

Ten Years of "Prohibition"--A Vivid Complete Survey of Conditions in the Wickersham Report

The report of the Wickersham Law Enforcement Commission on Prohibition is the most important social document, of an official character, that has ever been issued by authority of the United States Government. Representing the federal government by order of the President, this commission of eleven members (ten men and one woman) conducted a thorough survey of the most sensational, far-reaching policy ever attempted by the government; it was a casting up of accounts on Prohibition, an investigation actually of government itself by men having the authority of the government to pass its acts and their consequences in review. And let us say at once that the report bears every evidence of being intelligent and honest. It is not a whitewashing report, nor a conventionally official document of defense and sophistry. This voluminous 80,000-word report could not be fairly reviewed in a brief space. Suffice it to say that it is a most extensive, vivid and provocative analysis of the effects of Prohibition and that, in the main and indeed very decidedly, the conclusions are not complimentary to the actual workings of the law. The commission expresses itself in sympathy with the ideal of controlling, though not necessarily of completely abolishing, the liquor traffic; it recognizes the social value of temperance; but it finds that temperance has not been secured by Prohibition, but that the contrary is sensationally true. Only five members of the commission--a minority--concluded that, in spite of its failures, the Eighteenth Amendment should be given a further trial, chiefly on the ground that since the transfer of all enforcement activities to the Department of Justice some improvement has been reported. Four members of the commission declared themselves in favor of revision, substituting for the present amendment one which would leave the liquor question in the hands of Congress to legislate as it might see fit. Two members of the commission advocated outright repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Again, two of the five members who favored further trial of the amendment added the proposal that a national referendum should be had to ascertain the sentiments of the American people with regard to the question of Prohibition. The recommendations of changes in the law and the plan for an alternative government-controlled liquor system will have to be read in the original report itself--they are too long and too vital in their substance to be summarized in a few words and possibly misrepresented by such condensation. It is enough to say that this report--a sensational, albeit soundly and judiciously intelligent social document and the unique example of a government surveying severely its own conduct--should be read carefully and in full by every American citizen. Although the members of the commission disagreed in their conclusions and fell naturally enough into some inconsistencies, the main body of the report is a veritable encyclopedia of interesting and challenging facts--the first complete and authentic study of Prohibition--and it is excitingly readable from first to last.

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Kansas Lawmakers Seek the Revival of Capital Punishment

"Wheels Hum Again"? But Millions Idle and Times Worse, Says Woods

Evening papers throughout the United States a few weeks ago displayed on their front pages an Associated Press story about the return to work of some 60,000 men who had been laid off through the holiday season or for longer periods. Typical of the handling of the story was the Kansas City Star's headline: "Wheels Hum Again." Similar optimistic headlines were given by other newspapers. The tone of the story throughout was one of good cheer and hope; the return to work of this comparative handful of men was hailed as a sign that the economic depression had taken a wide turn for the better and that another period of prosperity was on the way.

That story alone was stupid--or else the readers of the American press are rated as very stupid by the Associated Press. With between seven and eight millions out of work, how absurd to report the re-employment of 60,000 workers as a serious sign of business revival! Further contradicting the tone of optimism in the headlines and in the telling of this news story, it was stated that in some instances the workers had been called back only for a three-day week; while nearly all of these 60,000 were workers who had been laid off for the usual holiday inventories and did not represent a genuine lessening of the major unemployment problem in the United States.

But the stupidity of that story, taken by itself, is as nothing when compared to the stupidity of accompanying it with another Associated Press story, in the same evening papers on the same day, quoting the testimony of Col. Arthur Woods, chairman of President Hoover's committee on unemployment, as given before the appropriations committee of the United States. Col. Woods testified that there are now between four and five million workers unemployed in the United States. He also stated that the worst conditions of unemployment would exist during the months of January and February and that no improvement could be expected until

spring. In short, while the Associated Press supplied a very optimistic story on one page--a story optimistic in headlines and style but not bearing out that optimism in its actual figures--it supplied on the same day a very pessimistic story printed on another page or in another column of the front page which completely contradicted the tone of its cheer-up report.

We may be certain that Col. Woods gave the most conservative estimate. In his official position he would be the last man to exaggerate the unemployment crisis. But accepting his figure (which we think is too low by several millions), it is seen that at best only one and a half percent of the unemployed have been returned to work and among this number some thousands have only been returned to a three-day week. Yet the Kansas City Star gave this story of the 60,000 returned workers the amazingly misleading and exaggerated headline, "Wheels Hum Again." The American capitalist press, which wants to mislead rather than to enlighten or serve the people, made a big optimistic spurge over this trifling one and a half percent reduction in the army of the unemployed. And stupidly on the same day the American capitalist press carried a news story--an official news story--which gave the lie to its false and futile prosperity propaganda.

Futility was also apparent in the comments of Col. Woods. He said that the situation was very grave and intolerable--but he didn't indicate that the federal government has any plan for helping conditions. He repeated simply the old Hooveristic "pass-the-buck" statement that local organizations and private charity were handling the problem. He also said that the most important need was to provide jobs for the unemployed workers. Yes, yes--of course--but how this is to be done Col. Woods didn't say.

Private capitalism has failed in this desperate emergency. Col. Woods virtually admitted this failure. But he made no suggestion

that the government should act. The one courageous, honest and patriotic action--that the government should run the factories at least for the period of this emergency and provide the people work--will not be tolerated even in thought by Hoover and his lieutenants. Neither the journalistic nor the political leaders of the nation have the slightest conception of the duty which the government of the United States owes to the people of the United States.

This fact should induce a mood of reflection and criticism among the American people which in turn should lead them resolutely to enlightened political action against the system of "economic individualism." It is not just a question of beating Hoover for President in 1932. It is more broadly a question of abolishing Hooverism and supplanting "economic individualism" with a civilized system of social management for the nation's large, vital industries.

"RED" AGNOSTICS?

At a religious debate in Washington, D. C., Quin O'Brien, speaking for Catholicism, is said to have let out this yelp:

We shall never let the red flag of agnosticism supplant the flag of our country.

One thing Catholicism evidently doesn't teach--or at least didn't teach Mr. O'Brien--is a simple regard for the truth. His statement is, of course, so preposterous that it is deserving only of a ribald hoot. Yet it shows the crude intellectual dishonesty of many who speak for religion. Mr. O'Brien, if he made such a statement, was no better than an unscrupulous liar. He knows that agnosticism doesn't wave a red flag nor any other kind of a flag. He knows that agnosticism contains no principles that would "supplant the flag of our country"; nor does atheism; both viewpoints bear strictly on religious matters and have nothing to do with politics or patriotism.

A more truthful criticism would be that Catholicism is men-

acing to the American ideal of government. The Catholic church insists that freedom of opinion is not the right of men and that Catholicism should rule the state, compelling the state to serve its dogmatic designs. Mr. O'Brien cannot deny this, inasmuch as the idea was expressed only the other day by the Pope in the most forcible terms.

Meanwhile we suppose that Mr. O'Brien will go to greater flights in his future addresses on religion and will accuse agnostics and atheists of being dynamiters, firebugs, rapists and pervers and-- But then Mr. O'Brien, if his Washington address is correctly reported, is capable of saying anything--that is, anything which is not sensible or not true.

REMEMBER the date--1932--Hoover's Waterloo. But the trouble is that getting rid of Hoover will not mean getting rid of Hooverism. This crisis is typical of the system of "economic individualism," and it is far more deep-seated than would be the case if one man alone were responsible. The American people need a new understanding of ideas as well as personalities. Measures, not men, are important. Men are important only in so far as they represent measures. Hoover's worst fault is his belief in Hooverism--in "economic individualism."

HOOPER said we were going to abolish poverty. But first he wanted to create a lot of poverty so that he would have a big job of abolition.

EVIDENTLY Hoover has a plenty of confidence in America--so much confidence, indeed, that he lets the country plunge along just any old way.

HERBERT HOOPER has one clear distinction--he is the first Englishman ever to be elected President of the United States.

HOOPER pretends to be an authority on economics. Well--he ought to know that an unemployed worker can't buy a thing.

RELIGION is bunk. Then why respect it? Bunk should be exposed--and this is the Freeman's attitude toward religion.

FAITH is the willingness to believe without evidence.

But E. Haldeman-Julius, in a Letter to the Governor, Urges Law Be Vetoed and a Commission of Inquiry Be Appointed to Collect and Consider Facts

January 24, 1931.
Governor Harry Woodring,
State House,
Topeka, Kansas.

