

# Was Arrogant Mussolini Afraid of a Thorough Butler Investigation?

Mussolini is arrogant. He is also afraid of a certain kind of publicity. In Italy a severe censorship is enforced and Mussolini has the further aim of exercising a degree of censorship over statements made about him in other countries. That was demonstrated in the Butler episode. It happened that Mussolini's censoring aim was aided in this instance by the fact that General Smedley D. Butler of the United States marines is a military representative of the government and therefore, according to official and diplomatic custom, subject to courtmartial or reprimand if he makes public declarations offensive to a foreign government. It was true, however, that General Butler's remark that Mussolini was a hit-and-run driver was made at a secret gathering, with the understanding that no report of any speech made would be given out. Once published, his statement was indeed sensational in its effects.

As authority for his statement, General Butler named Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., who had told General Butler and a number of others (several of whom immediately corroborated Butler's words) that while riding in an automobile with Mussolini the car, driven by the Italian dictator, had struck

a little girl; Vanderbilt had looked back and made some horrified exclamation; Mussolini had said, as Butler repeated it, "What is one life in the affairs of the state?" Later Vanderbilt, admitting the incident, quoted Mussolini somewhat differently as having said: "Always look ahead in life, Vanderbilt, never look back."

When Mussolini demanded, through the Italian ambassador in Washington, an apology for this indictment of his character the United States government was quick to comply. The Secretary of State apologized and a courtmartial was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy for General Butler. Vanderbilt told Associated Press reporters that, if summoned before the courtmartial, he could tell a plenty; it seemed probable, indeed, that Vanderbilt would come forward with even more damaging reports about Mussolini, as he said that he could tell things much worse than what Butler had repeated. For some days the courtmartialing of General Butler was taken to be an assured event and there is no doubt that it was deliberately intended to be carried out by the Secretary of the Navy. Then a queer thing happened. The Italian ambassador again talked with the Secretary of

State and intimated that it was the wish of Mussolini that Butler's court martialing should not take place.

This looked as if Mussolini was afraid of any further discussion and investigation of this case, which probably would have brought to light unpleasant facts—and worse than unpleasant facts—about the scoundrel and swindler who rules Italy so viciously. We have no doubt that the car incident, as told by Vanderbilt, was precisely true. It fits the character of Mussolini the murderer, the brute, the heartless tyrant as he has been exposed in repeated descriptions, authentic and damning, of the fascist regime in Italy. After his guilt in bringing about the brutal murder of Matteotti, no other crime could be considered as impossible for Mussolini. It is suspiciously significant, at any rate, that Mussolini had the courtmartialing of General Butler called off—it looks as if Mussolini was afraid of an investigation. And this hater, liar, cheater and oppressor of his fellow countrymen is now brazenly asking that the American people lend him three billion dollars. We warn the American people: *Have nothing to do with the bandit Mussolini.*

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## The American Freeman

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# Wall Street Is Scheming to Keep Herbert Hoover in the White House! Make Anti-Hooverism the Militant Issue!

Does this country want another four years of Hooverism? Let the millions of unemployed and the millions who are working only a few days a week answer this question. Let the impoverished farmers of the nation answer this question. Let the workers who have been forced to submit to wage cuts and who have found intensely more difficult the ordinary struggle to exist answer this question. Let the small business men, whose prosperity depends directly on the wages of the workers, who have faced ruin and many of whom have actually been ruined, answer this question. This question ought to be answered with a tremendously reverberating "NO!" by the common people of the United States.

There is another answer to this question of whether the country wants another four years of Hooverism. This is the answer of Wall Street, of the powerful capitalists of America, of the big profiteers and exploiters—who are perfectly satisfied with Herbert Hoover's administration because Hooverism is the most complete expression of their class interests. Wall Street has been pleased with the conduct of affairs by President Hoover. It has found in him another President who can be trusted to guard and to promote the interests of Wall Street and to resist with all his strength as the political leader of the Republican party any measure of genuinely popular government that would threaten the exploitive supremacy of Wall Street. The record of Hooverism is plain enough to the observers who rule Wall Street, as it should be plain enough to the common people: that record is sensationally one of extreme friendliness and protective partisanship toward the big business interests and narrow, bitter antagonism toward democracy.

Notoriously Herbert Hoover is opposed to democracy, because he believes in upholding and he has actually worked and schemed to uphold the unjust monopolistic power of a few capitalists at the expense of the interests of the people. He does not believe that the government should serve the people. He believes, on the contrary, that the government should let Wall Street exploit the people and that, moreover, the government should obligingly provide every facility for such exploitation. Hoover calls this "economic individualism." We call it keeping the country in slavery to Wall Street or, that is to say, the forces of private monopolistic capitalism which are symbolized by Wall Street.

## Protector of Capitalism

NOW THE WALL STREET INTERESTS ARE MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO BRING ABOUT THE RENOMINATION AND THE RE-ELECTION OF HERBERT HOOVER AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. The session of Congress which has just ended has emphasized the Wall Street sympathies of Hoover, has brought out more sharply than ever his favoritism toward big business interests and has intensified the desire of Wall Street to see Wall Street's man Hoover hold power in the White House for another four years. Wall Street has already begun its campaign to keep Hoover in the White House. That campaign is reflected in the daily papers which eulogize Hoover's statesmanship and in the propaganda of the Republican party, which argues that Hoover has quietly kept the country steady during the economic crisis that began, in its worst phase, in October of 1929.

Hoover's statesmanship and steadying tactics have been displayed, of course, in protecting the private profit system from any interference. His most stubborn and disgraceful policy has been a refusal to approve genuine measures of popular relief during this period of extreme suffering because such relief measures would conflict with his theory of "economic individualism" and, by necessitating further taxation of large incomes, mean "taking from the rich to help the poor." Hoover believes that the rich should be left completely in control of the country and that the poor should shift for themselves. There has never been a President who believed more firmly than does Hoover in government by and for Wall Street. Hoover is himself a multimillionaire and thus his attitude is distinctly that of economic hostility toward the interests of the workers and the common people.

The capitalistic sympathies, the Wall Street sympathies, of Hoover have been expressed openly in his various public speeches, in which he has praised the American system of "economic individualism," declaring in effect that the government should simply be the "umpire" of the so-called "race" in which the strongest overtake and oppress the weak. On more than one occasion Hoover has declared emphatically that he is opposed to government interference with economic conditions for the purpose of promoting the public welfare. But Hoover's capitalistic attitude and thus his anti-democratic attitude was shown more clearly by his political tactics during the recent session of Congress: notably in his persistent opposition to genuine, popular relief measures and in his veto of the bill for government operation of the Muscle Shoals power project.

