

Laborite Betrayed Mooney Defense Plans to Fickert

By John W. Gunn

Betrayed by alleged leaders of the working class, Tom Mooney has been aided immensely by generous, justice-loving individuals among the middle and upper classes. A social-minded woman of great wealth, Alice Barnsdall, has contributed extensively to the Mooney defense fund. At one time she supported entirely out of her own wealth a special Mooney defense office in Los Angeles—paying for literature and its distribution throughout the state. When finally convinced of the innocence of Mooney and Billings, by the proof of Oxman's perjury, Fremont Older turned the whole strength and sincerity of his strong journalistic position (as editor of the San Francisco Call and later the Call-Bulletin) toward helping these workmen. It was a young lawyer of wealth and high social position—Maxwell McNutt—who undertook the legal defense of Mooney and Billings, at the moment when the case looked blackest and most fatally sure of defeat, and persisted in defending these workmen when his own class ostracized him and boycotted him vindictively.

It happened that McNutt believed Mooney and Billings to be innocent. He had studied their case and was sure that a frameup was being operated, with these workers as the victims. McNutt believed in legal fairness and the protection of the rights of citizens—a belief which was not shared by the labor leaders of San Francisco.

Members of his own class approved of the persecution of Tom Mooney. Leading members of his

own class were active and malicious in betraying him. It was from the class which, on broad economic lines, he was directly opposing—from the leisured and privileged class—that Mooney received some of his ablest, sincerest and most effective help. This fact is complimentary to human nature; but it underscores with a deep black mark the treacherous, despicable character of the labor fakers who have for

Considered either as an argument of an advocate or as a judicial review of the evidence, the consolidated majority report of the Supreme Court justices is unsound and indefensible. It is unsound because its conclusions are not founded upon established facts. Suspicious, conjectures, unwarranted inferences, irreconcilable inconsistencies, and admitted perjuries are treated as facts. It is indefensible because it appeals to passion and prejudice.—From Justice William H. Langdon's dissenting opinion in the Billings case.

years dominated the official labor movement of San Francisco.

A particularly bad example of the treachery which has signalized the attitude of San Francisco labor fakers toward the Mooney-Billings case is that of A. W. Brouillet, a young lawyer risen from the ranks of labor, who held the strategic position of president of the San Francisco Labor Council. Thus identified with labor's cause, Brouillet might have been expected to aid in the defense and not in the persecution of two in-

nocent workmen. That expectation would have been based upon a mistaken faith in human nature. Brouillet was in politics. He was the prosecuting attorney for the state board of pharmacy. His job and his self-serving political connections were more important to him than justice. He hastened to double-cross Mooney and Billings.

That simple if not elegant term (double-cross) is needed to characterize properly the behavior of the infamous Brouillet. At the outset of the Mooney-Billings cases, Brouillet was chosen as one of the defending attorneys. Naturally he was informed of the tactics of the defense. He knew what evidence and what arguments would be used in trying to obtain justice for Mooney and Billings. Shortly after associating himself with the defense, Brouillet was known to have been closeted suspiciously with none other than the labor-hating Fickert, the district attorney.

What occurred at the meeting of these two men, one the persecutor of Mooney and the other supposedly one of Mooney's friends and defenders? The facts indicate clearly enough what happened. A few days after talking with Fickert, the treacherous Brouillet withdrew from the legal defense of Mooney and Billings. Immediately Fickert showed that he had learned facts about the legal plans of the defense which were known only to the defendants and to the viciously tricky Brouillet. A defense plan to show the incredibility of a state witness—a drug fiend—was forestalled by the information betrayed into Fickert's hands by Brouillet.

It was all too obvious that Brouillet had been untrue to the most essential principle of honor. He had made shameful use of his special, confidential information.

He had placed sharp weapons of dishonorable knowledge into the hands of Fickert. Thereafter Brouillet was tucked in the plot against Mooney. His attitude was so notorious that Vance Thompson, editor of the *Codomo's Journal*, declared in a meeting that "there is a secret war between

The requirement of the majority [of the justices] that the petitioner prove his innocence, either by establishing an alibi or by identifying the perpetrator of the crime, is unreasonable and unwarranted. A perfectly innocent person may be unable to prove an alibi. And it is preposterous to demand of the accused that he place his fingers upon the real culprit in order to exculpate himself.—From Justice William H. Langdon's dissenting opinion in the Billings case.

the Labor Council and Fickert's office." The Labor Council did, however, pass a resolution—in 1917—asserting its confidence in Mooney's and Billings' innocence. Brouillet opposed that resolution. The labor-faking policy of Brouillet in this case was so flagrant that a strong movement developed against him in the Labor Council and eventually he was (in 1918) kicked out of his undeserved position as president of the Council. Almost to a man the politicians in the labor movement, many of whom still pose as leaders of labor in San Francisco, worked and schemed to keep Brouillet in his position. The Brouillet case, says the Mooney defense committee, illustrated forcibly the following points:

- (a) The close connections of the Chamber of Commerce, the employers and men of Brouillet's type within the leadership of the trade-union movement;
- (b) That the wrath of the work-

ers can be aroused when a clear case of betrayal is proven to them;

(c) The position of many other "labor leaders" who supported Brouillet. They are the enemies of the workers. These men were too shrewd to openly attack Mooney and Billings, so they used Brouillet as their tool. After the rank and file, in just wrath, expelled the avowed traitor in their midst, the other "leaders" took warning and, benefiting from Brouillet's experience, they cunningly, subtly, but no less effectively sabotaged the defense of these two innocent trade unionists.

Viewing indignantly and (in spite of our unhappily acquired tincture of cynicism) almost incredulously this corrupt conduct of Brouillet—a man who was so strongly entrenched in a position of leadership in the San Francisco labor movement—we do not wonder at the sad disillusionment of Fremont Older, who in his autobiography, *My Own Story*, wrote: "The little faith in human nature that I had left after the [San Francisco] graft prosecution was considerably lessened by my experience in trying to bring about the pardon of these two men [Mooney and Billings]. It was lessened still more when I discovered that ten of the twelve prominent local labor leaders were either actively conniving at keeping these men in prison or doing nothing to help them. This threw me into a despondent mood. I

I do know that there has been a failure of proof to such an extent that there is not now even a semblance of a case against him.—From Justice William H. Langdon's dissenting opinion in the Billings case.

had learned to expect that kind of attitude from the rich and powerful, and those who fawned upon them; but to find the foremost local leaders of labor either acting or thinking with them was

more than I could calmly bear." As treachery is infinitely worse than direct and candid hostility, so has it been the fact that Tom Mooney's worst enemies have been within the organized labor movement.

The material in this article has been taken from the new Mooney defense committee's pamphlet entitled *Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney*.

"MORAL" GOVERNMENT

Our government is stubbornly adverse to any large, intelligent measures for remedying the economic distress of millions of its citizens. It is opposed to governmental activity that will interfere decisively and effectively with the greedy motives and operations of the private profit system. Its ruling policies are political in the least admirable sense, rather than scientific or humane. It is a government which in practice shows itself pledged to the selfish interests of a few rather than the wholesome, legitimate interests of the many. But at any rate our government is—or pretends to be—very moral.

Its latest spasm of morality was directed toward the barring from our shores of a book on *Married Love*, by the English Dr. Marie C. Stopes; and it is clear that our customs department judged this book immoral simply because it discusses with intelligent, fine candor the subject of sex relations. Its manifest purpose, indeed, as Federal Judge John M. Woolsey has just declared in an official opinion, is to place marriage relations upon a sounder and more enduring basis of knowledge and a mutual consideration by husband and wife of the finer—of the whole of the—aspects of sex.

This is the second judicial ruling in favor of Dr. Stopes' book. It will be recalled that under the

revised federal censorship law, the customs department cannot arbitrarily exclude any book from this country. Its action in any such case must be passed in review by the federal courts. But it seems that the department is so insistently "moral" (or thinks itself to be so) that it will not accept one federal court ruling. After a federal court in Philadelphia decided that *Married Love* was not obscene nor immoral and was therefore legally admissible to this country, the customs department tried a second time to enforce a ban against the book. This second case was to have been tried by a jury in federal court in New York City; but Judge Woolsey, after carefully reading Dr. Stopes' book, was of the opinion that the government did not have a good enough case to place before a jury—that, in fact, the government had no case at all.