Dear Mr. Governor:

I have read with astonishment and dismay the vote of the lower house of the Kansas legislature, calling for a revival of capital punishment. You are well aware of the long-established policy of Kansas and of the fact, which has been necessarily at the bottom of this policy, that the temper of the Kansas people is very much opposed to this savage, barbaric method of punishment. You will also know, or can easily learn by a little investigation, that the record of Kansas with regard to murders has been very small in comparison with other states which have retained the law of capital punishment. One would judge, from the hasty action of the legislative body, that Kansas had been suddenly confronted with an epidemic of murders and with a murder problem gigantic in its proportions over that of the past years. During sixty-one years Kansas has been spared the shocking display of an official, state killing--and conditions have not now fundamentally changed. There is no crisis in this state, which can be reasonably urged as calling for this extreme and terrible change of policy. A few sensational murders do not indicate to a reasonable man, that Kansas has reverted to a state of savagery which must be met by comparable savagery in the state laws. It only needs a calm reference to the complete facts and figures in states which have capital punishment--in the state of Missouri, for example--to prove that this law has no such efficacy, as is claimed for it, in checking the murder rate.

Here let me call your attention respectfully to a gross misrepresentation given in the published reports of the debates in the legislature at Topeka. The statement is said to have been made that Kansas City, Kansas, has more murders than Kansas City, Mo.--in the latter city capital punishment being the law. I have not the figures for 1930, but Mr. Lewis A. Lawes, the warden of Sing Sing

Prison in New York State, writing in Current History for December, 1930, points out that in the year 1929, Kansas City, Mo., had 97 homicides while Kansas City, Kans., had 18. By percentages this meant a murder rate of 24.8 per 100,000 in the Missouri city and a rate of 15.2 per 100,000 in the Kansas city. This comparison, it seems to me, exposes the fallacy of the contention that capital punishment lowers the murder rate. And as we have, I trust, advanced beyond the state of mind where we would favor capital punishment as punishment--in, that is to say, a spirit of vengeance merely--no good argument can thus be brought in defense of capital punishment. Oklahoma is another neighboring state which provides an instructive example. In 1928 (again I quote Warden Lawes) there were 252 murders in Oklahoma, or a murder rate of 10.4 per 100,000; while in the same year Kansas had only 102 murders or a rate of 5.9 per 100,000. Are these important figures to be ignored and the state placed in a retrogressive and panicky role by a sudden, unconsidered and (in public sentiment) unauthorized reversal to the savagery of capital punishment?

I refer to the hasty and surprising--the entirely unexpected--action of the legislature. Let me emphasize the fact that no authority from the people has been given for this measure. That is not a legal argument, it is true, but it is a sound democratic argument. The platform of neither party in the recent campaign mentioned a word about capital punishment. Capital punishment was not an issue. No representative was elected on his promise that he would vote for such a law. The issue was quite unforeseen and was farthest from the thoughts of the people. This seems to me, plainly, a case of arbitrary and ill-conceived legislative action and divorced as completely as may be from democratic action. In a few days, surprisingly and with no opportunity for discussion and with no effort to ascertain the sentiments of the people, the legislative body has hurried through this amazing law.

I strongly suggest that so important a change of policy, one that is so vital, should at least have been preceded by a long, calm, intelligent period of investigation and discussion. What impressive body of facts has the lower legislative body at its command to justify this law? There is no intimation that it has any wide, authoritative basis in a knowledge of conditions and of the thoroughly reviewed consequences of capital punishment. The legislators, sincerely enough no doubt, have acted in too great hurry on mere impressions and feelings. I have never known of a law so important as this one being rushed through a legislative body with such inexcusable and reckless lack of consideration. There is no sound, careful judgment back of this proposed return to a long dead and deservedly dead law. There is no competent knowledge upon which the legislative body bases its action. It is a thing done in unseemly--indeed in shocking--haste and will be resented by the people of Kansas and repented, I am sure, by the legislators themselves when they have had time for reflection.

It is amazing that Kansas should, after following a policy of no capital punishment for sixty-one years during which time that policy has proved successful, out of a clear sky reverse its policy in a few days without real debate, without investigation, without a scientific procedure of determining the facts. I repeat that there is no change in the situation which would warrant such a wild and grievous, albeit sincere, backward step in the policy of Kansas. And this backward step is taken by a small body of legislators, not by the people. The humanitarian sentiment of Kansas people is against capital punishment; this is so true that, even when the law still permitted capital punishment, it was necessary that the governor wait a year before ordering the execution of a condemned murderer. Federal executions have always been protested in Kansas, and in deference to the feelings of the state the Presidents of the United States have always commuted the sentence. The latest case, that of Carl Pangran,

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(Please turn to page two)

The Tragic Drama of Intolerance Among the Pagans and Christians

By Harry Hibschan

TOLERANCE, like a sense of humor, is something no one admits being without, not even a Daughter of the American Revolution, a Kluge of the Ku Klux Klan, nor an Arkansas Baptist. It is considered an insult to be charged with intolerance. And yet tolerance is itself an insult. For tolerance implies superiority, power to deny, latent disapproval, and mere permissive freedom.

The difference between toleration and tolerance is that the former implies legal dispensation, while the latter implies disposition. One is governmental. The other is personal. Toleration follows tolerance and is its expression. But no legal enactment can guarantee tolerance. Genuine tolerance, paradoxically, exists only where neither toleration nor tolerance is needed. Or, to continue the paradox, while the struggle for tolerance and toleration must ever be waged, these are not the things men fight for as ends in themselves. Their value lies in the fact that they are the hand-maids of liberty.

It is a common mistake to confuse toleration and religious liberty. The two are in fact antithetical. The principle on which toleration is granted is the direct opposite of the principle of religious liberty or liberty of any other kind. The latter asserts the equality of all, equality in right and equality in power. Toleration, on the contrary, assumes that some are superior but that, moved by whatever one of many possible reasons, they endure the difference in belief and practice of the others, who are "in error."

The Catholic Encyclopedia gives us the following definition, with which we may well familiarize ourselves at the very beginning:

By religious toleration is understood magnanimous indulgence which one shows towards a religion other than his own, accompanied by the moral determination to leave it and its adherents unmolested in private and public, although internally one views it with complete disapproval as a "false faith."

Tolerance and intolerance are obviously matters of the spirit, using the word without any supernatural connotation—of man's real self. They are the reflection of what the Germans call *Weltanschauung*—one's way of looking at the world or a theory of the universe and of one's relation to it. Tolerance is individualistic. But intolerance is a group phenomenon. It is part of the equipment of the herd. It was for ages a necessity with immense survival value. Intolerance is, therefore, primitive. Tolerance on the other hand is recent. It is a concomitant of civilization, sometimes cause, sometimes effect, sometimes both.

Tolerance, then, is not of very ancient lineage. Our cavemen ancestors had no use for it. In their scheme of things, it would have been a vice instead of a virtue. They had to be intolerant to live. The existence of each member of the group was possible only through the existence of the group. Each was constrained biologically and economically to live the life of his clan or tribe. Stability or security, imperative if the group was to survive, could only be assured through conformity; and conformity was enforced through taboos the violation of which was believed to invite supernatural punishment or death. Fear held primitive man in leash. There was no desire for personal expression and, therefore, no demand for tolerance. In fact the very concept of tolerance was impossible until the emergence somewhere of the individual as such.

With the birth of the individual and the dawning realization of his own worth apart from the group, came the demand for leave to be different, for leave adventurously to think new thoughts and to explore new trails. And with the demand for tolerance came a thousand new troubles. For naturally, by instinct and habit and tradition, the herd condemned any one who rejected the ancient folkways. The conflict between the individual mind seeking emancipation and the group mind fearing change was on. The odds were overwhelmingly against the non-conformist. He stood alone, while arrayed against him were all the entrenched forces of ignorance, dread, and racial childliness backed by the gods of things as they were. Yet he dared to give battle; and in so doing, whatever his fate, he was civilization's first champion and liberty's trail-blazer. At the same time he so frightened the defenders of the existing order that, like their descendants in America ages later, they called a conference of the best minds to devise ways and means to cope with this revolutionary menace. In addition to mobilizing all their old resources and weapons, they contrived a new one—they invented persecution.

The story of the struggle for tolerance becomes, therefore, the story of the martyrdom of man—a story written in blood for the shame and warning of later generations, including our own with its complacency, its forgetfulness, and its 100 percent Americanism. The story has often been told; but it is well that it should often be recalled, particularly when, as at present, intolerance is manifesting itself in many places and the intolerant are waxing strong. For tolerance, though as already stated, not an end in itself, is essential to legal toleration and to constitutional liberty, that the manner of its evolution and the cost of its attainment, as well as the cost of its possible loss, should be apprehended by every American jealous of his rights. Knowledge alone, of course, cannot give or save liberty; but without knowledge, we are much more apt to lose it completely. Familiarity with the story of the persecution and martyrdom of man and the growth of the spirit of tolerance as a requisite element of liberty, then, is of prime importance.