Hoover's conduct has been bad enough, as bad (from the people's

## The Freeman Begins 1932 Campaign in Strong Fight!

viewpoint) as it could be, ever since he entered the White House. He has never been a democratic but rather from the very beginning a capitalistic President, interested in maintaining the system of power concentrated in a few hands which crushes the American people beneath the weight of economic misfortune and lack of steady, popular opportunity. Not one thing really designed to contribute to the welfare of the common people has been done by Hoover—and the common people can expect nothing from him but a continued betrayal of their interests. All liberal, progressive proposals of legislation have been fought by Hoover—and fought with an intense feeling of resentment which shows how inveterately Hoover is opposed to democracy.

The most important judgment of Hoover's record in the White House springs, however, from his handling of affairs since the Wall Street panic in October, 1929, which quickly was followed by the worst economic depression in American history. Throughout this depression Hoover has taken no action to bring relief in this desperate situation; and he has not even honestly recognized the desperateness of affairs; he has tried to conceal the truth—a foolish policy, inasmuch as the truth could not be concealed in a period of such widespread suffering and collapse—and furthermore he has resisted all intelligent efforts to help the people. It cannot easily be forgotten and it cannot be forgiven that Hoover's two distinctive contributions to the problem of relief during this depression were a farm board that has simply been another of the Hoover commissions, accomplishing no benefit for the farmers, and a tariff that was shamelessly a grabbing of special favors by the big corporations which see in the tariff a machinery of monopolistic profits.

For the major disaster of American industry and social life Hoover had no remedy—because he would not even consider for a moment the only sane, effective remedy of bringing all the resources of government to the task of carrying on the full economic activities which private capitalism has suspended and disrupted. In simple words, Hoover's belief is that the government should do nothing; and so the government has done nothing; or it has done only the little that it had to do in view of the terrible conditions and the public opinion aroused by these conditions. Thus it was necessary for the late Congress to appropriate a few millions that might be borrowed by farmers in the drouth-stricken regions who could furnish good security; this money was to be used, however, only for seed and for the feeding of stock; food for the farmers themselves was not to be purchased with these government loans, as that would be a "dole" according to the Hoover interpretation. Also it was falsely pretended that the drouth, and not the fundamental faults of the economic system, was responsible for the farmers' distress.

An effort to appropriate the inadequate sum of \$10,000,000 to the Red Cross, to be used for the relief of suffering among all classes of the people, was dogmatically opposed by Hoover and his political majority in the lower house of Congress. Finally, in the closing days of the Congress, a bill was rushed through which granted over a billion dollars to the World War veterans in the shape of extended insurance loans. Hoover vetoed this measure, but his motive in doing so was simply his narrow, individualistic, capitalistic opposition to all relief measures on the part of the government.

During this recent session of Congress the American people witnessed and millions of them acutely felt in their own persons the greatest suffering. Breadlines were a familiar sight in the cities. The extreme distress was a challenge to the Hoover administration—and how did Hoover meet that challenge? The moment had at last been reached when he could not absolutely ignore these conditions nor could he deny or minimize them as he had persistently done for more than a year. But when he did admit—when he was forced to admit—that there was a big problem of relief for suffering millions that must be solved, what was Hoover's attitude? His attitude immediately was and insistently has been that the government could not solve the problem; that it was not the duty of the government to protect its citi-

zens from the most crushing effects of poverty resulting from no fault of the people but from the failure or the refusal of government to insure a settled and prosperous economic order. Private charity, said Hoover, must relieve the starving millions in this country. It was against the Hoover principles for government relief to be managed, even to be considered, on a large and socially sensitive, efficient scale.

It must also be said that Hoover insulted the people by his silly arguments. He declared, for example, that government relief would be wrong and improper because it was necessary for the people to preserve their "sensitivity to suffering." Yet obviously the greatest sensitivity to suffering would be shown by the greatest and most effective program for the relief of suffering; and it is equally obvious that the government is the agency which could, granted that it were conducted by real statesmen in the interests of the common welfare, fully relieve the suffering of the country in this period of depression and, more than that, could work out the fundamentals of a steady and just and prosperous economic order. For the government to engage itself in such a program would of course mean that the government was devoted to the welfare of the people and recognized this common welfare as being superior to all motives of private profit and capitalistic control. For the government really and largely to be of help to the people, in a time like the present or at any time, the theory of "economic individualism" would have to be repudiated as the undemocratic and (for the masses) unworkable theory that it is under modern conditions.

Imagine Herbert Hoover repudiating the system under which (as a Great Promoter rather than a Great Engineer) he was able to grab ten million dollars! Imagine Hoover even suggesting that there is anything wrong with such a system! Imagine him suggesting even slight criticisms or slight remedies of such a system, though relief for the misery of millions depends upon such a suggestion and upon even more far-reaching and decisive action! Hoover is unimaginable in the role of a democratic president, in the real sense of the word "democratic": that is to say, Hoover is not and could not (with his viewpoint and his sympathies) conceivably be the President of all the people. He is Wall Street's President. And that is why Wall Street is exceedingly anxious and cynically determined that Herbert Hoover shall be President of the country and the betrayer of the people for another four years.

## Hooverism Means Ruin

Wall Street has no illusions. It is hard-headed and realistic. Its phrases of bunk and sentimentality are reserved for the consumption of the gullible ones among the ranks of the plain people. For itself Wall Street prefers keeping a realistic eye upon the main chance of profit through the system of exploitation. Knowing that Hoover is friendly to this system of exploitation—that Hoover would let the country go to ruin rather than change one essential item of procedure in this system of exploitation—Wall Street wants more than anything else to obtain the renomination and reelection of Hoover. Wall Street wants Hoover to stay in the White House because Hoover is unyieldingly an exponent of the complete and uncompromising theory of "economic individualism." Hoover will see to it that the Power Trust and the other big corporations that have such a stranglehold upon America's economic life will be protected and encouraged by the government in their robbery of the people.

We say that this issue of Hooverism is the greatest issue before the American people. It is an immediate issue, because the country is now in the midst of terrible suffering and a continuation of Hooverism means a continuation of this suffering; for remember that the policy of Hooverism means simply that nothing is to be done by the government for the relief of the people. This issue of Hooverism is an ultimate issue, an issue of long range affecting all the future, because upon the decision of this issue rests the question whether there will be a reorganization of our economic system which will prevent similar calamities in the future. In deciding the issue of Hooverism, the American people are to decide whether they shall have the right to labor in security and to enjoy the fruits of their labor. They are to decide whether unemployment, low wages and high profits—whether monopoly privileges for a few and uncertain and miserable living conditions for the many—is or is not a good and right system for the United States.

Should there be any hesitation in making the decision? Do the people of America want to decide foolishly, suicidally against their own interests by granting even the slightest appearance of endorsement to the economic shambles of Hooverism? Will the American people be persuaded to reelect Wall Street's President and then delude themselves with the notion that he

is the President of the people? This delusion is, of course, exactly what Wall Street wants to put over on the majority of voters.