The proceedings against *Married Love* were but an indefensible, unwarranted exercise of narrow moral prejudice—a prejudice which has its roots, as is well enough known, in puritanical Christianity. "I cannot imagine," said Federal Judge Woolsey, "the kind of normal mind to which this book would react in a manner obscene or immoral. . . . It should, I think, be welcomed within our borders." This is a victory for good sense, but we may doubt that it will teach the customs officials a lesson. Our government will continue its perverted policy of supporting economic injustice and Christian morality—a combination of inhuman errors that must be rectified, however gradually, by the growth of social and realistic intelligence.

CONDITIONS of social justice are impossible under "economic individualism." The whole organization and purpose of this system is to defeat social justice.

Scandal of Private Banking Failures in America Raises Demand for Full Use of Postal Savings Bank System

More than 1,300 American banks have failed within the past year. This is the scandal of private, individualistic banking in the United States. Not a single Canadian bank has failed within the past year. This is the advantage of public policy in banking—it being interestingly and significantly the fact that in Canada banks are under careful control of government and are forced to carry as security government notes in the sum of forty percent of their capital. The severity of hard times in the United States has been intensified most unfairly—indeed most outrageously—by the failure of these hundreds of banks, some of them mismanaged, some of them overturned by the general economic impact of Hooverism, and others of them wrecked through the dishonesty or the crooked speculations of their private owners.

There has been and there is not the slightest security for the savings of hard-working individuals. Banks are little better than financial traps. They seem to many an evil necessity; yet there is, even so, a return to the

Some Facts About Banking

There were 1,300 bank failures in the United States in 1930. From January 1, 1921, to January 1, 1931, there were 6,968 bank failures—22 percent of the total of banks in the United States. In Arkansas 37 percent of the banks have failed. One hundred leading banks in the United States declared dividends in 1930 amounting to 72.1 percent of their total earnings. There were 192 important bank mergers in the United States in 1930.

old-fashioned and crude custom of hiding money in odd places about homes and yards. This seems foolish and crude and yet it is not so absurd when one compares it with the very palpable and extreme dangers which are associated with banks. This danger is not necessary. It is a feature of a system which need not—which should not—continue.

Government should assume responsibility. It is not banking necessarily but private banking that has been a failure. Private bankers have been (many of them) dishonest and they have been inefficient. They are not on the whole capable of handling the financial affairs of the American people. Not only does this system hold out too many temptations for corrupt and vicious practices, but fundamentally it is an unsound system. It has not the purpose of establishing security for the savings of millions of depositors—that is not what our private banking system achieves or aims to achieve. On the contrary, it is designed and manipulated with the main objective of building up huge private fortunes for the individual owners of the banks. The banking system is not a money guarantee of security—it is a money game and a money trap.

We think it is quite obvious, entirely undebatable, that this scandal of private banking should come to an end. The intelligent protests of the American people should remove this parasitic and, in the long run, essentially fatal growth from their economic life. It is true, for that matter, that in the short run private banking has proved itself fatal to American

savings. The only solution for this serious problem is, plainly, the development of a system of public, government banking. The beginning of such a system is already in plain sight. We refer to the postal savings bank. This is operated by the government as a branch of the postoffice department. Deposits are made at postoffices as permanent savings, not to be checked out, although withdrawal is permitted. The money deposited in the government's postal savings bank is genuinely saved. No one ever loses a cent. Loss is impossible because the savings are guaranteed by the government; and of course the postal savings bank is conducted, not to swell the dishonest fortunes of individual owners, but to provide real financial security for the depositors. Service, not profit, is the great and sane objective of the postal savings bank system.

Public appreciation of the security of the postal system is indicated by the fact that during the past year deposits in the postal savings bank have increased tremendously, from \$178,000,000 to \$300,000,000. This increase has occurred in spite of the disadvantage under which the postal system unnecessarily labors—namely, that checks cannot be written on accounts thus deposited. This defect in the system can be quite simply removed. At present—another instance of the capitalistic motive in government—the funds deposited in the postal savings bank are in turn loaned to private banks at the low interest rate of 2½ percent. These banks lend the money at seven and eight percent—and thus the government deliberately assists in the robbery of the people. It cannot be disputed that the strictly fair thing would be for the government to lend this money to the citizens at the same rate of 2½ percent which it charges now to private bankers.

After the lesson of 1,300 bank failures in the United States in one year, we think it is clear that private banking has been revealed as unsound and that public banking is a necessity. The extension of the postal savings bank, suggests itself as the self-evident and entirely effective remedy. This government system of banks should be opened for checking as well as savings accounts. There should be, for example, checking accounts of at least \$1,000. We name that as a minimum amount for the present; it is definite, reasonable and will facilitate the beginning of checking as well as savings accounts in these government postal banks. And there can be no reasonable objection to this extended banking system—no objection at all excepting from the private owners of banks who are involved in this fatal system of fortune-making. It is a system fatal to the people—to the majority—and it is for the plain, necessary advantage of this majority that the government should extend its banking system.

We point out again that this system is now actually in operation. It is not a new and untried principle. Already the government banking system is here, ready to be used by the people. We assert that it should be so used and that no possible objection can be made to such use excepting by private bank owners who consider private profit more important than public benefit. We are sure that the class of objection should not be respected nor heeded. It is, for that matter, this very objection itself which

emphasizes the wrong motives and therefore the wrong policies and operations of the private banking system.

It is our idea that an immediate, practical move should be made toward the establishment of a government banking system; or rather for the extension of the present government system from savings to checking accounts. We offer this eminently helpful suggestion in the form of a petition. This petition should be signed by every American citizen (excepting private bankers and some of them may be honest and sign it too) and forwarded to United States Senator Peter Norbeck, Washington, D. C., who is chairman of the Senate's committee on banking. A flood of popular petitions will make the Senate committee reflect seriously upon this suggestion. It will concentrate a new and useful kind of thought upon the scandalous, terrible failure of private banking. It should be effective in speeding the adoption of public banking as a universal system, without limitations or handicaps. The question plainly is: Shall the people be protected or shall the private bankers continue to build disgraceful fortunes upon the ruin of others? If you believe that every depositor's money should be safe—and it can only be made safe through government banking—you will at once sign the following petition and send it to United States Senator Peter Norbeck, chairman of the senate committee on banking, Washington, D. C.

America Needs a Safe and Honest Banking System

United States Senator Peter Norbeck, Chairman of Senate Committee on Banking, Washington, D. C.

We, the undersigned citizens and voters of the United States, have reached the profound conviction that the private banking system is a failure and that the only possible remedy lies in the extension of the postal savings bank into a checking as well as a savings system. This action of government will be entirely in the public interest and will conflict with no man's interest excepting the interest of private bankers. We regard this as a solemn duty which the government owes to the people. Every cent of savings should be protected by the government and this obviously can be done most fairly and certainly through the expansion of the postal savings bank. We suggest definitely, as a beginning, that checking accounts as large as \$1,000 shall be permitted in the postal government bank.

We also declare ourselves strongly in favor of having the government lend the postal savings bank money to the citizens at the low rate of 2½ percent interest which is now charged to private bankers.

Name Address
City State

Note: For additional names, paste an extra sheet of paper to this blank and fill out in the manner indicated by the printed lines.

Kansas Attorney General Wrongly Calls Movies "Flagrant"

---But It Might Be Good Policy, Says E. Haldeman-Julius

To the Owners of Movie Shows in Kansas:

I wish to call your attention to the very instructive character of Attorney General Boynton's recent statement, given in a public interview, that the movie shows of Kansas are the most "flagrant" violators of the Sunday blue law. This statement is instructive in a way that the attorney general did not intend, enforcing as it does a firmer realization of facts directly contradictory to his assertion. Movie shows are few and unobtrusive in comparison with other businesses which operate plainly in violation of this Sunday blue law. I believe it is true that in most of the Kansas towns the movie proprietors do not attempt to run Sunday shows. In the more than thirty Kansas towns where movie shows do operate on Sunday, with the natural and sensible approval of the majority (and indeed with the gratitude of the majority for a brighter, civilized Sunday), these shows are not one-tenth as numerous and conspicuous as the filling stations. If the word "flagrant" is to be used with the slightest semblance of accuracy, concerning violation of the Sunday blue law, it should be used first of all in describing the filling stations. This word, in the sense that it bears a some-

what reprehensible meaning, is not in any case a word that should fairly be used. But it will not be denied that the most prominent and extensive violation of the Sunday blue law is to be observed in the full blast of trade done not by one or two but by many filling stations even in the smallest towns.