PAGAN-CHRISTIAN INTOLERANCE

The authorities concur with practical unanimity in the conclusion that thought was free in classic Greece and that there was virtually no such thing as persecution. True, there were six or seven cases of punishment for heterodoxy, but in each instance of which we have any record, there were special circumstances indicating that the cases constituted exceptions to the general policy and practice. This is evident, also, from the fact that many early skeptics and iconoclasts of whom we know went their separate, heretical ways undisturbed.

The case of Thales of Miletus may serve as an illustration of this fact. Born in 640 B. C., he lived at a time when our own progenitors were still rank barbarians. As mathematician, astronomer and philosopher, he rejected the accepted view of the gods and their alleged interference in human affairs and evolved a new cosmology, suggesting that the beginning of all things was to be found in the water, which had probably always existed. Now known as one of the Seven Sages, he was undoubtedly one of the world's pioneer free-thinkers. Yet, in spite of the fact that he was from every standpoint of the then current belief a heretic, he died in his bed, ripe in years and in the respect of his contemporaries.

Two others who may be named in this same connection were Heraclitus and Democritus, the former born about 500 B. C., and the latter a century later. Heraclitus declared the apparent stability and permanence of material things to be false and taught that the world and everything in it was in a constant state of flux. Democritus, remarkable to say, worked out an atomic theory of the universe and also contended that it was the duty of the state to offer "to the largest number of people the greatest amount of happiness with the smallest amount of pain." Neither, of course, accepted the old stories of creation or bowed to sacred authority. Both were rationalists and yet, though obviously enemies of the gods, promulgated their doctrines unmolested.

It must, of course, be conceded that these seethings of the intellect were limited to a small minority. The masses were deplorably superstitious. And, since, as previously pointed out, intolerance is usually a crowd phenomenon, its first manifestation in an act of persecution took place in Athens when the masses had attained a considerable degree of power and had become sufficiently alarmed to exercise it. Anaxagoras was the victim. He was a thorough-going infidel, teaching that the gods were abstractions and that the sun, to which the ordinary Athenian said his prayers each morning and

each night, was not a flaming chariot driven across the sky by a god, but merely a ball of fire many times larger than the whole of Greece.

Athens was then a full-fledged democracy, and the crowd-mind had a chance to express itself. Pericles, the leading statesman, had lost some of his popularity and was himself a pupil and admirer of Anaxagoras. His enemies, therefore, no doubt moved by a double purpose, under the leadership of a priest by the name of Diopheites, passed a blasphemy law, providing for "the immediate prosecution of those who disbelieved in the established religion or held theories of their own about certain divine things." Anaxagoras was arrested under this law and thrown into prison. But through the influence of his friend Pericles his life was saved. He was compelled, however, to pay a heavy fine and was then exiled. He died in Asia Minor in 428 B. C.

For a number of years following the deportation of Anaxagoras others of his way of thinking continued freely to teach doctrines in conflict with the popularly-held beliefs. But eventually there was one whose views were too shocking to be tolerated. His name was Protagoras. His main offense was that he published a book, "On the Gods," in which he revealed himself definitely as an agnostic. "Concerning the gods," read his opening sentence, "I cannot say they exist or yet that they do not exist." Then he continued, "There are more reasons than one why we cannot know." He insisted further that man was a measure of all things and that it was a waste of valuable time to enter upon an inquiry into the doubtful existence of the gods, when men's energies could be so much better employed in thinking about this-world affairs and in improving social conditions.

Protagoras was accused of atheism, but, not having any stomach for martyrdom, he fled. The ship on which he took passage, however, was wrecked, and he was drowned. Copies of his work were confiscated and burned. But there was no organized movement of repression.

Another who was prosecuted for impiety was the poet Euripides. The proceedings against him were instituted by a meddling politician, probably for personal reasons. There was also Diagoras, a young writer, who, because the gods had failed to give him their support in a lawsuit, went around afterwards reviling and denouncing them. They do not seem to have taken offense at his ravings, but some of their human followers in Athens did. He was charged with blasphemy, convicted and sentenced to death. But he was permitted to escape and years later died peacefully in Corinth.

The last and most famous victim of Greek persecution was Socrates, tried and put to death in 399 B. C., as an atheist and a corrupter of youth. But it must be remembered that even he, despite his obnoxious teachings, was permitted for the ordinary span of a man's life to spread his unpopular doctrines freely. And no man who asked as many impertinent and uncomfortable questions as he had deserved much more than that.

In Rome for five centuries or more there was almost complete religious toleration. In one or two cases votaries of Isis were expelled from Roman territory, and in several others, Jews. But this was on account of immoral or disorderly conduct and not because of their religious beliefs. There was practically no persecution for denial or even ridicule of the national gods. Blasphemy as a crime was unknown. The Roman policy was expressed by the Emperor Tiberius when he said: "If the gods are insulted, let them see to it themselves." What conflicts arose later had a political flavor.

PAGAN-CHRISTIAN INTOLERANCE

According to John Foxe's famous Book of Martyrs, the number of Christians thrown to wild beasts, put to the sword, stoned to death, drowned, crucified, or otherwise martyred was twenty or more thousand. His figures, however, must not be taken seriously. He held a Puritan brief, and he was not above letting imagination do duty for evidence. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that thousands of Christians died for their faith under Roman persecution during the first three centuries of the Christian era.

In fact the first persecution of this kind occurred in the reign of Nero, who, it will be recalled, has been charged with having had an incendiary mania that led him to set Rome on fire and fiddle while it burned. It is a fact that there was a serious fire, and no one has ever produced evidence to put the blame on any Roman cow with kicking propensities. But that Nero ever started the fire or caused it to be started, or that he fiddled with glee while it raged, seems to be a slanderous lie, invented, no doubt, by some Christian public relations counsel. Regardless, however, of Nero's culpability in the matter, what followed was that the blame for the fire shifted, whether by him or others, to the shoulders of the Jews and Christians, and a reign of terror, mob-rule and lynch law was inaugurated during which hundreds or perhaps thousands paid with their lives for their faith.

That was in 64 A. D. During the next hundred and fifty years there were numerous other similar local outbreaks of fury against the Christians. These were neither systematic nor extensive but arose here and there as special conditions aroused the intolerance of the masses. Thus, about 113 A. D. in Bithynia, a province on the southern shore of the Black Sea, the sellers of fodder for animals to be used in sacrifice suffered because the acceptance of Christian doctrine meant the ruin of their business; and so for economic reasons they lodged complaint with the governor and demanded that the Christians be thrown to the lions lest their impiety bring the wrath of the gods upon the empire. Some modern dealers in fodder for human beings wouldn't object to seeing their competitors treated the same way.

Typical of the attitude of the Christians when accused and condemned was that of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. Carried across Asia Minor and by land and water to Rome to be cast to the wild beasts in the arena, he wrote, while on the journey, "Come fire, and iron, and grapplings with wild beasts, cuttings and manglings, wrenching of bones, breaking of limbs, crushing of the whole body; come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me! Only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ."

Such was the stuff of which martyrs were made. Another who met death during this period was Polycarp, the aged Bishop of Smyrna. With a number of others of his faith he was arrested at Easter-time, 166 A. D. The stadium was crowded when the officers arrived with their venerable prisoner, and a hostile storm of invective and abuse greeted him. The pro-consul urged him to give up his foolish faith, to sacrifice to the emperor, and live. But Polycarp answered in words that have rung down through the centuries: "Fourscore and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong. How can I speak evil of my King who saved me?"

And so out in the arena they fastened him to a stake, piled him around with wood, and burned him. Systematic persecution began in the middle of the third century when the Christian church as an organization commenced to loom up, not merely as a body of eccentric religionists, but as a rival organization to the State. The authorities were forced then to choose between suppression or toleration, and they chose suppression. Hence a series of general official persecutions now began. Some authorities count as many as ten of this sort; but the truth seems to be that there were but two, lasting about ten years each.

The first began when the Emperor Decius came to the throne in 249 A. D. and issued a decree requiring all to sacrifice to the national gods and to the Emperor himself as divine. Multitudes submitted, saving their conscience, no doubt, with mental reservations. Some purchased immunity. But many followed in the footsteps of Ignatius and the aged Polycarp and died for their faith. Valerian, who succeeded Decius, in addition to demanding sacrifice, prohibited Christian meetings and continued the persecution. Among those who suffered were the Bishop of Rome, martyred in the cata-

combs which had previously been recognized as sanctuaries, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who was beheaded.

The second or Diocletian persecution came forty years after the one just described. In the interval Christianity had been spreading, and its adherents had prospered. Many even held high office, and splendid churches had arisen in all the larger cities. Then in 303 A. D., following a mob outbreak against the Christians, an imperial edict was issued prohibiting all Christian assemblies, ordering all Christian churches to be demolished, directing the scriptures to be burned, removing all Christians from office, depriving them of citizenship, and making them liable like slaves to torture, requiring bishops and clergy to be imprisoned and compelled to sacrifice, and making it imperative for all Christians to worship the national gods, under penalty of torture and death. The number martyred during this period is given by Gibbon as two thousand, while others make the number much larger. The true figure will never be known, though it is probably higher than Gibbon's estimate. In any event, what with torture, the suffering of thousands not actually put to death, and the destruction of property, including sacred books and manuscripts, the price paid was sufficiently appalling.