Notorious as are the facts of Hoover's failure—indeed, his refusal—to aid the suffering American millions in this crisis; notorious as is the fact that the Hoover administration has been utterly capitalistic and narrowly out of sympathy with any measure that would be for the common welfare and any measure reflecting the least social vision; notorious as is the fact that Hooverism means unemployment and general misery for the sake of maintaining a system of special privilege; in spite of these facts, a vast scheme of propaganda is being prepared and indeed is already being put into action for the purpose of fooling the American people about the Hoover administration and about Hooverism.

### Lies Must Be Exposed

All the old lies and some new ones will be advertised with all the phraseology of sophistry. The people will be told that hard times are inevitable and that Hoover isn't to blame—although Hoover said repeatedly in 1928 that Hooverism and prosperity were synonymous. It will be said that this is a world depression—but that doesn't alter the real guilt of Hooverism, which consists in upholding a false economic system; for if American industry were sanely organized, we would have no depression in this country; talk of a world depression simply means that in other countries as well as in America the economic life is badly managed. The Wall Street propagandists will say that Hoover has been cool-headed and patient and has not done anything reckless; but the people should remember that Hoover has not done anything—that he has merely let the country suffer—that, in fact, Hoover has been far more interested in protecting the Power Trust by vetoing the Muscle Shoals bill than in protecting the plain people from this depression.

And no doubt—old and stale and foolish as it is—the Wall Street propagandists will tell about the wonders of the American ideal of "economic individualism" and the dread disaster that will follow if this ideal is changed. A really social-minded government, devoted to the public welfare, organizing the economic life of the nation along sound collective lines, will destroy private incentive and all ambition (and also "sensitivity to suffering")—so these Wall Street propagandists will tell the masses. Let the people reflect, however, that the most superior intelligence and the most effective, admirable ambition would be displayed in a policy of socializing American industries

for the common welfare. The arguments of the Wall Street propagandists, offered as patriotic Republican arguments, will be hypocritically designed to fool the people in the interests of Wall Street; of that purpose you may be sure—and the effect?

The effect of this Wall Street propaganda will depend upon the spirit and forcefulness and persistency which we—and that means you members of The Freeman Army—put into a campaign against Hooverism. Wall Street is already beginning the campaign of 1932. We also should begin the campaign of 1932 at once and not let up on the issue of Hooverism. We must not let the people forget the facts about Hooverism and the intelligent explanation of these facts. We must combat the sophistry and the falsehood which will be circulated by the Wall Street propagandists. We must continually expose, week after week, the true character of Hooverism. We must constantly remind the people, enlighten the people, warn the people. Just now it is true that the people are resentful toward Hoover; they know that conditions are terrible and it is not easy for anyone to persuade them that these conditions are good or that there are good reasons for their being bad. But this popular resentment toward Hoover is not enough.

### A Crusade of Principles

In the first place, mere feelings are not dependable and are apt to be swayed one way or another unreasonably by skilled propagandists. The people have been fooled too often by glib explanations and optimistic promises. Incredible as it seems, many Americans may be deceived by a propagandist picture of Hoover as a man who has done his best for an ungrateful country. That is a miserable and silly lie—yet with Wall Street controlling the most highly organized machinery of propaganda, that lie can be imposed upon many Americans but not upon those Americans who are persuaded to read The American Freeman. We intend to keep up a steady, relentless fight against Hooverism and to expose all the sophistries and lies that may be circulated by the Wall Street propagandists. We want to make The Freeman the most effective anti-Hoover paper in the United States—and that means an effective crusade not only against Hoover but against the economic philosophy and policies of Hooverism.

This is another reason why the popular resentment against Hoover is not sufficient, lacking as it does a sound and complete understanding of the basic faults of the system of Hooverism. The Freeman is profoundly interested in conducting a campaign of enlightenment as to economic ideas; a campaign of thorough criticism aimed at the principles and policies of

Hooverism; a campaign that not only indicts Hoover the man but Hooverism the system. We should not look merely at the effects of Hooverism and express blindly our resentment at these effects. It is far more important that we should consider the causes of Hooverism and prevent a repetition of this huge economic disaster. For Hoover's failure as President—his failure to serve the people although he has succeeded notoriously in serving Wall Street—can only be explained by his philosophy of "economic individualism"; and that, again, is explained largely by his career as a Great Promoter who trickily raked together a fortune of ten million dollars.

### Fight Causes, Not Effects

The trouble with Hoover is that his principles are completely capitalistic and that he is opposed in theory as in practice to the management of government on principles of public welfare. He believes in the conditions which brought inevitably this depression; and he is opposed to any measures of governmental interference with these conditions. Against the principles of Hooverism we must make our fight. Our indictments should be delivered as features of an immense educational campaign. We want to strike at causes, not simply at effects. Even if present suffering should be relieved (as it never will be relieved while Hoover is in the White House) that would not be enough. Far more important is the problem of preventing a recurrence of these distressing conditions. It is in the main a simple problem; indeed the hardest part of the problem is the task of making the people realize that there can be no real prosperity and no economic security so long as industry is hampered and disorganized by the profit motive and so long as it periodically functions and periodically collapses with reference to the profit motive and without regard for the welfare of the people.

We have a great system of production in America; what we need is, obviously, an intelligent and fair system of distribution. We have the machinery; we have the natural resources; we have the labor power. On sane economic principles our people should be able to produce all that they need—comforts and luxuries—and to consume equitably what they produce. Wall Street propagandists denounce that idea as terrible radicalism; but the average American ought to recognize it as common sense. On the one hand we have the suggestion of common sense—is that so radical? On the other hand we have the insanity of Hooverism—do the American people want to endorse and continue this insanity? Do they want another four years of Hooverism?

### RELIEF AND AUTOS

Congress rushed through the soldiers' increased loan insurance bill under the flimsy pretense (in which nobody believed) that it was bona fide relief legislation. It was only partly and not intentionally that it was relief legislation, in a minor sense, insofar as it was needed by ex-soldiers who are among the unemployed; and they should have been relieved, not as ex-soldiers, but as workers who have been unjustly brought to suffering by this crazy economic system. All the unemployed workers should be relieved, and relieved steadily and completely, by the government and not by the haphazard, grossly inadequate dispensations of private charity.

But the point we now make or repeat is that the billion and more dollars that will be expended in so-called relief for the World War veterans is not, for the majority of those veterans, a relief of economic distress. Most of them are employed. Many of them be-

long in the well-to-do professional and middle classes. Evidence of the nature of this relief given to the veterans is shown in the report that, one week after the passing of the bill, a considerable amount of the \$800,000 paid out in that week had been spent immediately for automobiles. It is calculated that between twenty and twenty-five percent of this relief money will be paid for automobiles.