If the Kansas filling stations are the most "flagrant"—to use the attorney general's insulting and derogatory term—other businesses are more "flagrant" than the movie shows. Cigar stores and soda fountains ply their trade—an illegal trade under the alleged state law—during the whole of every Sunday. They do not remain open, as do the movie shows, for the afternoon and evening or, in some cases as the movie shows do, only for an evening; but they are running wide-open all day long. Also the sale and circulation and reading of Sunday newspapers in Kansas (likewise illegal under our foolish, fanatical blue law) furnishes a more "flagrant" violation of the Sunday dogmas enforcing the custom of dead, church-dominated towns.

It is clear that Attorney General Boynton stated the precise and sensational opposite of the truth. Movie shows are the least "flagrant" violators of the Sunday blue law. And perhaps this is where the movie show

owners have erred. Probably they have not been "flagrant" enough. It may be that they have not opposed this tyrannical law with sufficient "flagrancy" and persistency and in sufficient numbers. A policy of "flagrancy," with movie shows running all day Sunday in all of the Kansas towns, might win more consideration for you, who are singled out as a class for the most unfair discrimination. Then, adding insult to injury, the Attorney General says that you are "flagrant" violators of the Sunday blue law, quite ignoring the tremendous illegal activity of filling stations all day and most of the night, every Sunday, in every city, town and village. "Flagrancy" is exactly what you are not guilty of and maybe this omission is the reason for your excessive, peculiar persecution. More "flagrancy" might well gain for you the respect of the attorney general—his respect for your power, numbers and determination—and impress upon him the difficulty of enforcing this extreme discrimination.

E. Haldeman-Julius

PRESENT DRAMA ON MOONEY CASE

BY LEO GRULIOW

New York—"Precedent" will be the basis of a new nationwide movement to free from jail Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. San Francisco labor leaders, convicted unjustly fifteen years ago of the bombing of a Preparedness parade, since proved innocent, and still in prison.

Legal precedent is also the butt of the piece—which, it might be explained, is a play by I. J. Golden, St. Louis lawyer and playwright, who spent three years in studying the Mooney-Billings case.

The result of his labors had its premiere April 14 at the Provincetown Playhouse here.

Not only does Golden vividly picture the infamous trial and its chief characters, but he also universalizes the theme by making legal precedent the butt of the play. The "precedent" is the law in California and several other states under which no conviction may be reversed except upon the ground of technical legal flaws during the course of the trial.

Golden pictures Charlie Fickert, the District Attorney; Mooney and Billings, the labor leaders, framed on the charge of mass murder because of their radical activities; Rena Mooney, co-defendant; Estelle Smith, whom the prosecution tried to bribe; "Honest Judge" Griffin; former Supreme Court Justice Henshaw, the brains of the Fick-

ert prosecution; Mooney's lawyers, and newspapermen.

The play is planned as the starting point of a new move for the release of the two unjustly condemned men. Various organizations supporting the cause of civil liberties, radical groups and individuals are backing the proposed movement, of which "Precedent" will form the advance guard in the propaganda phalanx.

Militarists Use Movie Propaganda

New York.—That militarism is being fostered by the cooperation of the United States government with private motion picture production companies is the substance of a publicity "blurb" released to newspapers throughout the country.

The press-agent "hand-out" to editors quotes a letter from a recruiting officer in Philadelphia to the effect that the number of recruits has increased manifold since the wide-spread showing there of "Seas Beneath," Fox film made in conjunction with the U. S. Navy and glorifying the role of sailors in wartime.

THE MOST important feature of progress, necessarily the foundation of real and extensive progress, is the growth of social vision and the spirit of cooperation among men.

PRIVATE initiative? Al Capone is a shining example of it. So is Mussolini. So were the operators of the 1,300 banks that failed in the United States in 1930.

On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

O. H. Peterson, Kansas City, Mo., is one of the best friends we have. Peterson never fails to answer our calls for Army action. His Army card shows twenty entries in the last year. That's a wonderful record. He is our best sub hustler. Thanks, Friend Peterson, and we hope The Freeman will always deserve your help. His last chore was a club of 10 10-week subs, for which he remitted \$1.

C. Annell, N. Dak., liked the way we handled the Morgan-Mussolini Special Edition. He helped with a club of subs.

Bernard M. Allen, Conn., wants 50 persons to read The Freeman, so he sends in \$1 to pay for our mailing them specimen copies. Thanks for the boost.

Thomas Adie, Ohio, sends us \$1 for what we call Method No. 3. That means he wants us to send special copies of The Freeman to a list of good names in our possession. We are always glad to do this. If you haven't anyone in mind to bring into The Freeman fold and still want to help in the cause, just send us a remittance and tell us to use it under Method No. 3 and we will send copies of The Freeman to readers of Little Blue Books. We have a million such names in our files, so don't be afraid to send plenty for this purpose. It's a wonderful way to help bring The Freeman to the attention of strangers.

The Mutual Aid Fund needs some more contributions. This fund is used to pay the subscriptions of Freeman subscribers who are too poor to pay for their renewals. Send what you can spare for this noble cause. It will bring real satisfaction to some poor unemployed worker or hard-up farmer who wants The Freeman but can't afford to pay for it. Just tell us to apply whatever you send us to the Mutual Aid Fund. We will do the rest.

James Benn, Ohio, sends us \$1 for Method No. 3. This money was put to good use. We took 50 names of Little Blue Book buyers in his own state of Ohio and sent them copies of the edition he ordered sent. We hope to see many more of our readers use Method No. 3. It's quick, easy and effective. Many men and women who receive free copies of The Freeman as a result of the use of Method No. 3 come in for full-time subscriptions and thus does The Freeman circulation continue to grow.

Aule Babbitt, Mass., sends \$1 for a club of ten subs. Thanks. We feel sure Reader Babbitt would like to see The Freeman grow to six pages. If all our readers would follow Babbitt's lead we would be able to increase the paper from four to six pages in a short time. We need 25,000 more readers to be able to make this improvement. Will you help?

P. Brackett, Calif., likes Method No. 3 best of all. His Army card shows that he has been in The Freeman Army since June 26, 1936. And since then he has made five contributions to Method No. 3, making a total of \$8.50 contributed to this purpose. We have used this money to send out free copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession. Brackett believes in our work but prefers to have us do the missionary work. That's O. K. with us. His contributions to Method No. 3 make this work possible.

M. Baltzy, Ohio, wants to see Marcet Haldeman-Julius make his trip to Washington and New York City to gather material for six special editions of The Freeman. He sends \$1 for this work. Will others follow his suggestion? It will take at least \$300 to pay for Marcet's trip and we look to Freeman readers to help in this necessary work.

Harry Boker, Ky., comes in with an order for \$1 worth of sub cards. These cards sell at 25c each and are good for 25 weeks of The Freeman. They are printed on post cards. You sell them and the buyer merely has to write in his name and address and drop it into the nearest mail box. We do the rest. Why not have a supply of sub cards with you all the time? They come in handy when talking to strangers about The Freeman.

J. A. Berg, Ohio, comes in with an order for four sub cards. This week it seems as though all the Army cards show we are getting. The best help from Ohio readers.

the matter with your state? Don't expect Ohio to do it all.

C. H. Bolton, Mo., is another reader who wants to see Marcet go to Washington and New York City to write articles for Freeman readers. He sends \$1. We hope to see this fund grow. As stated before, we need \$300 for this special drive and hope to see our readers supply this necessary fund. It will be put to good use. The articles will be worth many times their cost. Let's all pull together and put this job in the clear.

Frank J. Brewer, Calif., joined The Freeman Army only last December, but since then he has been heard from five times. That shows he is a good steady worker in the Army. The last remittance was for \$1 and paid for four sub cards.

E. L. Bender, Texas, is heard from now and then. His last was for Method No. 1, which means he wants a bundle of Freemans for distribution among his friends, for which he paid at the rate of 2c per copy.

Joy Brown, Wash., is another Armyite who has a lot of entries on his Army card. We counted nine. Let's make it 29!

C. C. Bolton, Texas, has 11 entries in his Army card. The last, however, was in December. Sorry we haven't heard from you since that month. Anything wrong?

Alvo Bruso, N. Dak., has seven entries in his Army card. The last was for four sub cards. Those sub cards help a whole lot. They are bought in lots of four or more, at 25c each, and then sold to prospective readers.