The close of the Diocletian persecution marks the conclusion of the second chapter of the story of the emancipation of man's conscience through persecution and martyrdom. Pagan persecution of Christian had proven its futility. We have now seen its end.

CHRISTIAN-PAGAN INTOLERANCE

The next chapter opens with the decree of Milan, issued by the Emperors Constantine and Licinius in the year 313. It granted "to Christians and all others free permission to follow whatsoever worship any man had chosen." Toleration was now legally established. The Christian religion was on an equal footing with all others; and with the specter of persecution removed, the Christians, one might imagine, had reason to be satisfied and contented. But, as already intimated, tolerance is both difficult to attain and difficult to extend. These early Christians did not seek legalized toleration because they were tolerant. They wanted toleration for themselves in order that they might in turn be intolerant. Their aim was to establish their religion as the only true faith and to destroy all others. This chapter is, therefore, appropriately given a heading just the reverse of the preceding one. For it must cover the Christian persecution of the pagans in contrast with the prior pagan persecution of the Christians.

Hardly had the decree of Milan been entered than the Christians clamored for another. Mere equality with other religions was not enough. Theirs was THE religion, and all others were false. And therein is revealed the reason for their persecution under Rome. For it was impossible that, holding such convictions, they could be loyal to the Empire as long as the old state gods were recognized. Their refusal to tolerate other faiths inevitably aroused intolerance of their own. They were persecuted because they were considered disloyal and looked upon as a menace to the state. And, nobly as many of them died, it was not for the sake of liberty but for the sake of conscience.

It was in this spirit that, as soon as toleration was decreed, the Christians demanded that theirs be made the state religion and that all others be proscribed. And they soon had their way. Within thirty years sacrifice was prohibited by an imperial decree; twelve years later Constantius, son of Constantine, ordered all heathen temples closed, saying, "We will that all abstain from sacrifices; if any be found doing otherwise, let him be slain with the sword;" and in less than sixty years from the day the Edict of Milan went into effect, Christianity was the official religion of the Empire. The wheel of destiny had made a complete revolution.

But during this time and for another fifty years or so thereafter, Christianity was busy with the instruments of torture and destruction it had taken from the pagan hands. Pagan temples were seized and converted into Christian churches, or demolished; pagan universities were closed and destroyed; pagan libraries were burned, including that at Alexandria, then the most valuable in existence; pagan priests and teachers were exiled or killed; and whoever dared to defend pagan institutions or pagan shrines, or worship the pagan gods, was put to the sword, beheaded, hung or more cruelly put to death.

Of course, there is no Foxe's Book of Martyrs for this period; and what records we have are fragmentary. But the professed Christian object was to destroy paganism, root, branch, and tree; and those in power took all measures meet for that purpose.

The case of Hypatia will serve to illustrate the effective steps taken. She was a teacher in the famous university at Alexandria, one of the last living custodians of the Greek tradition and philosophy. One morning in the year 415, while on the way to her lecture-room, she was seized in the street by a band of fanatical monks brought from the desert by Cyril the Archbishop for that purpose. The monks took her forcibly from her chariot and dragged her into a Christian church and up to the very altar, where like fiends they scraped the living flesh from her bones with oyster shells, after which they cast her mutilated remains to the dogs in the street—in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

But even before the pagans were subdued or destroyed the course of events under imperial toleration had been such as to lead not merely to the establishment of Christianity as the state religion but also to the recognition of one special brand of Christianity as the true faith. Theodosius in 380 A. D. ordered all his subjects to accept only those doctrines laid down by the "universal" or "Catholic" church; and all who held "erroneous opinions," "insane heresies," and "scandalous doctrines" were subject to exile or death.

Capital Punishment

Concluded from page one

was a unique exception in that the criminal himself requested death.

This impetuous and ill-considered action of the lower house of the Kansas legislature may well be contrasted with the recent deliberate action of the English Parliament. You are aware perhaps that the English Parliament appointed an able committee of inquiry, which for months studied the question of capital punishment and examined expert witness to the number of forty-two, many of these witnesses from the United States and European countries. This English parliamentary committee, officially recommended to the Parliament, was that capital punishment should be abolished for a period of five years—an experimental period; the committee honestly not wishing to adopt a policy from passion or mere sentiment or rumor but only from actual demonstration of the relative merits of capital punishment and its alternative of imprisonment. The committee was convinced, however, that England could safely abolish capital punishment, that as a civilized measure, England should abolish capital punishment. It is very disappointing to reflect that a time when the supreme legislative

body of England has, after months of serious thought and investigation, been brought seriously to contemplate the abolition of capital punishment—that, in shameful contrast, the legislative body of Kansas proposes to resurrect this old law without the slightest consideration or study of an investigative and judicious nature.

At this writing, in view of the action taken in the lower house, it seems that the law will be passed by the full legislature. The issue is thus placed with you, as the Governor of the state and as a man who cannot, I trust, be insensible to the claims of reason and civilized policy. I appeal earnestly to you for a defense of the reputation and the civilized social policy of Kansas against the unwise, unreflective action of the legislative body. All too clearly the legislators have been swept off their feet. They have been blown upon by an ill wind. They have not taken the pains to collect facts, to study experience and to reach a soberly weighed conclusion. It is your duty and your fine opportunity to give the state a better example—an example of thoughtfulness, social vision and well-considered action. I make a reasonable suggestion: it is that you veto the law for capital punishment, and send back the law to the legislature with the firm suggestion that the legislature appoint a competent commission of

inquiry which shall study at length and with a full and patient desire for true knowledge the whole subject of crime and capital punishment. When action is finally taken in the name of the state of Kansas, it should be such action as we can defend, not merely with passion or sentiment but with soundly demonstrated intelligence, before the whole world. No action should be taken, committing the state of Kansas on such a vital measure of policy, without a complete study of the facts.

The legislature has acted in haste I beg of you to prevent this panic of bad judgment and shocking recklessness of unconsidered, extreme legislation. I do not suggest that you be dogmatic one way or the other, but only as an immediate measure that you insist upon the wisdom of delay and discussion and investigation, so that facts and not passions nor mere personal impressions may determine the issue for the right.

Sincerely and respectfully,
E. Haldeman-Julius.

Pleased with Article on Chesterton

Dear Editor:
Just a line to send you my congratulations on your admirable article in *The American Freeman* of January 17 answering G. K. Chesterton.

The manner in which you answered this gentleman, and the devastating evidence you brought forth, should forever silence this clown of the church. Your article is something that he needed, and it is going to give me a great deal of pleasure to send him my copy of *The American Freeman* with your article marked in such a manner that he cannot help but see it. You have done a fine piece of work in this article, and it deserves a wide circulation.

With cordial good wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,
JOSEPH LEWIS,
President Freethinkers of America.

Making Americans Free

Dear Editor:
The *American Freeman* for January 10, 1931, comes as the climax to a series of astounding issues. These weekly fulminations have not been paralleled in the entire recent history of journalism. You have every reason to feel proud of them, and if there is any fight in the readers of the nation you should enlist them by the thousands. The *American Freeman* is making Americans free.

Cordially,
ISAAC GOLDBERG

The guiding forces of evolution, apart from the obscure internal machinery of the living thing, are two: first, and during nearly the whole fifteen hundred million years of terrestrial life, the lash of nature, and secondly, just beginning, the conscious planning and willing of man.—Joseph McCabe in *The Churches and Modern Progress* (Little Blue Book No. 1150).

In science "savage" means a being at a low stage of intellect and culture. To the general public it means a bloodthirsty, cruel, scalp-seeking or head-hunting monster. Savagery in this sense is not a primitive quality of man. . . . At the most primitive level man is peaceful and honest.—Joseph McCabe in *The Human Origin of Morals* (Little Blue Book No. 1061).

He [the scientist] first collects the facts and then interprets them. If science merely collected facts, we should still be waiting for the wonderful chemistry and medicine and surgery, the electric appliances and means of transport and million comforts, of modern times.—Joseph McCabe in *The Origin of Religion* (Little Blue Book No. 1008).

Europe [in the tenth century] had become appallingly poor; but the Church drew from the impoverished millions, the labor of the serfs, so splendid a revenue, that the most vicious intrigued and murdered each other to become abbots, bishops and popes.—Joseph McCabe in *The Dark Ages* (Little Blue Book No. 1130).

ADDRESSING the nation's automobile dealers, President Hoover says that the money spent for cars in 1930 was a healthful sign of prosperity and he adds that "America is not riding to the poorhouse." Ah, no—to be accurate, millions of Americans are walking to the soup kitchens and standing in the bread lines.