To be sure, these men and their families have a right to own automobiles. The workers, whether ex-soldiers or not, should indeed have the best that modern industry can produce—inasmuch as they produce these things. We are also reminded of the fact that, in comparison with the scandalous sums made by profiteers during the war, anything that has been or may be paid to the ex-soldiers will be relatively trifling. What we say is that a far greater amount should have been appropriated, not for the ex-soldiers particularly, but for the genuine and complete relief of all workers

suffering from the harsh exigencies of Hooverism.

The politicians in Washington fought and haggled and intrigued over the question of granting comparatively small sums in relief of the farmers (leaving the city workers to depend on the chances of private charity). They refused to vote an appropriation for the Red Cross, which would have been used in general relief. These relief measures were kept down to niggardly amounts and encumbered with niggardly provisions, and some of them were prevented altogether, by the attitude of the House, over which, with few exceptions, Hoover was able to maintain political control. The House did join with the Senate in passing the veterans' bill over the veto of Hoover; and Hoover vetoed the bill, not for reasons that were excellent and above reproach, but because he is opposed to the government doing anything for anybody except the capitalists—with particular, friendly regard for the power trust. Yet after such a disgraceful refusal to put through adequate, generous relief measures for all of the distressed population, Congress voted over a billion dollars for the alleged relief of a special class, the majority of which did not and does not need relief.

The logic of popular government ought to be a good deal more unpopular than it is.

### A CORRECTION

Our statistical department nodded a bit last week—and so here was are, in duty to our readers, with a correction. The mistake was in the statement about the reduction of Italy's war debt to the United States government. We were essentially correct in declaring that this debt was reduced by slightly more than eighty percent. The reduction, however, was mostly on interest rather than on principal. The original Italian debt was \$2,150,150,000, at the usual rate of five percent interest. This principal was reduced to \$2,042,000,000 and the interest was reduced to an average of four-tenths of one percent over the period of sixty-two years in which Italy may pay the debt. Comparing interest rates, it is found that at the original and fair rate of interest—five percent—the sum of \$426,287,000 would in sixty-two years amount to the same as the sum of \$2,042,000,000 at the average interest rate of four-tenths of one percent. Our statement that eighty percent of Italy's war debt was cancelled was certainly true; but these are the correct figures and the correct explanation of how the debt was reduced.

OF SOME martyrs it may be said that they are fanatics who were unlucky. They were made martyrs before they could make martyrs of others.

FACTS are most useful when they are developed in broad, constructive ideas. Ideas are most useful when they are based soundly upon facts.

### Censors' Folly

[The following is an article which was written for the Ottawa, Canada, Evening Citizen by a government official who is a reader and a friend of The Debunker—and, therefore, a friend of free thought and speech. He is quietly doing all he can to win back the right of The Debunker to be circulated in Canada; he is not in a position to be known openly in the matter, so his name is not divulged. We are not yet aware whether the article has been printed by the Ottawa Evening Citizen, but we know that your loyal friends of the Haldeman-Julius Publications will wish to read it.]

By its action in banning from Canada The Debunker, the government has raised in acute form the whole question of censorship. Hitherto, its activities in this line have been mainly confined to matter of an alleged pornographic tendency, and, while the action taken from time to time has been capricious and, occasionally, rather absurd, it has on the whole done no particular harm—or good! But the government has now formally declared war on ideas, and has thus definitely aligned itself with the forces of obscurantism and reaction.

Censorship at its best is apt always to be a little ridiculous—at its worst (as in the present case) it is indeed a spectacle to make angels weep.

The Debunker is a magazine of radical and iconoclastic tendencies, with a very strong bias against Roman Catholicism, Fundamentalism, dogmatic theology and organized religion in general. Its leanings are essentially liberal and humanist and are such as meet with the support and approval of many tens of thousands of thinking people the world over, even though its manner of presentation may at times offend a fastidious taste. Its views may possibly be most obnoxious to a large percentage of the population of the Dominion. But, if our vaunted freedom really exists, that freedom must inevitably include the right to attack existing institutions, when it seems good to do so. The entire history of humanity shows quite clearly two things: first, that orthodoxy, whether in the field of religion, politics, or the arts, tends to stagnate and, finally, to retrogress and, second, that progress has practically without exception been due to those whom their contemporaries have stigmatized as "heretics," "freethinkers," "infidels," "radicals," "rationalists," etc. Moreover, and especially in the field of religious controversy, the heterodoxy of yesterday is the orthodoxy of today, while only too frequently tomorrow finds both orthodoxy and heterodoxy jostling each other in oblivion. Progress is the price of life—the institution that fails to advance with advancing knowledge is doomed as a factor in human affairs. It is a commonplace of politics that a strong and active opposition makes for good government. The same surely applies with equal or

greater force in the world of ideas. To know what your opponent is thinking and doing—to realize in good time on what lines the attack is to be delivered—these are cardinal principles of strategy. The trail of history is littered with the debris of causes lost through failure to appreciate this fact. Annihilation is always close on the heels of ignorance. Truth need never fear attacks—however well armed, or from whatever quarter they may come—knowing that her ultimate victory is assured, and that her essential beauty will but shine the brighter as the dust of combat drifts away. In cases such as the present she can but pray, "Save me from my friends!"

It is also well to appreciate that such efforts as this to suppress free discussion and ideas obnoxious to the established order is but the beginning of a state of affairs of which the logical consummation is seen in Italy under the regime of Mussolini. Three of the greatest minds of the ages—the founder of Christianity as it exists today, a great philosopher, and our greatest modern playwright—have given utterance to three aphorisms that may well stand as beacons lighting the way to freedom of thought. In his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, Paul says, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

Voltaire once remarked to an opponent, "I disagree profoundly with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it!"

Finally, Shaw: "Tolerance and liberty have neither sense nor use, save as tolerance of opinions generally considered damnable, and liberty to do what seems wrong."

In banning The Debunker Canada is stultifying herself. This is a plea that the record may be cleared as promptly as is possible.

So much for the past. How of the future? The present mode of compiling Canada's "Index Expurgatorius" needs drastic revision. The list of works denied entry into the Dominion reads like the ravings of a maniac. Many of the books cited are prized possessions of public libraries throughout the length and breadth of Canada—the Carnegie and Parliamentary libraries in Ottawa included. Classics without which no library of any pretensions is complete rub shoulders with works whose sole end is pornography, and serious standard scientific works on the pathologic and psychologic aspects of sex stand cheek by jowl with "spicy" periodicals from the back alleys of Chicago. That list as it stands is as damning an indictment of the present system of censoring our literature as could well be devised—for which reason probably it is kept as an official secret. This is not surprising, however, when the manner of its composition is considered. This whole business is surrounded by a pall of mystery which is difficult to penetrate, and which brings irresistibly to mind the Lions' Mouths, Star Chambers and Inquisitions of other days, but so far as the scant off-

cial information goes it appears that works are barred on the say-so of a single individual following the laying of a complaint which is held a secret. There does not even appear to be any adequate procedure for publishing the decrees of banishment—with the result that members of the public may, quite innocently, transgress the law. The following procedure is suggested as best suited to the exigencies of the case, until such time as the essential futility of censorship is formally recognized:

1. The government should appoint an independent and representative body to act as censors for the Dominion.

2. All complaints should be forwarded direct to this body, and should then be published in full, together with the names of complainants, in the Canada Gazette.