Here's a club of ten 10-week subs from Hiram C. Brunner, Pa. Come again, Hiram. We like to see them pour in.

L. T. Bruner, Calif., has 11 entries in his Army card. That tells the story. It proves he likes the fighting policy of The Freeman. His last was for \$1, which paid for four sub cards.

Here's a nice club of 21 10-week subs from C. W. Chamberlain, Ill. This cost him \$2.10, but he has the satisfaction that The Freeman will tell the truth to 21 of his reader friends each week for ten weeks and then take a chance on getting all or part of these 21 readers to renew at the regular yearly rate. That's the nice thing about these 10-week subs. They get a fellow into the habit of reading The Freeman. And that's what we need more than anything else right now—more readers. Our special drive now is to get 25,000 new readers so we can increase the size of The Freeman from four to six pages. Give us a little help, fellows.

Here, friends, is a club of four sub cards going out to Dewey Collett, Ky. Why don't you order some yourself? Send \$1 and we'll shoot out a bunch to you by return mail. Only 25c each.

A. Collins, Calif., has seven entries in his Army card, the last one being for four sub cards. And speaking a while ago about Ohio having so many Army workers, let's not fail to say that California always makes a good showing. California readers like The Freeman as well as the ones in Ohio.

Max Curtin, Los Angeles, Calif., comes in pretty often. His card shows seven entries, the last for \$1 for a club of subs.

W. T. DeCoster, M. D., is another Army worker who is always on the job. The last entry (Number 16) is for \$1 and pays for Method No. 3. We all know Dr. DeCoster around this office and are glad to hear from him. The Freeman is proud of his friendship.

S. L. Brice, N. Dak., had six entries on his Army card, the last one being for four sub cards. We hope to hear from you again real soon.

Here's another club of 10 10-week subs from J. E. Decker, Pa. with nine entries on his Army card, the last for \$1 worth of sub cards.

Mary Deming, Ohio, has ten entries on his Army card, the last being for a club of ten subs.

JOHNATHAN, financed by the exploitation of the workers—financed by the advertising of the exploiters—will not give the workers the truth about economic and social conditions.

The REALIST prefers justice and happiness on earth to the myth of bliss in a heaven which has no existence.

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes Approves of "The Story of the Human Race"

Here is what Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, the world-famous historian, writes after reading the proofs of "The Story of the Human Race": "I have read The Story of the Human Race and regard it as a very lively, intelligent and accurate account of the development of western civilization in terms of some of the more striking and significant figures involved."

It certainly pleases us to have so great an international authority on history approve so highly of our most recent addition to our list of books. We are glad to be able to report that we have received an immense number of advance orders for The Story of the Human Race, which will later cost

\$3 but which may now be ordered at the pre-publication bargain price of only \$1.50 for the five volumes, carriage charges prepaid. This offer is good for only a few days, so we urge strongly that all our readers avail themselves of this last chance to get their set at the advance rate of only \$1.50. This offer expires April 30. After that date the price will be higher.

WE HEAR too much about the wonderful stimulus of private initiative. It is true that private initiative is displayed by the exploiters of the people—but should the people be grateful and should they worship the hands that skillfully and strenuously rob them?

IDEALS are not very satisfactory until they are translated into active, applied ideas.

Commonwealth College Will Have Labor Youth Camp

A labor youth camp, for the children of southern and western workers, will be opened June 15 by Commonwealth College, near Mena, Ark. Working-class boys aged from 10 to 16 years may join this summer camp, which will be open for ten weeks. Recreation, discussion, social cooperation and a moderate amount of work will be engaged in by the campers. It will be a combination of informal teaching with a healthful open-air life. The purpose is that the children of the workers shall learn new, serious and pleasurable contacts. Complete information about this labor youth camp can be had by writing to Charlotte Moskowitz, Camp Secretary, Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.

LAST CALL! This Pre-Publication Bargain Offer Not Good After April 30

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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Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I am ordering in advance a complete set of Henry Thomas' *The Story of the Human Race*. You are to prepay all carriage charges. As I am sending my order in ADVANCE, I understand that I am to receive the five volumes for only \$1.50.

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J. A. Berg, Ohio, comes in with an order for four sub cards. This week it seems as though all the Army cards show we are getting. The best help from Ohio readers.

Marcet's Trip to the East Will Open Our Greatest Campaign

Will Our Readers Cooperate in This Thrilling Program?

We are building great hopes and plans on the possibility of sending Marcet Haldeman-Julius to Washington, D. C., and New York City for deeper, personal investigations into vital aspects of Hooverism. We have planned carefully every feature of her trip—and now the decision rests with The Freeman Army. Will these loyal readers of The Freeman cooperate with us in this extensive program of attacks upon Hooverism? We need an immediate increase in our subscription list in order to make possible this big undertaking. We have decided that if The Freeman readers send us 2,000 clubs-of-four subs at 25c per sub (each sub running 25 weeks) we will give Marcet the final word to proceed on her great investigating trip. We can afford to expand our operations in getting material if our readers will help us expand our operations in getting more readers.

Let us tell you again what we have planned as the big stories of Marcet's trip: 1. She will interview Senator Norris on the Power Trust and bring to our readers important new material on this question. 2. She will interview Senator Borah on the recognition of Soviet Russia and tell our readers the truth about what Soviet Russia is doing. 3. She will interview Senator LaFollette on the farm question and present our readers with a thorough analysis of this great economic problem. 4. She will go more fully into the facts about Hooverism and will furnish us with additional ammunition in fighting this betrayer of the nation. 5. She will interview leading anti-Fascists in New York City and report on the regime of Mussolini and its reactions in America. 6. She will consult experts and authoritative sources on the growth of the banking monopoly, headed by J. P. Morgan and Company, especially with regard to the control of the big financiers over American industry.

You can see that this is a tremendous, daring program. We can carry out this program—carry it out thoroughly and successfully—with the help of our readers. We need 2,000 sub orders—each order being a club of four 25-week subs at 25c each—to succeed in this big plan. When we get these 2,000 sub orders we shall promptly send Marcet on to Washington and to Wall Street as the representative of The Freeman Army. Our plan is in your hands. We urge you not to fail in this important situation. Your use of the order blank below will be a definite and encouraging approval of this "On to Washington and Wall Street" plan of campaign.

Use This Order Blank for "On to Washington" Subs

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I am eager to have Marcet Haldeman-Julius go to Washington and New York City and investigate these great problems. I am helping in this plan by sending in the following four names who, for the \$1 I am enclosing, are to receive The Freeman for 25 weeks each.

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Unemployed in Los Angeles Organize to Assert Social Rights

By Upton Sinclair

THIS is a story about Bill Busick, and the new movement he has started in Los Angeles, which may go all the way across the United States before it stops. I begin by introducing Bill. He is six feet four inches, I should guess; very young, he feels so strong that he is not satisfied to work less than eighteen hours a day. His father was a small manufacturer, and sent him to college, but Bill kicked over the traces, desiring to learn something about the real world. When I first heard of him, a few years ago, he was publishing a little monthly paper in Pasadena, dealing pungently with the Harding administration and the oil scandals. The second issue told how the police had come around to interview him about the contents of the first issue; it revealed the most conspicuous fact about Bill Busick, that he does not ever intend to let himself be bluffed by the police.

He took a job as Secretary of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles County. It is a job which pleased him because it provided plenty of work. He proceeded to build up the party organization all new, including a score of active branch locals. (He got some twenty thousand votes for me for governor in the county at the last election.) He got up several big mass meetings for Tom Mooney; in order to advertise them, he proposed to drive an ancient hearse about the streets of Los Angeles with a sign, "Is Justice Dead?" Our police commission said that was high treason, and refused a permit; so then Bill looked up the law, and ascertained that he could drive without a permit, provided it was not "exclusively" for advertising purposes. He took to driving his hearse about the city, delivering circulars, and when the police arrested him for that, the judge had to let him off. The newspapers reported it, and thousands of people came to the Mooney meetings.

New Recruits for the Breadline

Now we have about two hundred thousand men out of work in our great rich city; and our city government and newspapers are doing what they are doing all over the United States—giving as little relief as they dare, and publishing as many falsehoods as they can think of. Bill Busick was not satisfied to leave these unemployed to the Communists—who are mostly in jail anyhow. He decided that they should be organized, trained to look out for their own interests, and has started a movement called "The Blue-Shirts." They have held half a dozen rallies in the Labor Temple, a couple of thousand men at each meeting, and in between times they are meeting all day and most of the night in the Socialist Party headquarters, in squads of fifty, to debate their problems and formulate demands.