ITALY is on the verge of bankruptcy and is seething with rebellion; and Mussolini's answer is to send a fleet of airships to South America to advertise the glory of Fascism.

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ruminations
Isaac Goldberg

THE INSECT REALM

Ants. By Julian Huxley. Cape & Smith, Inc. New York \$1.50.
The Life of the Ant. By Maurice Maeterlinck. The John Day Co., Inc. New York. \$2.50.

There are, to make an obvious pun, two ways of approaching this insect world. One is the purely scientific; the other is what we might call ant-ropomorphic. Mr. Huxley adopts the first, while M. Maeterlinck adopts the second. Even scientists, one imagines, when off their guard, are led into attributing to the non-human world human aims and human processes. Julian Huxley, for example, has as little use for Fabre as for Maeterlinck. He is particularly interesting to me because he is at great pains to find a very pragmatic explanation for insect traits that lead other investigators off into humanistic channels.

A case in point: the parent ants seem to show a deep solicitude for certain of their young. This naturally provides a beautiful text for the sentimental school. Unfortunately for the sentimentalists, however, it appears that this parental solicitude is based upon nothing more altruistic than the appetite of the adult ant. That greedy fellow is very fond of a secretion that oozes out, as it were, only from the bodies of these youngsters. What looks like affectionate caressing is nothing but a glutton's feast.

But there I go, myself, calling an ant a glutton and thus falling into the humanizing error.

These ants are among the most fascinating creatures in this crazy universe. Why look for miracles superimposed upon the bare miracle of existence? Their lives seem to be governed by a pattern and an intelligence. Ants, indeed, have as much reason for believing in a God as do we humans, and no doubt, their God is a huge gray ant made in their own image. As much reason, and as little. Scientists are forever being brought up against mysterious forces and patterns of life just as mysterious. They are too humble, however, in their quest for knowledge to announce the existence of a God. They are content to leave that to the arrogance and the ignorance of lesser humanity. Who or what is behind these patterns of life? The scientist does not seek to cover his ignorance with the name of a deity. He is content to reveal, as fully as he can, the How and leave the Why to theologians.

One cannot study these ants even superficially without marveling at the design that they manage to introduce into their lives. Even that is put too sentimentally. The insects are passive agents rather than active.

Another interesting observation: the ant comes into life far better prepared than do your offspring or mine. Yet it is this very preparedness that keeps him an insect. For his good start he pays with an absence of plasticity. The human being, on the other hand, through his very plasticity, is enabled to overcome the drawbacks of his infancy.

Huxley, member of a famous family, writes with the traditional clarity and sense of style characteristic of that family. Maeterlinck, long famous for *Life of a Bee*, will be best appreciated if he is read in association with the less ant-ropomorphic Englishman. His book, well translated by Bernard Miall, makes very pleasant reading. I should introduce young readers first to his essay and then follow it up at once with the succinct monograph of Julian Huxley.

"We see," concludes Maeterlinck, "that they are born, live, perform their humble duties, and disappear, in their hundreds of millions, without leaving a trace. No one troubles about them, and they have never attained any other goal than death. We are not willing to admit that it may be the same with us. We would rather believe that all is stupid, instinctive, automatic, irresponsible. One day we shall learn, as all the creatures that share this earth with us have already learned, to content ourselves with life. This will be the ultimate ideal, enlarged by all those which it will have absorbed; and we shall find, perhaps, when we know how to live it, that life is enough."

CRITIQUE OF A TESTAMENT

Testament of a Critic. George Jean Nathan. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.
There has been a disposition on the part of Mr. Nathan's enemies personal and professional—phrased none too convincingly—that the man was *ausgespielt*, done. In most cases the wish must have been father to the thought. I myself, who have read almost every word that Nathan has printed, have yet to open up one of his new books with any premonition that I am going to be bored. Perhaps some of this feeling should be put down to the score of friendship and the natural prejudice that we all feel for one who makes so brilliantly articulate our own thoughts upon life in general and the drama in particular. Yet surely one can be bored by one's friends and entertained by one's enemies. The simple fact is that although I had read many of these pages in

the places of their original appearance I opened this *Testament of a Critic* with an anticipatory pleasure based upon long experience.

It has been said that Nathan's books are made up of matter collected from his magazine writings. Well, what of it? This is mere statistics, not a canon of criticism. The mere fact that a heap of stupidities has never before been printed in any form hardly confers any value upon it. And, on the other hand, to gather for more permanent consideration the excellent miscellany of a busy year is a public service. The history of literature abounds with such inspired collections and I for one keep Nathan's annals on a shelf very close to that which holds the dramatic opinions of Lessing and George Bernard Shaw.

I hadn't read very far in the *Testament* before I was saying to myself, "If George's ill-wishers really believe that he has written himself out this volume is going to make them feel very, very bad. The book, in fact, is quite Ponce-de-Leon-ish. George, by every token, has renewed himself."

Which is precisely so. The years polish one's thoughts. It may appear that we are forever confronting the same conditions and reporting them in similar words. Then comes a moment, suddenly, when we achieve definitive statement. The thing we so long had been thinking all at once assumes, as it were, final form, and emerges in what we may call ultimate statement. This, it strikes me, is what has happened in Nathan's *Testament*. There are pages in it—pages that run on in uninterrupted felicity for minutes at a time—that are nothing less than classic. If you want to know just what I mean read, as I did, in a single breath, from page 56, say, to page 80.

For a concrete example I would further suggest Nathan's penetrating criticism of *The Green Pastures*, especially on pages 122 and 123. I have always believed, and I have written in these columns, that one of the great underlying causes of the success of this play was that its theology was fundamentally the theology of the condescending white. Presented to that white in the terms of the naive Negro it at once flattered the white's feeling of superiority and appealed to the same fundamental simplicity in his own soul. Something of this same sort explains our passionate addiction to the popular music that goes back to the black.

Nathan, who considers the play in his own inimitable manner, flatters my conception of it by reaching a similar conclusion. And note that as he does so he reaches a finer and no doubt a truer conception of deity than any professional rabbi, bonze or priest. I quote a couple of pages that blend acute critical perceptiveness with poetry. Am I mistaken, or has Nathan mellowed during the past five years into a humaneness that somewhat belies his professions of egotistic indifference? On page 11, to revert for a moment, he seems to hint that he will be married by the time he has reached fifty. (I hope so; some woman has been missing a fine husband.) I am not sorry to find that he even recalls the Sacco-Vanzetti travesty. This seems like a deeper Nathan than he of yore. But I promised a couple of passages. Here they are:

"It is this God of the white child and the Negro that moves upon the stage through the story of the Bible as it is pictured by theoretically dumb black minds. It is God not as we get Him in the utterances of Park Avenue clergymen or in the tracts of New England spinsters or in the tents of the evangelists. It is not the God of complete wisdom, unbridled purity and comprehensive infallibility. It is God beautiful in His humanity and wise beyond wisdom in His error. It is God within human reach, within human understanding, within the human heart. The Throne of Biblical frontispieces, lit up with gilt ink, has been cast into the rubbish heap and in its place there is a warm and cozy easy-chair and in that chair sits a figure of real and living, rather than dim, remote and shadowy, grandeur.

"The play itself, while often tender in its humor, quick with fancy and alive with invention, is nevertheless hardly the masterpiece the hypnotized critics have written it is. For all the strength and dominance of its central idea, its machinery runs out of oil periodically and disturbs one with its heavy whirring. And at times the author seems to dangle his sense of humor somewhat strain-

fully before him, like a three-sheet. In addition, the central idea is now and then rolled on the author's tongue with a bit too much obvious relish; one can discern his conscious pride in tasting its flavors. But, with all its flaws, the play's net effect is a curiously holding and curiously agitating one. It brings God down out of His heaven and closer to the hearts of men, white and black. And in it there is a ten times gentler and greater eloquence than in all the churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, Salvation Army camps and sawdust trails in the land."

The *Testament* is divided into four parts: book I, Revelation; book II, Proverbs; book III, Chronicles; book IV, Lamentations. It is bestrewn with aphorism, wisecrack, surface glitter, and irradiant wit. The vacuous pundit, writing a book, is at his wit's end to make superficiality look deep. Nathan, with an air, has the contrary art, and a difficult art it is, of making profundity look like buffoonery.

Perhaps I have conveyed to you the impression that I had a great time going through this *Testament*—that it is an important book, not only for dramatic and cultural criticism in these United States but also for Nathan himself. Founded upon fact, it gives off the aroma of wisdom. There's plenty of life in the old boy yet!