3. No action should be taken on any complaints received for a set period during which contrary representations might be made.

Such a procedure, while by no means perfect, would go far toward doing away with the abuses and inconsistencies of the present undemocratic hole-and-corner, haphazard system.

### BIGOT AND BIGAMIST

Bigotry leads to bigamy, when Catholic church law conflicts with the civil law. That Catholic church law, framed in bigotry, holds as invalid and illegitimate a marriage performed by a Protestant minister is verified by a news story in The Detroit (Mich.) Daily. The dispatch is from Montreal, Canada, and relates that a Catholic named Alphonse Simard, married by a Presbyterian clergyman in 1924, later applied to Catholic ecclesiastical authorities, who granted him an annulment of his marriage on the ground that the ceremony had not been performed by a Catholic priest and was therefore not binding. Marrying a second time, Simard was accused by his first wife and a civil court ruled that his first marriage was perfectly legal and that he was therefore a bigamist. This is an interesting instance, proving that Catholic church law is regarded by Catholic bigots as superior to civil law and denying the validity of human rights, rules and regulations exercised by non-Catholics.

TO BE AFRAID of discussion is to admit that one's opinions are very poor and undependable in character.

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# Kansas Governor Says "No" to Capital Punishment

Unexpectedly vetoing the capital punishment bill, Governor Woodring has saved the state of Kansas from going back to useless savagery. He accepted his responsibility fully, as that responsibility was outlined in the second letter to the governor by E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of *The Freeman*, and his action was admirable and intelligent. Governor Woodring's veto came as a glad surprise and a profound relief. Until the last moment it had been understood that he would sign the bill, he having previously stated that if it were passed by a "decisive majority" in both houses of the legislature he would construe it as the decision of the people. But Governor Woodring was honest enough and intelligent enough to reconsider his position.

The history of this capital punishment bill in Kansas is unusual and, one might almost say, inexplicable. Its introduction in the legislature was a complete surprise. Immediately upon receiving word of the bill's introduction, E. Haldeman-Julius dispatched a strong letter to Governor Woodring, in which he pointed out that this bill could not represent the public sentiment of Kansas—could not fairly be said to represent that sentiment—because capital punishment had not been so much as mentioned in the campaign. No representative had been elected on that issue. It had not been an issue. The legislators were acting suddenly, unexpectedly, without good reason or full consideration and certainly without instructions or appeals from the people.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius' letter made it plain that this savage bill was

curiously a legislative brainstorm and not a popular measure. In his letter Mr. Haldeman-Julius also cited statistics to show the lower murder rate in Kansas, without capital punishment, than in Missouri and Oklahoma, both neighboring states that have capital punishment. He reminded the governor that Kansas had successfully proceeded without capital punishment for more than sixty years and that no new situation, even superficially seeming to call for capital punishment, had arisen. And while declaring that capital punishment is inhumane and savage and revolting to the modern conscience, Mr. Haldeman-Julius emphasized more particularly the fact that capital punishment is not a deterrent of murder; that, in short, it is useless savagery.

Governor Woodring replied to this first letter courteously but unfavorably. Although personally his feeling was against capital punishment, he said that if a "decisive majority" in the legislature passed the bill he would feel obliged to sign it as an expression of the voters' will. Mr. Haldeman-Julius again insisted, in a second letter to the governor, that capital punishment had not been an issue in the campaign, had not even been mentioned in the campaign, and was not therefore an expression of the voters' will but was plainly an unjustified, sudden and thoughtlessly impulsive notion of the legislators. He further stressed the point that Governor Woodring could not afford, in the light of his own duty and conscience, to accept without question a bill passed by a majority of the legislature. The governor's veto power, said Mr. Haldeman-Julius, is quite as important and

clearly recognized a feature of our representative government as the voting power of the legislature. The governor could not shirk this responsibility because, whatever he might say or believe, the responsibility would rest upon him.

In Governor Woodring's statement explaining his veto, he said that the moment he realized that the responsibility of the capital punishment bill would be finally his alone, he began a fresh and conscientious study of the question. He came to the conclusion that such a law would not be effective in deterring from murder but that it would have harmful consequences. He decided that Kansas should continue its long and successful policy of refusing to kill. It was his conviction also, he declared, that the people of Kansas were not in favor of capital punishment. In that opinion we believe the governor was quite right.

One of the interesting aspects of the capital punishment discussion in Kansas (which was emphasized in an article by the Topeka correspondent of the *Kansas City, Mo., Journal-Post*) was that many preachers in the state were speaking out for this savage bill, demanding that the state become a killer, while the atheist editor and publisher, E. Haldeman-Julius, led—and, we are happy to say, led effectively—in the fight against the bill.

But to Governor Woodring we rightly give credit. He had the conscience to see his duty and the courage to do his duty.

## In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Examinations  
Isaac Goldberg

### A REVALUATION OF AMERICAN LITERARY VALUES

As you see Charlie Angoff in the office of *The American Mercury*, or during one of his infrequent visits to your home during a flying trip to Boston, he appears as a stocky, red-and-curly-headed, fair complexioned fellow, with a pair of smiling eyes that can give also the impression of shyness. Certainly Angoff is not a mixer in the hail-fellow-well-met tradition. If I am right about his shyness, it extends only to his manner; intellectually, as will presently appear, he threatens to become a bold bad man, of whom timorous pedagogues will be dreaming through literary nightmares. Angoff is something of a recluse. He is a bachelor. He smokes heavily and drinks in moderation. He has that aversion for "literary" people which many simple and honest literary critics share with him.

Born in Russia, Angoff came to this country at the age of nine and received his education in Boston and Cambridge—which is to say, in the elementary schools of the Hub and at Harvard College. After having been graduated he embarked upon the career of journalism on papers in and about Boston, becoming interested, as so many of his contemporaries, in the seminal writings of H. L.

Mencken. Mencken, it will be remembered, began his own career as a newspaper man and is still one of the leading journalists of the country. Again like many of the young men and women of his day, Angoff occasionally sent a manuscript in Mencken's direction. There must have been something in his literary and mental approach that attracted the renowned Baltimorean to Angoff's personality, for early in the history of *The American Mercury* we find Angoff on the staff; he joined it, to be precise, on January 26, 1925. Today he appears on the familiar blue-green stationery as managing editor.