It is an interesting thing to attend these meetings. You find a type of men who are not usually found in the breadline; not the casual laborer, but the skilled worker and the office man. One man got up and said: "I am a traveling salesman, and it never occurred to me before that I was a workman or had anything in common with unions." One after another they give their ideas as to what is the matter with the world, and you hear all the bunkum they have read in the morning newspaper. One says it is because the married women have taken the jobs. Another blames it on the Russian "dumping." But the others laugh him down, and presently he learns some elementary facts about the concentration of wealth, and the elimination of labor from modern society by means of the machine.

The organize committees to interview the City Council, and these legislators of big business sit in their big chairs, and look alarmed and uncomfortable at demands for real action. They think they have gone the limit, by appropriating another hundred thousand dollars for public works—most of which will go to the contractors. The only other remedy the Councilmen can think of is to

require that the ditch-digging shall be done with pick and shovel, and not by machines.

We have a place called The Midnight Mission, which is feeding the unemployed, and the city pays this mission \$5.25 per week for each man it takes care of. The men sleep in old beds from the old county jail; beds in double tiers with tin bottoms. The food is not very good, and the reason is that the mission requested all the big restaurants in the city to save the food which is scraped off the plates, and this mass of garbage goes to make a stew for the hungry. Also the restaurants save the coffee grounds, and this is boiled over again at the mission. When this report spread, the unemployed appointed a committee of half a dozen to investigate; and when these men turned up at the mission, the police arrested them for "vagrancy."

The Futile Reply to Discontent

You learn curious things about our great rich city at these meetings of The Blue-Shirts. A woman gets up and says that her son, a school boy, is worked on Saturdays by one of the big grocery chains. Last Saturday he worked over sixteen hours. Another woman tells that her daughter is employed by one of the chain drug concerns, and this girl gets only half the legal minimum wage; they pay her the full wage, but require her to buy her meals at the drug store lunch counter, and they charge her one dollar each for these meals. The Blue-Shirts appointed a committee to investigate these matters, and we wait with interest to see what the police will do to this committee.

At one mass meeting at the Labor Temple it was voted to proceed en masse to the City Council to demand relief. This would constitute a "parade," and a permit was required. The police commissioner refused the permit. When our mayor heard about this decision, he was worried, and sent for Bill. Our mayor is a former junk-dealer, put in office by the forces of Bob Shuler, sensational clergyman and radio orator. Mayor Porter refuses to see Communists in his office, or to speak to them, but he has learned that Socialists are different; they believe in the Constitution, so the mayor speaks to Bill. He begged him to call off this proposed "parade," because it was certain to cause trouble. But Bill replied it is the fundamental right of American citizens to petition the government, and they intend to come to the City Council and present their grievances and demands. After listening to arguments for half an hour or so, the mayor said that he saw the matter in a different light, and would personally appear before the City Council and ask them to grant the permit. But, alas, somebody caused him to change his mind, and at the next session in the mayor's office, Bill was told that the "parade" would be prevented with machine-guns if necessary.

In the meantime, the Black-Shirts of Los Angeles are getting ready to knock out the Blue-Shirts. We have here what the unemployed refer to in their speeches as the "Bitter America Federation." Also we have a "Red Squad," headed by police lieutenant Hynes, who specializes in the clubbing of all kinds of demonstrators against big business. These two groups work hand and glove with the American Legion to keep the unemployed contented with their lot. The American Legion calls meetings, and succeeds in getting about one-tenth as many men as Bill Busick gets. Then policeman Hynes comes, and speakers for the "Bitter Americans" come, and warn the unemployed against the machinations of the Communists and Socialists.

A Movement of Native Americans

They had such a meeting in Pasadena a few days ago, and my dentist was telling me about it. "You hear so much on one side and the other side that you don't know which to believe. This speaker from the Better America Federation, a Mr. Allen, told us that the most dangerous Communist in the United States at the

present time is Professor Albert Einstein. He comes here as a great scientist, and after everybody has welcomed him, they find out that he is a Communist, and then they say: "Well, if that is so, the Communists cannot be so bad after all." (As it happened, I was able to tell my dentist what he should believe about Einstein, for I have had several talks with him on the subject of Russia, and he is very pessimistic concerning that country and its prospects. He has been talking with many of the refugees who come to Berlin, and the substance of his ideas is that it is the criminals who have come out on top in control of Russia. The great scientist is an ardent pacifist, and a little bit of a Socialist, but he smiles when you try to put a label on him, and says that he does not like to wear labels.)

The present orders from Moscow require that Bill Busick shall be denounced as a "Social-Fascist," and that the Blue-Shirts shall be opposed by the "Reds." That seems to me a foolish kind of tactics, and I hope some day the orders from Moscow will be changed; but in the meantime, Bill has to fight enemies on both sides. At each of the big mass meetings in the Labor Temple he starts off with the statement that "we do not intend to have this meeting broken up by the police, and we do not intend to have it broken up by the Communists." When the latter get up and ask questions, the questions are answered, but organized interruptions result in the interrupters being escorted outside the hall.

The important aspect of this movement is that it is native American. The unemployed here are mostly our own people, with our own ways of looking at things. Thousands of men are getting an education all of a sudden, and they go out and bring in other fellows, and in a short time the whole crowd knows more about the causes and cures of unemployment than the rich and highly educated Mr. Harry Chandler of the Los Angeles Times. I mention Mr. Chandler especially, because he has just cast off his editorial anonymity, and is contributing to his own paper a series of articles telling the public what is to be done about unemployment. Two of these articles have appeared as I write, and Mr. Chandler gives a complete statement of the serious nature of the problem; but when he comes to tell us the cure, all he has to suggest is that those who have jobs shall surrender a part of their time and a part of their wages, and divide up with the unemployed!

The Class Struggle in America

In other words, the remedy for unemployment is self-sacrifice on the part of precisely those elements in the community who cannot afford it. The employers are to do nothing, the bankers and the speculators are to do nothing, and above all, the government is to do nothing. Labor is to do it all! Mr. Chandler is as specific as possible, and says that wages must be reduced in proportion as hours are reduced, so as to avoid putting a burden upon industry. He has told, in his preliminary statement of the problem, that unemployment is a "vicious circle"—those who are out of work lose their purchasing power, and this causes yet other workers to lose their jobs. But when he comes to his remedy, Mr. Chandler seems to forget this point entirely, for he says that the gross payment to labor is not to be increased. What difference does it make whether a certain sum of money is spent by one hundred men or by two hundred men? The "vicious circle" remains unbroken.

Here you have a picture of the class struggle in America—exactly as we Socialists have been picturing it and prophesying it for a generation or more. Here is the master of Los Angeles, the real ruler of the city, without whose consent not even a receiver in bankruptcy can be appointed by a judge—this gentleman assigns to the workers their permanent status of economic servitude. And at the same time, in an office building only two blocks away from Mr. Chandler's Times, a new generation of Socialists is organizing the dispossessed and disinherited of our social system.

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ramblings
Isaac Goldberg

PRINTMAKERS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives. A Note on Their Lives and Times. By Russel Crouse. With thirty-two illustrations in color and black and white. New York. Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$5.

The only essential part of this book is that given over to the illustrations. The text is on the whole disappointing. To be sure, there are a few pages about Mr. Currier and the associate who came to him after he had been in the business of printmaking for almost twenty years. Then all of a sudden Ives and Currier disappear and in their stead leave a lot of wise-cracking about the periods in which some of the illustrations were made.

We learn in a fleeting reference that the pictures came from the press in black and white and that women were employed to color them, presumably after a model. Currier, in the days before the Civil War, had the nose for news that characterizes our modern tabloid editors and reporters. No sooner did a public catastrophe occur than he was on the market with a pictorial representation, sometimes supported by text. This seems to us a tame performance; when Currier could have his lithographs on the market within four days of the event, it was considered modern speed. The firm em-

ployed a number of artists, each with his specialty—locomotives, clipper ships, fire engines, landscapes, and so on. The price of these lithographs was low—usually fifteen cents to a quarter. Today some of them fetch as high as \$3,000. I know one man who paid a nickel for a worn copy that had adorned for years a sea captain's home; it is now worth \$40. The prints reproduced in Mr. Crouse's book all come from the collection of Mr. Harry T. Peters, who contributes a generous foreword. The subjects treated range through votes for women, prohibition, whale fishing, horseracing, the gold rush of '49, bloomers, the fire laddies of the volunteer days, skating, railroading, early baseball and, for a wow finish, the surrender of General Burgoyne to General Washington.