ADVENTURER—AUTHOR—ARTIST

N. by E. By Rockwell Kent. New York. Brewer & Warren. \$3.50.

I remember as a child being cautioned by my teachers to avoid books with too many pictures. Later I learned that the theory behind this proscription had little to do with the generally inferior quality of book illustrations. What my mentors feared was this: the pictures would rob me of imagination. I have never been satisfied with this particular phase of the theory. Appreciation of pictures, so far as children are concerned, comes earlier and perhaps more naturally than appreciation of text. In any case, the interest in pictures is so intense and so rewarding that to thwart it must thwart also something vital in the youngster's makeup.

I have always preferred my books to be well illustrated, even if they dealt with the abstract sciences. Pictures, however, may in their composition defeat the imagination even when they seem best to feed it. Nobody enjoys the original illustrations to *Alice in Wonderland* more than I do. Yet there stands Alice, forever fixed in our memories. A different Alice, instead of delighting us, offends us. Our imaginations have been bound by the pencil of Tenniel.

These thoughts occurred to me as I opened this triply delightful volume. First it is the story of a rash Northern expedition. Second, the author illustrates it with his own hand. Third, it is gotten out with unostentatious taste. To me, despite the concise absorbing text of the tale about a voyage to Greenland in a small boat, and the mishaps that followed this craft even as Coleridge's sinister albatross, the illustrations—and they are numerous—come first. Kent, in these lines and spaces, has caught the spirit of his hardy enterprise. Pictures spoil the imagination? Who said so? Why may they not stimulate the imagination? Certainly these do, and much more is meant and communicated than meets the eye.

Kent's account is the verbal mirror of his drawings. I have not yet seen his illustrations to *Moby Dick*, recently issued by the Random House. But with his flair for the ocean that is attested in *N. by E.* by both word and image, it is easy to believe that he is the ideal artist for Melville's mystic classic of the sea.

FOR BETTER OR VERSER

Hard Lines. By Ogden Nash. New York. Simon & Schuster. \$1.75.

Smart circles will soon be nursing their teeth for rhymes obvious, subtle or merely approximate. Those of you who see *The New Yorker* more or less regularly must have noticed the metrical, rhythmical and rhyming elucubrations of this wit slightly gone mad. Most likely if Mr. Nash tried to climb Parnassus he would find it more slippery going than the glass hill in the fairy books. Parnassus, however, is a lonely summit these days and there are no elevators. Besides, Nash has his eye on more accessible hill-

[Please turn to page four]

Voltaire as "The Incomparable Infidel"

Dramatically Revealed by Joseph Lewis

A RED-ROBED cardinal stood at the elbow of the King of France. Under the double tyranny of king and priest the nation groaned and trembled. Men hardly dared to think their own thoughts. The smell of scorched flesh that still rose from the *auto-de-fe*—the burning alive of twos and dozens of brave men and women—strangled the people in a grip of fear.

That was France when Voltaire was born. But when Voltaire grew to manhood; when he had learned well the instructions of the priests; he led France—and then all the world—in its daring step of progress to a new birth of freedom!



VOLTAIRE

WHAT FOUR FAMOUS AUTHORS SAY
Herbert Asbury, author of "Up from Methodism," "Gangs of New York," "Carrie Nation," etc., says: I haven't read a book in years that interested me so much as Joseph Lewis' "Voltaire the Incomparable Infidel." Mr. Lewis chose a tremendous subject to discuss in so few pages, but I think he has done full justice to the gigantic figure which exerted such an amazing influence on his times.
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Dr. E. Boyd Barrett, author of "The Jesuit Enigma," "While Peter Sleeps," etc., and for 20 years a member of the Jesuit order, says: Mr. Lewis with admirable art and fine instinct casts the spotlight upon the human and democratic passion of his ideal hero. I enjoyed this book enormously.
Wm. J. Fielding, author of "The Cavesman Within Us," "Sanity in Sex," etc., writes: Your Voltaire is certainly packed with illuminating material and pertinent facts concerning the life and activities of the great 18th Century Frenchman.

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OF all the heroes of Mankind, none stands higher than Voltaire. No man before or after his time fought so fierce a battle against such overwhelming odds. Think of what odds were against him! On one side stood all the pomp and power of king and church. On the other side stood Voltaire, alone, frail and feeble of body, but possessing the most daring, the most irresistible mind the world has ever known.

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Voltaire wrote a thousand books while he lived. Since his death a thousand books have been written about him. But rarely will you find anything so fascinating, so vivid and dramatic, so compelling in interest as this newest book by Joseph Lewis, "VOLTAIRE, The Incomparable Infidel."

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THE AMERICAN FREEMAN

GIRARD KANSAS

Dear Reader of The American Freeman:

The present economic depression has hit every department of the Haldeman-Julius Publications, including The American Freeman. The American Freeman is doing important educational work, as you well know, and it is vitally necessary that we keep it at its splendidly useful tasks.

You have received a sufficient number of copies of The American Freeman to know without our telling you that here is a publication without equal in the entire publishing world. But this takes an enormous amount of money, and in view of the financial panic that has swept the United States, we have found ourselves in a position that demands early remedy, if we are to continue giving the world the sort of material the staff of The Freeman can turn out so brilliantly.

We therefore have decided to come to the subscribers of The American Freeman and ask of them a great favor. No, we are not going to ask for contributions or donations. That is not our intention, and never will be. We have decided to remedy the serious situation in a manner that will be both convenient and profitable to our subscribers.

We have decided to issue trade coupons, good for anything published by the Haldeman-Julius Publications, at present or at any time in the future. These coupons are each worth 5 cents and come 20 coupons to the sheet. We are offering them to you subscribers at a 10 percent bonus. Thus, if you will send us \$1 today, we will mail you coupons worth \$1.10. If you will send us \$2, you will receive coupons worth \$2.20. For \$5 you will receive coupons worth \$5.50. For \$10 you will receive coupons worth \$11. And so on.

May we hear from you at once? Please be good enough to order as many trade coupons as you can afford. The need is pressing. The situation is serious. If you and other subscribers will respond quickly and generously we will be able to weather the economic storm and make newer and greater plans for the future. Our program of educational publishing is crowded with good things, but we can't do anything until we get out of the present difficult industrial situation. The plan proposed in this letter is a simple one, and it will work to perfection, if only our readers realize the seriousness of the issue and come to the rescue. Please use the blank below.

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Full Text of the Wickersham Commission Report on Prohibition

This volume of 80,000 words contains the findings and recommendations of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement on Prohibition Laws of the United States submitted to President Herbert Hoover. This book contains every word of the report and every word of each individual member of the commission. Not a word has been omitted in this big book. The commission worked eighteen months and spent \$500,000 in order to get the facts and the conclusions that will be found in this important and instructive volume.

The contents of this book promise to become the political issue of the 1932 presidential campaign. It is necessary to read this complete report in order to be able to discuss the question of Prohibition intelligently.

Rush in your order at once. The newspapers did not have the space to print this entire report. It would have required about fifteen solid newspaper pages, set in small type. Here, in a large book of more than 150 large pages, we give the American people the entire text, from beginning to end, including all dissenting statements of individual members. This is probably the first edition available because the newspapers report that the small government edition was soon grabbed up by public officials in Washington, leaving none for the general public.

Get your copy of "The Full Text of the Wickersham Commission Report on Prohibition" today. The price is only \$1 per copy, carriage charges prepaid.

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Enclosed find \$1 which pays for a copy of "THE FULL TEXT OF THE WICKERSHAM COMMISSION REPORT ON PROHIBITION," carriage charges prepaid. (6 copies for \$5.)

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Killed for the Breaking of Blue Laws

OHIO still continues to hold the center of the stage for ridiculous and tragic occurrences. It was in Ohio, the "Home of Presidents" and Harry Daugherty, that the terrible prison murder of 300 helpless men took place by roasting alive, that the recent American Legion outrage of looting a man's store on Armistice Day (St. Clairsville) to make him patriotic occurred, as well as numerous other events equally inhuman.

Ohio is the home of the Anti-Saloon League and a host of other reform groups and is noted for its sanctimoniousness and religious hypocrisy. So it is not surprising that the first modern killing for breaking the Sabbath is reported by the Associated Press under date of November 9. Richard Hannah, 18, was shot to death and his brother George, 22, was wounded while resisting arrest for violating the blue law prohibiting Sunday hunting in Chardon, Ohio. The officers refused to say who fired the shot that killed Richard. I do not sanction breaking any laws, not even the silly blue laws, but even less do I believe in killing a man for violating a minor statute. A man or boy, as he really was, ought no more be shot for breaking a blue law than a person who breaks a minor traffic rule.

The incident is a small one in some ways, but it is the first blue law killing that I know of in modern days. It is socially significant in that it confirms my prediction some time ago that the same path followed by the Prohibition fanatics would be followed by the blue law fanatics. We used to regard the taking or non-taking of a glass of beer as something concerning personal tastes or desires, but the fanatics soon made it a capital offense. The matter of how a free American citizen spends the first day of the week, should, in this twentieth century of enlightenment, be a matter of taste or preference, but the Methodist machine with Puritanical zeal is trying to make a communist or anarchist out of anyone who goes fishing or plays ball or frequents a movie on Sundays.