In the quiet of his bachelor quarters, and doubtless amid the heavy routine of the office, he must have begun at once to plan his huge opus, the first two volumes of which have just appeared under the title, "A Literary History of the American People." He was at work upon this monumental feat, first suggested to him by Mencken, for five years. As an interlude between the publication of the first two tomes and that of the second pair he conceived the happy notion of what he intends to call an "Arsenal for Skeptics." It is to be made up of abstracts from the leading agnostics of history, together with synthetic representations of the Higher Criticism, the Inquisition, the Sunday Blue Laws of Puritanical New England, Religious Apologetics and the general antagonism of organized religion to free inquiry. Already, merely to read of the project is to feel indebtedness to the author.

It may come somewhat as a surprise that Mr. Angoff bases his work upon almost purely es-

thetic principles. For a time, among certain sociologists who had blundered into the wrong camp, it had been supposed that literature was to be treated with chief consideration for the cultural background out of which it emerged. Angoff rightly maintains that such a view is to confuse social history with literary history. He maintains, furthermore, and with perfect justice, that there are no absolute standards of criticism and that "all a critic can do is to state his likes and dislikes and his reasons for them, and try to persuade his audience to his own enthusiasm or contempt. At all times he must try to be fair with the author. He must judge him, in the words of Dr. J. E. Spingarn, solely on what he has tried to express, and how he has expressed it. . . . His intention must be judged at the moment of the creative act."

To this canon I would add a solitary qualification: each work of art, in whatever medium, suggests the ideal by which it should be evaluated. It is for the critic to discover and illuminate this ideal and set it against the author's intention and execution.

Volume I, after a general introduction, reviews the literature of the South, of New England, and of the Middle and Southern Colonies. Volume II carries the account up to the post-revolutionary period. Angoff's method is to provide sufficient historical information to make his writers and their writings understandable. He is lavish with quotations. He is replete with references to standard authorities, and so liberal with footnotes that no bibliography is necessary. Need I add that there is an excellent index? One of the many minor services that *The American Mercury* has done for beautiful letters in this republic is to make readers—and what is more important, publishers—index conscious.

There is no disguising the aridity of the pre-revolutionary period in American literature. Even those minds which might under happier circumstances have produced something with an approach to beauty were bogged in theology. Theology, in fact, is the great influence in our pre-revolutionary literature as politics is in the era from 1750 to 1815. The early founders of the nation were low socially and intellectually. "Whatever real culture and learning there was at the time was in New England, and it remained there till the Revolution. Throughout the greater part of this period, the Colonies were separate and distinct communities. There was extremely little intercourse of any kind among them. There is no record that Edwards was known even as a name in Virginia, and neither is there any record that the Puritans were familiar with the work and writings of Robert Beverly. It was only toward the middle of the eighteenth century that some sort of communion began between the Colonies. This was largely due to the rise of colleges, whether rich parents sent their sons, and to the rise of newspapers and learned societies. As for intercourse with the mother country, it went on throughout the one hundred and fifty years, but it was only the Northern Colonies who indulged in it to any great extent."

It would have been easy, altogether too easy, to have made of this desert of pamphlets, verses, speeches, and dissertations a desert of reading. So many literary historians make, even out of interesting material, a dull book.

## Hoover Obstructs Again

One more item—a very large and black item—has been added to President Hoover's record of opposing constructive government efforts to solve the unemployment problem. Although several federal investigating commissions, two of which included Herbert Hoover among their personnel and one being presided over by Hoover as chairman, have recommended as highly necessary the establishment of a nation-wide system of employment exchanges under federal and state auspices; although it is obvious common sense that such a system of exchanges is one of the primary factors in any conceivable program of remedying unemployment; and although Hoover has pretended to be concerned somewhat over the unemployment problem—yet Hoover vetoed the bill introduced by Senator Wagner of New York and passed finally by Congress for the establishment of such a system of employment exchanges. Once again it is proved that President Hoover is not concerned about unemployment (save as it may affect his candidacy in 1932) and that he is utterly futile and insincere as President of the United States. It would have been bad enough if he had been merely inactive during this crisis. Instead he has used all his power to block important, intelligent measures for relief and better public welfare organization.

Angoff has done precisely the contrary. Out of material inherently dull he has made a most attractive and interesting work. If, with the matter in hand, he was able to do this, it is only reasonable to foresee that the two remaining volumes will be thoroughly alive from frontispiece to colophon.

"A Literary History of the American People" should at once replace much of the junk with which our unfortunate school children are being burdened in grammar and high school. This should be all the more easy since the volumes, in the copiousness of their illustrations, serve also the purpose of an anthology. Angoff, certainly, is no patriot; neither, on the other hand, is he a merely wilful antinomian. If he discovers a heap of trash in our early letters he also has a keen eye for vitality and artistry. And above all, he leans in style toward a large simplicity.

His work, in a word, should render obsolete most of the perfunctory histories that clutter our curricula. We should congratulate ourselves upon its appearance.

### TWO SPIRITUAL LADIES

*The Terrible Siren.* Victoria Woodhull. (1838-1927.) By Emmanie Sachs. Harper & Brothers. New York. \$4.

*The Passionate Pilgrim.* A Life of Annie Besant. By Gertrude Marvin Williams. Coward McCann. New York. \$3.50.

The nineteenth century produced a host of remarkable women—as remarkable in some cases for rascality and mountebankery as in others for humaneness and nobility. Sometimes, as happens so often in the complicated texture that is a human life, the base and the lofty were mingled in an intricate web. Rarely is the tale one so unrelieved by a redeeming quality as is that of the late Mary Baker Eddy.

Take, for pertinent example, the long and not altogether fruitless life of Annie Besant (whose name, by the way, on her own authority, rhymes with pleasant). Besant has survived herself; today she is the high priestess, not to say the goddess, of Theosophy. There have been many men in her life, and each has contributed a great share to her personality and to her progress. It is striking

indeed, how much the various men in the various careers of these ladies have meant in terms of aid and comfort.

Besant began as a free-thinker and as a social propagandist. She did much good in her pre-theosophical days when the great male of her association was the indomitable Secularist, Bradlaugh. She organized strikes; she fought for birth control and won important decisions in the British courts; even when she became entangled in the doctrines of Madame Blavatsky, she was impelled to become a leader also in the cause of a Free India.

Yet she was to the last a headstrong beauty, jealous of her power and ruling her subjects with all the arrogance of a queen who can do no wrong. Her defense of the pederast Leadbeater, who discovered Krishnamurti on one of his excursions into youth-loving, was indefensible.