Around these topics, as I have said, Mr. Crouse weaves a thin commentary gathered from standard reference books with not too much effort or conscience. In exchange for his sometimes strained witicism one would gladly have had more detailed information about Currier and Ives, about the process of lithography, the methods of distribution, the ideal customer, and so on. . . . However, there are always the pictures.

And here let me confess my inability to see anything excitingly artistic in these prints. The color, as Mr. Crouse readily admits, is crude. Having been applied by mere hired help, how could they even approximate the coloring of the originals? The drawing is often as crude as the coloring. Proportions become preposterous; the human anatomy is flouted almost in the manner of the comic strip. This is to art what tabloid journalism is to literature.

Historically the Currier and Ives prints are valuable. They are a record of national interests, costumes and customs. Some of them inevitably rise above the mere routine of their production and give a pictorial pleasure in

dependent of the reportorial circumstances under which they arose. Mr. Crouse's selections were limited to a single source, and it speaks well for Mr. Peters' taste that the author was enabled to achieve such variety with a spread of thirty-two examples.

The book is very well printed and tastefully designed.

"ECONOMIC individualism" is another way of saying "governmental irresponsibility."

EXOTIC ADVENTURE

The Lives of a Bengal Lancer. By F. Yeats Brown. New York. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

As long as the narrator sticks to his adventures in the British army of India, giving skilful depictions of the life and the populace, he is uncommonly interesting. Fortunately, this is most of the time. When he begins to theologize, he gets dull.

DETROIT RATES HIGHER THAN WINDSOR, CANADA

Glance thoughtfully at this comparison. In Detroit, Mich., a private power company charges the consumer 10 cents per kilowatt-hour for the first thirty hours and a 4-cent rate for the next 120 hours. Just over the Canadian border is the town of Windsor, in Ontario, which is supplied with electricity by the Hydroelectric Power Commission. In Windsor the rate charged the consumer is 2½ cents for the first sixty kilowatt-hours and 1¼ cents for all additional current used. The Windsor municipal company is able to charge these low rates, although its current comes from Niagara Falls and is conveyed a distance of 248 miles by transmission lines. There is also the difference that Windsor supplies electricity on a small scale (it is not a large city), while the Detroit private company supplies electric current on an enormous scale; yet the smaller business, being a publicly owned business, charges the lower rates.

Freeman Editor Continues Fight for Recreational Sunday in Kansas

[The following telegram was sent in reply to the Attorney General's statement that he intended to concentrate his fire on the movies and let other Sunday business go unmolested.]

Attorney General Roland Boynton, Topeka, Kansas.

Your statement that movie theaters are most flagrant violators of Sunday Law is rank hypocrisy. In this little town of Girard, with less than three thousand people, we have over twenty filling stations which run all day and most of Sunday night lit up like a prairie fire. At the same time we have only one movie theater, which is run in orderly and quiet manner for only about four hours on Sunday evening. Movie theaters are least flagrant, and most persecuted at hands of bigoted preachers and contemptible politicians out to scalp a few moronic votes.

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS.

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WE ARE delighted to see such a rush of orders for our new five-volume work, "The Story of the Human Race," by Henry Thomas, Ph.D. Here is another case of the soundness of the editorial policy of the Haldeman-Julius Publications. We have built our reputation on the practice of publishing only the very finest works, and at the same time we have succeeded in distributing vast quantities of the books we have published. Our Little Blue Book Library now contains 1636 volumes, over 100,000 pages of editorial text, and we have sold over 150,000,000 copies of these world-famous five-cent books. Of course, "The Story of the Human Race" is not a set of Little Blue Books. This five-volume work is published in the large size, 5½ by 8½ inches, and each volume contains 30,000 words, or a total of 150,000 words, which may be obtained before April 30 at only \$1.50 per set.

CANADIAN ARRESTED FOR ORDERING BOOK ON BIBLE

If a citizen of Canada orders a book criticizing religion or any of its doctrines or "sacred" books, he may find himself temporarily incarcerated for the "crime" of desiring to read literature that is stamped with the disapproval of bigoted clerics. Not only is the book held to be illegal, but the reader of the book—or the man who is "criminally" desirous of reading it—is held to be an outlaw. This happened in at least one case, of which we are informed by Joseph Lewis, president of the Freethinkers of America and author of *The Bible Unmasked*.

"Only the other day," writes Mr. Lewis in a letter to E. Haldeman-Julius, "we received a communication from a man who stated that he was being held by the Canadian authorities for ordering a copy of *The Bible Unmasked*. He wrote that when he called for the book at the office of the cus-

toms, he was seized and held in prison. Upon receipt of his communication, I wired, authorizing him to secure counsel to effect his immediate release, and bring suit against the Canadian government for barring my book. At the time of this writing I have heard nothing from him. It is quite likely that he has been released and his unpleasant experience was not a spur to him to bring suit in behalf of my book."

Mr. Lewis adds: "For a long time I have felt quite lonely in having *The Bible Unmasked* barred from Canada, but now that you and The Debunker are to keep me company, I feel so much better. In fact, I am quite pleased at having such fine company. I would be happy about the matter, were it not for the intolerable situation that our friends in Canada are denied our comradeship. I have the same opinion of the Canadian officials that you have, and you have expressed my thoughts most admirably in the March 14 issue of *The American Freeman*."

Mr. Lewis refers to the issue containing the letter by Mr. Haldeman-Julius, addressed to the Canadian examiner of publications and reviewing the contents of the May issue of *The Debunker*. That letter made a perfect case against the censorship, but we were not overwhelmingly surprised to be informed, in reply to the letter, that The Debunker would be prohibited indefinitely in Can-

ada and that for the present there would be no reconsideration of the matter. The American Freeman continues to circulate in Canada.

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The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

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The King Runs--Spain Rejoices--the King Threatens

King Alphonso abdicates. Spain now has a republic. This is good news in a world where bad news has recently been all too plentiful. It is a quick and complete vindication of The Freeman's judgment, as expressed on this question only three weeks ago in our Power Trust Special Edition. We then denounced the arrangement, personally made by King Alphonso, for a loan of \$60,000,000, the greater part of which—\$38,000,000—was to be raised in the United States by J. P. Morgan and Co. As we pointed out, this was a brazen and, under the crucial circumstances, a most untimely indication of the sympathy of this powerful American banking monopoly for the aims and interests of autocratic power. It was an intended investment in a monarchy then plainly on the verge of destruction.

There was a possibility that such a loan, if it could have been carried to a conclusion quickly enough, might have bolstered up Alphonso's power for awhile longer, at the expense of some months or a few years of prolonged suffering and struggle by the Spanish people. Yet we declared, in our Power Trust Special Edition, that Alphonso's regime was corrupt, decadent and extremely uncertain. An investment in a loan to the Spanish monarchy was characterized by us as critically unsound—equivalent, as it probably would be (and as we now know that it would have been) to throwing away the money. Like the proposed three billion-dollar loan to Mussolini, which The Freeman exposed so effectively that the proposal was completely abandoned, the idea of a loan to Alphonso's monarchy was financially audacious—a piece of swindling effrontery—and was an outrage upon the principles of liberty.

We warned our readers that Alphonso's days were numbered. We suggested the particular danger of a loan to Alphonso, in view of the possible and even probable swiftness of a revolution in Spain and the repudiation by the revolutionists of any loan made per-

sonally to Alphonso—and such was the character of the proposed loan, nearly two-thirds of which Morgan and Company were to attempt raising in the United States. We are modest and admit that our prophecies are not usually made good in such short order. Following so closely upon our victory in defeating the projected Mussolini-Morgan loan, this confirmation of our warning with regard to the Spanish monarchy is very encouraging.

Although we were not surprised at the news of a republic in Spain, we were thrilled by this triumph of modernism in a medieval, Catholic country. That it is not a full triumph—the fact, we mean, of the change from a monarchy to a republic—we are well aware. A liberal, democratic government in Spain must of course justify itself by able leadership that will decisively remedy the conditions of the country. The liberals have the government; it is now their problem to govern well. They will need intelligence and courage—which no doubt they have, which indeed they have amply exhibited—but also a sincere grasp of and devotion to social-minded policies of government; as to the latter, time will tell. Meanwhile the Spanish people have taken the right step in ending their worthless monarchy.