Fanaticism and bigotry dig their own graves. The recent roping off of a moving picture house in New Jersey on Sunday night into halves, one of which was darkened while the other was lighted, because one-half was in Orange and the other in East Orange where different city ordinances prevailed, shows the limit to which absurdity can be carried even in an intelligent community. People who have been brought up in a liberal atmosphere find it difficult to appreciate the logic which guides the mental processes of these blue noses and busybodies. But, a careful reading of history and a close study of the reasoning of the ecclesiastic head hunters shows their viewpoint. The bluenoses consider themselves very religious, just as the Pharisees of old, and they consider it their moral duty to force people to be "good." They consider themselves appointed by the Almighty to run the civil as well as the church affairs. That others might be as intelligent or more so than themselves, never occurs to these scissorbill joykillers. They set themselves up as censors. It then becomes easy for one schooled in their religion or morality, such as Chairman George Wickersham of Hoover's Dry Commission, to advocate a return to the whipping post, as he did in a recent statement.

However, a return to the whipping post and capital punishment for Prohibition offenders will soon find a counterpart in the case of violators of the silly, antiquated and inconsistent blue laws. The fanatical mind, once given free reign to exercise its sadistic and masochistic tendencies, soon blurs the line between serious social infractions and petty prejudiced traditional conventions. The encouraging thing today is that revolt is spreading against the dictatorship of bigots and this was partly reflected in the recent election returns. But the fight must go on.

GODS IN MANY IMAGES.—In attempting to picture a God, each man follows the inclinations of his own nature. The savage has the idea of a God who is capricious and cruel and very hard to please and who is full of amazing tricks. The "civilized" man, under the domination of Christianity during the Ages of Faith, had about the same notion of a God. Theologians conceived of a God who was a dogmatic logician and who was tremendously interested in upholding the weird doctrines of the church. Liberal believers in religion have fancied for themselves a vague, amiable, meaningless sort of God, the idea being presumably that the less God the more tolerable. Ranting evangelists have portrayed a God as crazy as themselves. Philosophers have spun dialectical dreams of a God who, like themselves, is lost in the mists of abstraction. In short, God is merely the reflection of men's various traits and thoughts. God is merely an idea, a word, a symbol having back of it nothing more than human reality. God is an illusion.

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On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

Greetings! Now that the holidays are over and we have issued five successive Special Editions (the Atheist Special Edition, the Hoover Scandal Special Edition, the Free Thought Debate Edition, the Anti-Pope Special Edition and the Joseph McCabe Special Edition), we are glad to meet the members of The Freeman Army once more in this intimate column of chat and news. We know the Army will forgive us for dropping this column lately, inasmuch as we have been filling The Freeman with such excellent special material. We have been working on a rapid schedule of big, smashing Special Editions. After all, our important contact with the Army is in the work that we do together. Results take first place in our consideration; and we believe that we have been getting results. Remember this, good readers: We always appreciate what the Army is doing and we notice consistently and gratefully the work which each Army member does.

Among the Army members who ordered extra copies of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition are: J. A. Lundquist, Minn.; S. F. Marcy, Pa.; Frank Ehrenfried, Ill.; A. D. Hughes, Mich.; Durant Pywell, Calif.; R. H. Aterbury, N. Y.; F. D. Kenney, Miss.; J. J. Mealy, N. D.; Alva Brusco, N. D.; J. T. Walsh, N. Mex.; W. B. Schroeder, Wis.; Hugh Taylor, Kans.; Richard Wieting, Ill.; J. D. Owens, W. Va.; J. W. Blackburn, N. Mex.; John Frick, Nev.; John B. Watkins, Ill.; Carl J. Newman, Colo.; Andrew M. Nelson, Ill.; Frank C. Boehmer, Calif.; Wilbur Lichtwadt, Ky.; Arnold Mayer, Mich.; C. Elmer Ransen, Ill.; A. B. Newman, Ill.; J. Reinke, Wis.; Mrs. W. P. Oleson, Mich.; H. E. Johnson, Ill.; G. C. Bolton, Tex.; A. W. Renshaw, Mont.; August H. Brendemuhl, N. D.; George Guernsey, Cal.; C. A. Schladermudt, N. Y.; Fred T. Perry, Kans.; Evald Hammar, Wis.; Mrs. A. B. Sanford, Calif.; Orin H. Peterson, Mo.; Henry Erminger, Ohio; Frank Witt, N. D.; H. P. Edward, Calif.; C. A. Wilbur, Iowa; W. Abbott, Ill.; John J. Brown, Ill.; W. T. DeCoster, Minn.; Bert Williams, Colo.; W. J. Sanderson, Ill.; John A. Johnson, Mont.; Ivan Stephens, Ore.; Frank J. Brewer, Calif.; L. T. Bruner, Calif.; R. A. McKinney, Calif.; M. Bord, Del.; G. W. Plouf, Mich.; J. Collins, Calif.; Elmer Welsh, Pa.; R. Switzer, Kans.; Fred Lindgren, Minn.; Otto L. Steiskal, Minn.; Dr. F. A. Kraft, Wis.; John Whiteman, Mich. And of course it's probably our bad luck to have missed YOU in this list—but truly the Army did so well on these Special Editions that we can't list all of the names. Rest assured that on our files you have credit for the work you did and that your orders were precisely filled.

And now for a list (which, we are sorry to say, must also be incomplete) of Army workers who ordered extra copies of the Atheist Special Edition: H. Hoyt, Colo.; John Whiteman, Mich.; Henry Kramer, La.; Wm. M. Koshiyama, Wash.; Edna Gray Nagel, Calif.; W. L. Miller, Mich.; G. J. Kyllingstad, Minn.; M. Bord, Del.; W. S. Varnum, Calif.; Durant Pywell, Calif.; C. B. Reeder, Pa.; Mrs. J. C. Harmon, Calif.; Mrs. Millard Swen, Ill.; W. F. Bleifuss, Minn.; Hans Rensstad, Wis.; Gains W. Holdrege, N. Y.; Orin H. Peterson, Mo.; N. J. Helmick, Wyo.; Dewey Collett, Ky.; Frank C. Boehmer, Calif.; Samuel J. Frey, Pa.; Henry Erminger, Ohio; E. M. Beckley, Wash.; J. A. Berg, Ohio; A. W. Renshaw, Mich.; W. B. Wood, Hawaii; Frank Schick, Calif.; H. C. Spear, Ill.; J. L. Glackin, Mo.; Julius W. Kiesel, Pa.; Joseph Haupt, Wash.; P. R. Sorenson, N. D.; Mae Davis, Okla.; Chas. S. Gause, Pa. That isn't nearly all. And of course those who aren't mentioned here, but as loyal an Army record as those who do see their names here. But repeat—it's the work we do that counts.

A. D. Hughes, Mich., sends a dollar for the renewal of his subscription to The Freeman and orders a bundle of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition.

J. W. Blackburn, N. Mex., sends in a year's renewal to The Debunker and orders a bundle of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition.

Wm. Johnson, Pa., sends a dollar and a list of ten names who are to receive The Freeman for ten weeks.

C. Elmer Ransen, Ill., renews his subscription to The Debunker for a year and orders a bundle of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition.

G. M. Schynwart, Mo., orders \$1 worth of the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons (which we offer during these hard times with a ten percent bonus in trade value) and says, "I am with you to the finish."

Eric Olsen, Canada, contributes \$1 to the Centralia investigation fund. We hope the Army workers will support this fund so generously that we shall be able in the near future to manage this crusade, which we have not forgotten. Look for the next report of this fund.

John Narverud, Minn., orders \$1 worth of the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons.

William Nagel, N. Y., sends in \$5 for the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons, which means that he will get coupons to the value of \$5.60.

R. L. Dennison, W. Va., sends \$1 for the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons.

A. T. Hoffman, Wis., helps us along with \$1 for H.-J. trade coupons.

Matthias Crowley, N. Y., sends in another order for Haldeman-Julius trade coupons, this time \$10 for \$11 worth of coupons. We appreciate

such response to our appeals for support during this critical period.

W. S. Toppany, Pa., sends a dollar and gives us the name of a friend to whom he wants The Freeman sent for a year. He adds this cheering comment: "Just a word to The Freeman Army: Are we behind Haldeman-Julius to raise the American laborer from a moronoid state of mind to one of intellectual? I feel if we would all secure one or more subscriptions we could eventually do this. At least we are working in the right direction. Incidentally The Freeman grows each and every week. Of all my newspaper, magazine and book reading I never miss a word in The Freeman."

Mary H. Curtis, Me., sends \$1 for Haldeman-Julius trade coupons.

