah, mark those pearls of Sunrise! Fast and free Upon the waves they are dancing. Souls shall be Things that outlast their bodies, when each spark Outlasts its wave, each wave outlasts the sea. Death is for us, then, nothing—a mere name. For the mere noiseless ending of a flame. It hurts us not, for there is nothing left To hurt. ....

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