It is less certain, indeed very uncertain, that the leaders of the new republic acted wisely in permitting Alphonso to go forth a free man and a future trouble maker for Spain. No sooner had this arrogant scion of the Bourbon royal family landed safely at a French port than he issued a counter-revolutionary statement, saying, "I am the king." He declared at once his prospect of returning to Spain and again ruling as the monarch of that country which he has already so excessively afflicted with his rule. It is inevitable that counter-revolutionary plots will center around the "royal" exile. Alphonso alive is a constant threat to the security of

Spanish life and government. The lesson of history, severe but sharply true, is that dead kings are the only good kings. The task of the new republican government becomes, under the menace of Alphonso's attitude, all the more important: namely, to proceed rapidly with the education of the Spanish people in modern ideas, to inaugurate real measures of progressive and beneficial government in Spain, and thus to build up the most practical of all safeguards against a successful royalist movement.

The downfall of the monarchy—the passing of Alphonso, the last of the notorious royal family of Bourbons—was sudden (even though it had been expected), dramatic, complete and peaceful. Municipal elections on Sunday, April 12, resulted in overwhelming victories for republican candidates. There was an enormous tide of votes showing the strong direction of public opinion in Spain. Parliamentary elections would have completed the victory of republicanism at the polls. No doubt Alphonso would have liked to have prevented such elections. He conferred, up to the last moment, with monarchist sympathizers and army leaders concerning the possibility of using force to stop the republican tendency of events. But force would have been tragically useless. Blood would have been shed without stopping events. The republic would have come, even if it had been forced to introduce itself with bloody hands.

The sentiment of the Spanish people was remarkably peaceable. They did not wish to punish Alphonso—they wished only to be rid of him. There was no rioting. Police and soldiers fraternized with the enthusiastic revolutionary crowds. When the republican leader, Zamora, sent an ultimatum to Alphonso, giving him an hour in which to abdicate—or, said Zamora, he could not answer for the consequences—that ultimatum expressed the general determination of the Spanish

people. Accepting the ultimatum, Alphonso saw himself deposed as king and saw the rise to power (as provisional president of the new Spanish republic) of a revolutionist who was in prison a few weeks ago. Out of prison into leadership; out of a palace into exile (although the exile of a very rich man); such was the turn of events in Spain.

We wish well to the new Spanish republic. In being rid of Alphonso, Spain is relieved from a corrupt, narrow-minded, autocratic, murderous ruler. His monarchical rule has kept Spain poverty-stricken, illiterate and far behind in the march of progress. He has bled and abused the country. The most terrible blot on his record was his murder of that noble man, Francisco Ferrer, who introduced models of modern education in Spain. Ferrer went about the country establishing schools. His ideal was to teach the people, to remove the blight of illiteracy from his country, to place Spain among the modern nations. He was condemned nominally as a revolutionist, but actually for his splendid, humane ideal of education. Alphonso and his corrupt supporters wanted to keep the Spanish people in ignorance. Ferrer, bringing literacy and the beginnings of culture, was marked as a man who must die. He was murdered by the vicious Alphonso.

The passing of one tyrant makes us wish more intensely for the passing of another tyrant—of that other, greater tyrant, Mussolini. Both Mussolini and the king of Italy should be deposed and an Italian republic established. The rule of dictatorship and monarchy in Italy is notoriously as indefensible as the rule of Alphonso in Spain. Mussolini insults and robs and crushes his country. His downfall would be the best thing that could happen to Italy. Undoubtedly the success of the Spanish republic will do much to hearten the revolutionists in Italy. The opposition to Mussolini, strong as it is now, will become stronger. He is the next criminal ruler who should be sent into exile.

How the Power Trust Organized an Inner Government

When O. C. Merrill was secretary of the Federal Power Commission, preceding F. E. Bonner, he was as sedulous a servant of the Power Trust as the present secretary. One of his bright ideas in serving the Power Trust was to organize a World Power Conference, financed by the National Electric Light Association, the lobby committee for the Power Trust. Merrill made two trips to Europe, which were paid for by the Power Trust. Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, accepted the position of president of this World Power Conference—which was simply a propaganda creature of the Power Trust. And on March 4, 1930, Senator Wheeler of Montana, speaking before the United States Senate, recited the following list of members of the World Power Conference Committee: Honorary chairman—Robert P. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce. Honorary vice chairmen—Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War, member of the Federal Power Commission, Washington, D. C.; Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture, member of the Federal Power Commission; Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, 120 Broadway, New York City; A. W. Robertson, chairman of the board of the Westinghouse Electric Company, 150 Broadway, New York City; Matthew S. Sloan, president of the National Electric Light Association, 420 Lexington Ave., New York City; Sidney Z. Mitchell, chairman of the board of the Electric Bond and Share Company, 2 Rector Street, New York City; Samuel Insull, president of the Commonwealth Edison Company, 72 West Adams Street, Chicago; George B. Cortelyou, president of the Consolidated Gas Company, 4 Irving Place, New York City; James H. McGraw, chairman of the board of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Tenth Avenue at Thirty-sixth Street, New York City. We need only add that this list, showing an alliance between Power Trust magnates and government officials supposed to regulate the Power Trust, is brazenly typical of Hooverism.

SCOPE OF SCIENCE

We are tired of hearing preachers say that science is cold, inhuman and deals only with what are called "dead" physical facts. It is of course a professional trick of the clergy thus to characterize science, as it provides (they imagine) an excuse for crediting themselves with authority in a wider and more precious domain—namely, what they call the domain of "spiritual" knowledge. This point of view is sharply debunked by James Harvey Robinson in *The Humanizing of Knowledge*, as follows:

Science is nothing more or less than the most accurate and best authenticated information that exists, subject to constant rectification and amplification, of man and his world. It is by no means confined to stars, chemicals, physical forces, rocks, plants and animals, as is often assumed. There is a scientific way of looking at ourselves—our thoughts, feelings, habits and customs; at their origin and interworkings. Science, in short, includes all the careful and critical knowledge we have about anything of which we can know something.

There is, for example, a scientific way of looking at religion. This does not mean that religion is itself a science or anything remotely approaching the form of scientific thought; but it means that we can understand religion only by studying the facts of its evolution, its origin in superstitious primitive life, its features of designing priesthood and its political manifestations—i. e., the schemes of power which have been cherished by church organizations.

There is also a scientific way of looking at the ideas of religion, by comparing them critically with the facts of life; and when we observe that religious ideas and realistic facts are in conflict, then our reasonable procedure is to dismiss the religious ideas and stick to the facts of life.

And, as Mr. Robinson points out, the emotions of man and his reactions to life are the proper objects of scientific study. We can scientifically understand the emotional leanings, wishes and weaknesses that turn men to religion, without granting any validity, in logic or experience, to the beliefs of religion. In fact, when we understand the emotional motives of religion and its origin in a false reasoning about life, we see clearly that religion is a tissue of fallacies.

We understand morals, like religion, in a scientific way. We know that moral ideas have evolved, in response to the actual circumstances and the social driving forces of human life. They have not (these moral ideas) been decreed by some divine power. They have not been mystically perceived by the "soul" of man. They have been conclusions drawn from life and meant to serve life's purposes; they have been mixed with plenty of error, but the error also is understandable in its origins.

Religion claims to have special guidance and authority in the field of morals. Yet the moral ideas most powerfully associated with

religion are the most erroneous in this whole field. They are dogmas that have but a poor show or no show of good reason in their support. They are arbitrary statements which are not based in a realistic study of life, but which are derived from the unscientific pretensions and perversities of theology. We understand morals only as we ignore the preachers and study the facts of moral evolution in a scientific way.

What the preachers affect to know so much about, so peculiarly and so mystically, is the "spiritual" life of man. But the term "spiritual" has no scientific meaning. Science recognizes the emotional life of man—but that is not what the preachers mean by "spiritual." The preachers call themselves authorities on something that doesn't exist. Science prefers to give its attention to emotions that are real and to trace the origins and the effects of these emotions.

Science is solid, steady knowledge. It is the surest knowledge we have in any department of life. Religion, on the contrary, places speculations and dogmas above knowledge.