There are fascinating details, in this fully documented account, of Eleanor Marx (daughter of Karl) and the brilliant if wandering Aveling who finally committed suicide after he had driven her to the same end; in fact, the multiplicity of characters—some of them famous—that wander through this biography make it far more interesting than any but the best of novels.

A strange life, this, but certainly not devoid of charlatanism.

The same may be said of the adventures of those two beautiful sisters, Victoria and Tennessee Clavin. Tennessee was the more ardent of the two, and as a child was foisted upon the public in the character of a clairvoyant. Victoria, hardly yielding to her sister in the matter of passion, was even more intent upon self-exploitation. She was one of the nation's most outspoken free-lovers; she was one of our earliest suffragists; she was an intermittent candidate for the presidency of the United States; she was implicated time and again in blackmail cases; she ran a broker's office together with her sister, on support that came from Commodore Vanderbilt; the sisters edited a weekly that kept them and the rest of the country frequently in hot water.

Then came a day when this past had to be put behind. Whereupon Victoria simply denied that it had ever existed. She managed to make her life a strange mixture of cogent reasons and the most stupid absurdities. She, too, went in heavily for spiritualism and all the organized deception for which it stood. When, only a few years ago, she died, it was in a perfect stew of respectability. She had

always lusted, since the poverty of her childhood and the mediocrity of her family had instilled her with lofty notions of compensation, for a place in the sun. Certainly she achieved it, but at what a cost to that very inner dignity without which position is as naught.

One may recommend these two biographies wholeheartedly. I have but touched on the numerous points of interest.

### A ROYAL DOCUMENT

*Education of a Princess.* A Memoir, by Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia. The Viking Press. New York. \$3.50.

It was life, not her rearing, that educated this princess. What is called her education was in truth a miseducation, a perversion of values, a determined effort to mask from her, and from her class, the realities that beat beneath the aristocracy of the Czar. Had the Revolution never come, she would have lived on into maturity without any conception of living other than that provided by her instructors.

Then came the war, to mock at

the principles in which she had been reared. The mask had to fall, and learning came to her through rivers of blood, over mountains of misery. That she withstood the shock is evident from these pages, which read like a novel. Her early marriage had proved an unhappy one; with war came the opportunity for service, and she acted as head nurse of a large hospital. Today she is associated with a Fifth Avenue dressmaking concern, and her adversity does not seem to have embittered her, but rather to have taught her sympathy for and devotion to others.

It is an astonishing record for the citizens of a great democracy to read.

THOUGHT that is not free—thought that is bound by traditions and that does not keep itself candidly alive to the search for realities—is not genuinely thoughtful.

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# Five Free Prizes in April Sub Contest!

## WORLD OF SINNERS

Of course this world is full of sinners. This is obviously true when the question is decided in the light of any pious, religious definition. Half of the people do not attend any church. They are sinners according to the most conventional Christian viewpoint. Every religious sect brands as in some degree sinners all who do not accept the particular doctrines of that sect. All non-Christians are sinners in the eyes of the orthodox Christian.

And, finally, to astonish and amuse ourselves with the most blasting and all-inclusive definition, here is a short and sharp summing-up taken from a religious leaflet: "The one question for the Christian to decide is whether the dance is of this world or not. If worldly, his attitude is clear and unquestionable." The leaflet goes on to tell how terrible dancing is—and at bottom, it is repeated, the great sinfulness of the dance lies in its being worldly.

So we can readily see how sunk in sin most human beings are. Dating is of the world. All labor and business and desire are of this world. Sex and children and family life are of this world. Commerce and government are of this world and all politicians, business men, policemen, judges, engineers, telephone operators, hamburger kings, carpenters, radio artists, newspaper men, stenographers, toothpick salesmen, shoe repairers and shoe shiners, and, in short, the butcher and the baker and the electric light man are all engaged in worldly activities and therefore activities that are most sinful.

The dance is of this world? Well, so is walking. So also is riding in an automobile. So is sleeping and rising from bed and bathing and breathing and—But why enumerate further? This Christian commentary on the dance marks us all as sinners. The only way to stop being a sinner is to die. And don't we all prefer to be sinners?

TWO CALIFORNIA teachers were discharged for beating a school girl who "used too much paint and powder." It is another reminder that cruelty is the chief virtue of the really rampageous virtue-mongers.

You can win a complete FREE set of the Little Blue Books—1,623 titles—if you send between now and midnight of April 30 the largest number of 10 weeks for 10 cents subscriptions to The American Freeman! The purpose of this contest-campaign is to build up quickly a special, large circulation for our important attacks upon Hooverism. We are starting the campaign of 1932 right now—and we want our vigorous articles, editorials and news about Hooverism to be read widely and ever more widely. For this reason—as a method of most effective crusading against Hooverism—we are inaugurating an April drive for 10 weeks, 10 cents subscriptions. To stimulate this drive, we are offering to all readers of The Freeman an opportunity to win one of five attractive and generous book prizes. Let us tell you first about these prizes:

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**SECOND PRIZE:** We want to give our readers a real, fair, spirited contest, so here

## A Girard Preacher's Idea of Christian Fairness

Girard, like every other community, has its vociferous Elmer Gantry, the type of pulpit hypocrite who makes the church a stench in the nostrils of all persons who have some regard for upright-ness, honor and justice.

I am told that recently this Elmer Gantry delivered a sermon on "The Four Biggest Fools in Girard." The fact that one of the "fools" was the individual—undoubtedly myself—who is "egotistical enough to think he can live without God" we shall go by without comment, because it is an old and worn-out device of Elmer Gantrys to call a man a fool if he refuses to be fooled by the bunk they dispense so vulgarly.

The second fool we shall only refer to casually. He is the fellow who believes in the church but who is a hypocrite—because he doesn't give enough money to the church-racketeer! That, of course, is a humorous side-light on human nature, and we shall let it pass. One shouldn't argue against such a notion—a smile is enough.

The third fool, we are informed, is the "reckless fool"—a young fellow who gets drunk, fights with a cop and gets shot. It happens that while our Elmer Gantry was making this "point" there lay on a hospital cot in Girard a young man who was hovering between life and death—all because he had promoted a private war with a policeman. I do not know whether this lad is a "good" boy or a "bad" boy. That is beside the question. The point is that here was a preacher who could be so lacking in sportsmanship that he would attack a boy who is helpless, unconscious, probably near death—a boy who couldn't strike back in his own defense.

But then, since when did one expect honor and decency from an Elmer Gantry? The species is filthy. Show me an Elmer Gantry and I'll show you a cowardly cad.

*E. Haldeman-Julius*

at the same time, wants to destroy the progress that has been made in spite of the churches.