A. James McDonald, La., sends \$2 for the Freeman Mutual Aid Fund—this, as you know, enables The Freeman to be mailed to deserving readers who cannot during these Hoover hard times afford to renew their subscriptions.

William Schadt, Canal Zone, sends \$5 for Haldeman-Julius trade coupons—and right away he sends the coupons for a year's subscription to The Debunker, a year's subscription to The Freeman, the Jumbo Package of Liberal Reading and a copy of The Antichrist.

C. Borst, Ill., renews his subscription for one year and orders a bundle of the Hoover Special Edition.

Henry Lohman, Mich., sends \$1 for Haldeman-Julius trade coupons. W. L. Miller, Mich., sends a dollar for the H.-J. trade coupons.

Charles Roeden, N. J., sends \$5 for the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons.

Wm. M. Koshiyama, Wash., sends \$3 for the Haldeman-Julius trade coupons.

In the World of Books

Concluded from page three) tops, and I for one find it in my heart not only to forgive him but to encourage him.

That is, when he emits such truthful distichs as

When I consider how my life is spent I hardly ever repent

or, in two of the best lines of that modern light verse has produced:

Aven the anthropophagi
Peoples' friends are peoples' sarcophagi.

This is splendid, even if it sends you to the unabridged dictionary. As a tee-totaler I can testify to the first two lines of the following quatrain, but I readily take the second pair of lines on trust:

Candy
Is dandy
But liquor
Is quicker.

Nash is not always up to this level. Some of his humor depends upon misspellings, but even then he can gild his verbal frolics with truthful sanitation. (If you want to know how you can gild anything with sanitation, ask Nash, he knows. I don't.)

I'd feel much better about the Grand Central Bldg. If only the architect had left off the gldg.

I wonder if the citizens of New York will ever get sufficiently wroth to remember that Tammany cooks spoil the broth.

Another "peach":

An anxious wooer can cure insomnia
By murmuring Amor vincit omnia.

The volume, now that I run it through again, conceals no little malice beneath its seeming triviality. Consider this

Legal Reflection

The postal authorities of the United States of America

Frown on Curiosa, erotica and esoterica
And I guess
That's a break for the American Railway Express.

But I don't want to quote the whole book. Try it yourself in your mezzo-brow moments. And if you think that this fellow is merely a clown, then the joke is on you.

A JESUIT WHO ESCAPED

The Magnificent Illusion. By E. Boyd Barrett. New York. Ives Washburn. \$3.

A highly interesting document concerned with escape into and escape out of the Jesuit order. Mr. Barrett writes with honesty and with courage. His book has temper and wisdom; one even imagines that he was sorry to find it necessary to leave the order. This is a biography well out of the beaten path.

GOVERNOR GAULFIELD of Missouri recommends that that state double its income tax. The politicians need the money. The workers, however, are not worrying so much about income taxes as they are about their lost and almost forgotten incomes.

ANOTHER view of Hoover's "economic individualism" is that we are being trained for the competitive race, which will be won by those who can stand the greatest amount of privation. Yeah, ain't it a beautiful theory!

A Smashing Attack On Christianity

The Antichrist

by Friedrich Nietzsche

Nietzsche's Fighting Purpose

"This is the undying denunciation of Christianity which I shall write upon all walls, wherever there are walls. I have letters that will burn even upon the eyeballs of the blind. I call Christianity the one great curse, the one intrinsic depravity, the one black impulse of resentment, for which no subterfuge is too vile, or too furtive, or too underhand, or too mean. I say this thing is the one indelible blot upon the achievement of man."—From The Antichrist.

A Book That All Should Read

"It was a beautiful edition of The Antichrist from which a group of us read aloud. But when we read the translator's comment that this was an essay for the few, E. H.-J. exclaimed in impatience: 'It is not. It is for the many.' Because of this conviction and of the high mood the reading of it stirred in us, E. H.-J. is printing the entire essay. May you find, also, as you are borne along by the clean wind of Nietzsche's thought, a long, revealing lift in the fog."—Marcel Haldeman-Julius.

A Popular Edition of This Great Classic

As a great liberating work, Nietzsche's *The Antichrist* should be read by millions. It is an intellectual loss to the world that only a few should know this masterpiece. Such a work is an immensely stimulating message of civilization. It is an inspirer of bold, free thinking. It is destructive of the superstitions which stand in the way of true, civilized values—and at the same time it is constructive in its vision of lofty, progressive knowledge. *The Antichrist* is one of those books which are essential cornerstones in the building of an intelligent society. Here is a book that should belong to all men—why, then, should it be reserved for the rare appreciation of a few individuals here and there?

This masterpiece by Nietzsche is known by name to many who have not read it, and it has an uncontested place among the best classics of free-thinking criticism and controversy. Everyone who is familiar with modern literature has heard of this work. It is a strange paradox that *The Antichrist* is a recognized classic of world literature—known to be one of the greatest works of modern controversy—yet has not been read generally. This fact is not so strange, however, when one reflects that there has never been the popularization which this book so notably merits. It has not been called to the attention of the mass of readers. It has reposed obscurely on library shelves, glanced at only by a few students specially interested in Nietzsche—and, even so, many

admirers of Nietzsche have not read this most sweeping and militant of all his works.

But now a popular edition of this great classic has been printed by the Haldeman-Julius Publications, and Nietzsche's mighty labor of cultural emancipation will at last serve its intended and its full purpose. Its exposure of a supreme fraud—the fraud of Christianity—can now be widely effective. Its strong, clear, daring, and sham-blasting scholarship can extend itself throughout an immense field of action. In particular, freethinkers can now enjoy the supreme, devastating criticism of Christianity which Nietzsche, dealing in the plainest language yet with all the equipment of assiduous scholarship, wrote in the very spirit of one doing battle for the precious values of civilization.

This book will be a valuable addition to the library of every freethinker. It is really indispensable for anyone who would have a thoughtful view of the Christian religion, who would realize the significance of Christianity in the history of mankind, who would have a true analysis of Christian "culture" and a noble vision of that culture which is above and beyond Christianity.

A wide and true appreciation of Nietzsche's *The Antichrist* would be fatal to continued belief in the superstitions of Christianity—in this amazing, reason-defying, anti-civilized scheme of superstition. Because it is an educational work second to none in importance, we want *The Antichrist* to have a large, popular, vitally influential circulation.

A Masterpiece of Noble and Flaming Words

It is a misconception to imagine Nietzsche as an esoteric scholar, writing in language comprehensible or interesting only to a few. He was, indeed, a fine scholar—learned in languages, in history, in philosophy, in the art of thinking. But his scholarship appears most lucidly in *The Antichrist*, in a style that must prove fascinating and impressive to the average reader. Strong words are in this book. Noble words are in this book. Words that burn, words that crash with a thunder of denunciation, are in this book. These words are the fitting instruments of ideas that are powerful, that are majestic, that are inspired by a vision of greater humanity.

Nietzsche was tremendously in earnest when he wrote *The Antichrist*. The reader cannot fail to be impressed by the flashing, challenging ardor of this book. Here is Nietzsche's most careful, most completely and powerfully phrased indictment of an institution and a scheme of life-distortion that he hated above all other things. Here is the most vivid statement of Nietzsche's philosophy—a philosophy which has been subjected to much misrepresentation. Like other great thinkers, though in his own unique way, Nietzsche performed a mighty intellectual labor for the advancement of civilization. And he saw Christianity as the virulent and treacherous foe of civilization. He recognized it as a gigantic curse. He perceived in this mess of religion the most sickening denial of true, living values. Delivering fearlessly his message of truth, Nietzsche declared that mankind could not progress toward

a strong, happy, intelligent life save as it threw off the gross and heavy delusion of Christianity.

The sum of Nietzsche's message has been more and more keenly realized by thinking people. All culture, all scholarship, all progressive thought goes to support the indictment of Christianity which Nietzsche made in *The Antichrist*. Yet nothing can equal that compact and vivid attack of a great scholar upon the world's greatest curse. Nietzsche was in a fighting mood when he wrote *The Antichrist*—and that is why every line of this book burns its way into the mind of the reader. And with all his militancy, with all his graphic and unreserved style of denunciation, Nietzsche was still judiciously the scholar. His message was carefully weighed and prepared, and every word of it—the strongest and the most startling word—is backed by a sure, critical scholarship. In *The Antichrist* the reader can see Christianity utterly stripped of all its pretensions.

We are issuing *The Antichrist* in a popular yet nice edition at the small price of 50c a copy. It is printed on an extra good quality of book paper, in a face of very readable 9-point type. It is a 64-page book, the pages being 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches in size. This is an excellent job of publishing in every detail and is a worthy form in which this splendid masterpiece finds its introduction to the larger public for whom it is so essentially meant. Order today your copy of this greatest of all attacks, scholarly yet scorching.

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