A KING'S GREATNESS

The greatness of the man who was but is no longer King Alphonso XIII of Spain is described in a long article in the *Kansas City Star*. The article, while long and chatty, is essentially summarized in the following panegyric of the late king: "He is a playboy, smart, debonair, fatalistic—a gambler, a reckless driver, a hunter, a daring polo player, a habitué of fashionable resorts, a fop, yet careless of his life, fearless in an emergency."

Isn't it just too bad that the Spanish people have deprived themselves of the services of a king with such valuable, statesmanlike qualities! A daring polo player on the throne ought to make any nation happy. What better recommendation for a monarch than that he is an habitué of fashionable resorts? A reckless driver is a continual furnisher of thrills—and, alas, smashes.

Alphonso, who is reported to have a personal fortune of about \$15,000,000, will seek thrills elsewhere. For years a royal parasite, he will now be an ex-royal parasite.

And the greatness of this abdicated king is of the sort that Spain gladly and gainfully loses.

TRY NOT to laugh when we tell you that John Hawkins, a celebrated English slave trader in the sixteenth century, transacted that cruel business in a ship called "The Jesus." That medieval age was better known for its faith than for its logic or its sense of truth or fitness.

SOCIAL progress, summed up, means getting rid of parasites.

LAST CHANCE! SUB CONTEST CLOSES APRIL 30

This issue of The Freeman will reach you a few days before April 30—so that you have a last chance to send in names and boost your record higher in our April sub contest campaign. The five readers who send in the five largest lists of names—at 10 weeks for 10 cents each—will receive five free Little Blue Book prizes. All names mailed not later than midnight of April 30 will be counted in the contest. The prizes are: First, a free set of the 1,623 Little Blue Books. Second, a free set of the first 1,000 Little Blue Books. Third, a free set of the first 500 Little Blue Books. Fourth, a free set of the first 100 Little Blue Books. Fifth, a free set of the first 50 Little Blue Books. These names must be sent in clubs of ten or more. Write the names, with street and address, on a plain sheet of paper and mail them to The American Freeman, Girard, Kans.

NOT ATHEISTS

Suppose the newspapers were to appear with a story headlined as follows: "Atheist Shoots Atheist in Dispute Over Meeting." There would be a flood of sermons in all the cities and towns of America, stressing eloquently the theme that atheistic ideas were destructive of the moral sense; that atheism led to violence and outlawry; that in rejecting the idea of a God, the human mind was rejecting all humane sentiments, regular habits and discipline. There would be many editorials in the press emphasizing the same argument. The incident would be used as alleged proof, not that two individuals merely happened to be violent and engage in a tragic shooting match, but that atheism as a philosophy was responsible for such a bloody occurrence.

It is not our wish to imitate such a theme in remarking upon the tragic shooting of one preacher by another in a Missouri village, Halley's Bluff, near the town of Nevada, Mo. It is enough for us to call the attention of our readers to the fact that Christians, and even Christian ministers, sometimes display violent tendencies; and that they display these tendencies at least as frequently as men who are not Christians. Christians—even Christian preachers—can be animated by feelings of jealousy and anger, which were exhibited in this Missouri tragedy. Christianity is not a protection from moral accidents,

from the failings and the forcible defects of human nature.

The explanation of the Missouri shooting of one preacher by another seems, briefly, to lie in factional dissension and jealousy. Rev. J. A. Brown, who graduated (so to speak) from blacksmithing to pulp-pounding, was formerly in charge of preaching in the Halley's Bluff log church. The little congregation grew fractious and divided into hostile parties, as Christian congregations have done before. A Kansas City evangelist, Rev. George Rider, ap-

peared on the scene as a peacemaker and incidentally—or, as it turned out, quite mainly—as the displacer of Rev. Brown in his preaching job. Thus ousted, Rev. Brown nursed bitter feelings. Brotherly love was not so strong as clerical jealousy. So when Rev. Rider, called away by the death of a relative, visited Rev. Brown's home to invite the latter to do the preaching on Easter Sunday, hard words led to hard blows and, as the climax, to Rev. Rider's fatal shooting by Rev. Brown. On his deathbed Rev. Rider for-

gave the preacher who had killed him—so perhaps the reader will say that Christianity, or some better feeling, triumphed in the victim's mind.

Our whole point or our principal point is that the claim for Christianity as a refiner of men's natures is very greatly exaggerated; indeed, there is no essential truth in the claim—men and women, that is to say, are not better men and women because they happen to be Christians.

What I Have Learned About Animals

A Book by Marcet Haldeman-Julius in which Curious and Interesting and Whimsical and Sympathetic Tales—True Tales Taken from Life—are Related Concerning the Nature and Habits of Animals and the Relations of Human Beings with the Animals of Their Lower Kinship. Readers Will Be Charmed with the Things Marcet Has Learned About Dogs, Cats, Horses, Sheep, Cows, Geese, Birds and—Incidentally—Humans. Simple, Vivid and Fascinating.

This is the finest book ever written about animals. Although she is a versatile writer and can do many things well, we believe that Marcet Haldeman-Julius touches the deepest notes—the note of greatest insight and sympathy—when she tells what she knows about animals. Or perhaps we should say that she writes so understandingly and sympathetically about human beings because she is inspired by a patient love and communication with all life? We will say this: Marcet makes her animals seem almost like human beings. She makes vivid their feelings, their probable or possible ways of reasoning about things, their instinctive responses and their capabilities of being trained, their fears and plays and affections. The dogs—Ajax Simba and Zon and their interesting company—appear as real persons in Marcet's sketches. The individuality of that glorious horse, General Grant, is unmistakable. Cats, geese, birds, all are personalized most clearly. They are introduced to the reader in the most perfect sense of the word, for the reader is really familiar with them after reading *What I Have Learned About Animals*.

Marcet can see the amusing things in the lives of animals, as in the lives of people; and her amusement, always touched with tenderness, helps to a warmer appreciation of life. The reader shares her smiling joy and understanding. To read Marcet's book, *What I Have Learned About Animals*, is to be drawn closer to life; or, it may be, to have the pleasure of recognizing similar moods and episodes that have happened in the reader's life.

Perhaps no better tribute can be paid than to say that even one who does not care about animals will genuinely like *this book* on animals. You cannot judge this by other animal books. It is in a different class. It is written from the life and with the pulse of living reality in every line. It is not dry nor casual nor impersonal nor merely a collection of more or less interesting facts. It is the work of an artist, we submit, to have made animals *live as persons*, to have made them warmly real and near to the reader, as Marcet has done in this book. But of course it is more than the work of an artist. What gives charm to Marcet's animal sketches is that she has *felt sincerely* what she writes. She brings a wealth of common, human experience, treated with an uncommon charm of intimacy and artistry, to this book of significant chapters in the lives of her animal friends—for, yes, the animals Marcet writes about are her *friends* and not merely objects to be studied with detached curiosity.

This book will not improve your mind in the

in history and philosophy. It will not bring to you a discussion of profound ideas. But it will academic sense. It will not convey great lessons

These Are the Titles of the Delightful Sketches in Marcet's Animal Book

Rainbow of Cats. Useless Tragedy. Alice Wins a Race. Mis'ry. My Persian Cats. Riding the Wind. Bellwethers of Spring. Human Nature. Peter. Cosette. The Four Rounders. General Grant. Geese—Most Estimable of Fowls. Sic 'Em. A Study in Temperaments. The Death of Rex—and Arrival of Ajax Simba. The Buster Murder Case. Tout de Suite (Pronounced by the Neighborhood "Toot Sweet"). Earth's New Life. The Mind of a Puppy. Teething. Ajax Simba Has a Caller. On Guard. Ajax Simba's Heritage. Milking Time—One of the Happiest Hours of the Day. Ajax Simba and Princess Valentine. Ajax Yields to Temptation. Two Points of View. Ajax Simba Calls the Tune. Last Year's Egg. A Word About Big Boy. Ajax Simba Becomes One of the Gang. Fearless and Alert. Ajax Simba's Bill of Fare. Blondex Becomes Ours. All's Well That Ends Well. A Black Page. Alpine Echoes. The Ordeal of Blondex. Laurence Trimble—His Movie Dogs and Horses.

entertain you. It will amuse you. It will give you a deeper, tenderer sense of living things.

What I Have Learned About Animals is a large, beautiful book, 5½ by 8½, bound in stiff card covers, printed in large clear type and with many delightful illustrations. There are 121 pages of the most fascinating stories and sketches. The price of the book, postage prepaid, is only 75 cents.

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

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