The preachers are very active in keeping on the statute books those blue laws that are a hang-over from more intolerant and ignorant times. They demand incessantly the passing of this, that and the other law that will unjustly favor religion and hamper the free movements of social and cultural life. The churches have within the past decade led some of the most vicious movements against pleasure and knowledge—the two things which, working together, make human life worth while. Notably the churches have fought to inject the Bible into the schools and to exclude from the schools such important knowledge as evolution; and, in hostility to rational pleasure, they have fought to suppress the facilities of secular recreation on Sundays, all in the interest of a church monopoly.

Babson's statement is not a good word said for the church; it is a very severe criticism, even though not intended as such. We are pleased to observe, however, that the church's influence in befuddling men and women is steadily diminishing; that men and women are becoming more realistic and more interested in enjoying life and obtaining their rights on the solid, real earth than in counting on the imaginary rewards of a heaven which is valuable only as a trade slogan for preachers.

## VICIOUS OBSTRUCTION

Alfred E. Smith, interviewed in Washington on the eve of the Democratic national committee meeting, said that Prohibition would be the leading issue in 1932. He also said that the danger of the power trust controlling the electric life of the country is a minor issue, not in importance, but in the view of the people; he had not, he remarked, been able to interest the people in the power issue in the 1928 campaign.

We believe this is true. Actually a far greater issue than Prohibition, the power issue seems a matter of dull, involved economics to the masses. Even unemployment, critical as it is now, is perhaps less dramatically an issue in the public mind than is Prohibition; and besides, few voters have a clear understanding of the basic economic evils that cause unemployment; and they are more interested in denunciations than in sound economic discussions.

One cannot escape the conclusion that Prohibition is confusing and corrupting the political life of the country. Until this issue is removed, other issues cannot receive full attention. Under the best of circumstances, it is difficult to interest the voters profoundly and intelligently in economic issues. The sound and fury of Prohibition sets up an abnormal distraction, a vicious obstruction to the consideration of issues that are essentially greater.

Yet we recognize that Prohibition is an important issue. It is a spectacular attack upon the liberties of the people. The sooner this tyrannical and publicly exciting and distracting law is abolished, the sooner American politics may show a gleam of intelligent interest in major economic issues.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS says that great men have simple manners. It seems that we have heard that one before. And the only comment we can think of at present is: So have most of us.

THE CHRISTIAN heaven is a bore's dream of paradise.

is a second prize, consisting of the first 1,000 books in the Little Blue Book list—1,000 of these most popular books given FREE to the reader of The Freeman who sends in the second largest list of 10 weeks, 10 cents subs between now and midnight of April 30.

**THIRD PRIZE:** Here is another chance. The reader of The Freeman who sends in the third largest list of 10 weeks, 10 cents subscriptions will receive a FREE set of the first 500 books in the Little Blue Book list.

**FOURTH PRIZE:** You ought to win one of these prizes—thus, supposing that you send in the third largest list of 10 weeks, 10 cents subs, you will receive absolutely FREE a set of the first 100 books in the Little Blue Book list.

**FIFTH PRIZE:** Now for the last chance. If you send in the fifth largest list of 10 weeks, 10 cents subscriptions to The Freeman you will be given a FREE set of the first 50 books in the Little Blue Book list.

You do not even have to pay for these subscriptions yourself. It should be very easy to persuade your neighbors, your fellow workers, your friends and acquaintances to spend 10 cents each for 10 weeks of this lively, vigorous, fearless anti-Hoover paper. Tell everyone you meet about The Freeman's anti-Hoover policy—and we are sure you will have few refusals. We believe the American people can be tremendously interested in the very kind of campaign that we are conducting; and this contest, with its attractive offer for the largest lists of 10 weeks, 10 cents subscriptions, is our way of finding out immediately how many Americans we can interest in our messages exposing Hooverism. We are in this fight to stay. We want your help. We are offering you the pleasure and the advantage, which you have a fair and equal opportunity to win, of a real contest. You have nothing to lose in this contest; you are certain to help in the most important campaign of education that is before the country; and you have the possibility of winning a FREE set of Little Blue Books—you have indeed five attractive possibilities of winning in this contest.

Even if you pay for the names or some of the names that you send in, that will mean that you are helping vitally in the crusade against Hooverism—that you are paying for actual value in educational anti-Hoover propaganda that will go to many new readers—and that you are, at the same time, receiving absolutely FREE and as a pleasant surprise one of these five sets of Little Blue Books. You will win, that is, if you are one of the five readers of The Freeman who send in the largest lists of these 10 weeks, 10 cents subscriptions. If you should not win one of these five book prizes—but, being a good sport and having a lot of confidence in your sub-getting abilities, you won't consider that possibility—then you will not have wasted your time: for The Freeman will go for 10 weeks to the names you send in and thus our messages against Hooverism will be more widely and effectively circulated. We know, anyway, that your main motive in gathering subs in this contest will be to help educate the people and attack the evils of Hooverism; the prize feature is simply our idea of making the contest more interesting.

All lists of names that are mailed by midnight of April 30 will be counted in this contest. If you should, for instance, mail a list of names a minute before midnight of April 30, the post-mark would show that fact, and though we receive the list a few days after April 30 that list will count in your contest record. To facilitate our handling of the names, it will be a good policy to send in the lists as fast as you can collect them—send in, that is, lists of 10 or 20 or 30 or 50 or 100 names—and then round up other lists and so on, to as large a number as possible, until midnight of April 30. Use the following order blank as a guide and when you have filled out that blank, paste an extra sheet or sheets of paper to the blank and add your other names, marking each name plainly with state and city and street.

Start now and work fast. See if you can send in a list of 10 or more names each day between now and April 30. There are going to be many hard and fast workers in this contest—we warn you! But you can work just as hard and fast; or you can beat the record of any other reader; and if you make a record—if you make one of the five records that will be made in this April drive—you will get one of the five FREE prizes.

## Get Busy and Win a Free Prize!

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want to help you in your educational campaign against Hooverism. I am interested actively in this vital work for the enlightenment of the American people, and at the same time I am enjoying the contest in which I may win one of the FIVE FREE PRIZES in Little Blue Books which you are offering. Below is a list of names which is my beginning in this contest.

1 Name	Address
City	State
2 Name	Address
City	State
3 Name	Address
City	State
4 Name	Address
City	State
5 Name	Address
City	State
6 Name	Address
City	State
7 Name	Address
City	State
8 Name	Address
City	State
9 Name	Address
City	State
10 Name	Address
City	State
Name of Sender	Address
City	State

If you want to send more than 10 names, remit for them at the rate of 10c each.

## Story of the Human Race

A Biographical History of the World by Henry Thomas, Ph.D., in Five Volumes of Colossal and Colorful Narrative—Regular Price Will Be \$3, BUT ADVANCE ORDERS WILL BE SOLD NOW FOR ONLY \$1.50 FOR THE SET OF FIVE VOLUMES!

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Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....