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President Hoover Is America's Great Mistake

What interest or influence brought or sent Herbert C. Hoover back to the United States, after his long expatriation, and his intimate identification with affairs in foreign lands?

What power or purpose injected him into public life in this country, under conditions that foisted him into the presidency, neither a Republican nor a Democrat?

What part has the Anti-Saloon League played in this Hoover game, and how are all these things linked up with a reactionary determination to dominate American affairs, governmental and financial?

These questions and others must be answered between now and the next presidential election.

The besetting sin of Herbert Clark Hoover was his obsession by a superiority complex. Hoover began blundering almost the minute he became President. He has continued to blindly blunder ever since. Mr. Hoover went into the presidency sadly afflicted with a superiority complex. It has grown on him until it has become an obsession—almost a mania. In fact, he broke into public life, after almost a lifetime in foreign lands, with the seeds of that superiority complex germinating. Under the decadent influence he has tried to drive the United States Senate and the American people as coolie and other foreign slave and cheap labor is driven.

He is credited with having been a master hand at that sort of thing in his private profession. He has shown himself an absolute and most miserable failure in his efforts to utilize such methods in public and political affairs.

We have just finished a second reading of a book, written by John Knox, the title of which is "The Great Mistake," and the subtitle asks the question: "Can Herbert Hoover explain his past?"

Unveiling the Hoover Myth

This Knox book takes the life of Herbert Hoover, from childhood to the present time. It is in the nature of a biography, and every sentence in it is a question, based on the opening assertion that "more than any other president, Herbert Hoover has been the beneficiary of propaganda." That puts it very mildly. The thoughtful reader, after having given due consideration to the REVELATIONS in the volume, will be convinced that Hoover is not only the beneficiary of propaganda, but in reality the CREATOR of propaganda. One can see him beginning his ascent of the ladder of notoriety in his youth by rungs of his own making; the material is propaganda. As President of the United States, Herbert Hoover is a failure. This is generally, if reluctantly, admitted. The admission is usually qualified with something like "but of course he was a great engineer, and he did wonderful work in feeding the Belgians and on the food administration."

From that very starting point, all the way to the conclusion of this startling book, proof is given, page by page, fact by fact, and deduction by deduction, all completely supported and justified by facts, that both of these pretensions are NOT justifiable as qualifications for his failure in the presidency. To even approximately appreciate the sham and the falsity that underlie these claims of merit for Herbert Hoover, one must read with thought and without bias the Hoover story as set forth in this Knox book.

The superiority complex shows itself right at the beginning, when he asserts a desire to "get away from these people," his relatives and their affiliates, and associates, "because they are poor people, and I do not want to live amongst them." He showed traits of trickery and treachery while a student at Stanford University. His overweening desire, according to three different biographers, was the getting and the holding of money. Rose Wilder Lane, one of the best known of his biographers, wrote most revealingly about him, but always in an apologetic vein. During his entire school career he was absolutely without popularity, and confessed himself an absolute failure as a mixer with his fellow students, because always he held aloof lest he should be called upon to let go of a few pennies. He was industrious, but always for his own advantage, and spurred on by greed and avarice. He graduated as a mining engineer, and worked at it for some time, but in an humble capacity, until opportunity came for him to get a connection with an English firm of mining stock promoters, and a mining stock promoter he was continuously until he came to this country, and got control of the great work of controlling the food supply—first for

the Belgians and then for the United States.

In his activities as a mining stock promoter, it nowhere appears that he actually did any mining engineering. He was always a managing director or a promoter in the selling line. The Knox book makes this plain by reproducing pages and pages of mining stock records, and always his name and that of his brother Theodore appear as board members of from ten to twenty companies, headquarters and residences in London. From these records it appears that the companies were always in process of being liquidated or reorganized, watered stocks being the chief ingredient in the mass and mess of potage in which the Hoovers dealt, until they seemed to have become very rich.

For an illustration of the kind of business they carried on, one may read with interest, in the novel of Charles Dickens, "Martin Chuzzlewit," the history of the rise and fall of the "Anglo-Bengalee Disinterested Loan and Life Insurance Company." We recommend those interested in the London activities of Mr. Hoover to read that enlightening story. Even the names of the companies promoted have a striking similarity.

Can Herbert Hoover Explain His Past?

In a previous section we followed Mr. Knox's Hoover idyll from childhood, through various influences and developments, that landed him in London, England, as an attaché or employee of the extensive, though somewhat mysterious, concern of Bewick, Moreing & Co., whose mining activities were all outside of England, and apparently mostly in China.

From the pages and pages printed in the Knox book, this firm was engaged in promoting mining schemes, not operating mining companies. They seemed to have especially needed an American of a certain type and character, willing and capable of doing certain sorts of things, for which they seemed unable to find the right kind of a man in their own country, or would not offer to one of their own countrymen. They got young Hoover, and Hoover suddenly found himself drawing down pay to the amount of almost or quite ten times as much as he had ever before been paid.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in some of the lists of mining stock exploitation printed at length, we find Herbert Hoover—the great engineer—drawing a salary of \$5,000 a year as an engineer and \$95,000 a year as "financial expert."

Let us quote from the Knox book: "It is not out of place to say that methods of company promoting which were too dubious for China in 1900 are a poor background for a President of the United States in 1930. Let me state here that the burden of the charge against Mr. Hoover is that his standards of conduct do not fit the position he now holds."

A little farther along, commenting on a notorious case involving very large Chinese mining properties, which Hoover had been instrumental in obtaining for his English employers, the author of the book says:

"The specific charge in this Chinese case is that Mr. Hoover secured possession of the property in question for his associates by making a promise which was later disregarded. There is a certain gruesome similarity between this almost forgotten acquisition of Chinese mines and the later acquisition of the presidency of the United States. It is difficult to escape the thought that the same methods which worked in 1900 were given a further trial in 1928."

The story of that great trial in London reads like a romance of treachery, involving the ownership of vast mining possessions, with the name of Herbert Hoover looming up all the way through it. It was printed in full in the London Times, and is quoted from extensively in the John Knox book. Two features are outstanding—one having to do with Mr. Hoover's place of residence, and

the other with the outcome of the trial. The trial was before the high court of justice, chancery division, Mr. Justice Joyce presiding. As to Hoover's place of residence—we quote:

"The story has it that when Hoover first asked Chang (Chinese plaintiff) to deed the property to him, he argued that if the title were in the hands of a foreigner the revolting Boxers would not disturb the mines; he added that his (Hoover's) country was sufficiently strong to protect the property against looting or seizure."

"What is your country?" Mr. Hoover was asked.

"ENGLAND," Mr. Hoover promptly answered.

"One sentence in the testimony immediately following the above stands out clearly in this connection. It records Mr. Hoover as saying: 'After the Russian troops had been displaced by the British at the mines, there was an apparent difference in the tone of the negotiations.'"

Many columns of testimony following the above were printed in the London Times, always with Hoover in the defensive, and appearing plainly in the guise of a promoter of mining schemes, but never with any actual mining operations—and through it all there runs a constant stream of big money into the Hoover exchequer.

"I find as a fact that the terms of the memorandum (broken promise) formed the basis and foundation of the whole arrangement, and were well understood by all parties to be an essential condition of any transfer being made by the plaintiffs or either of them to the defendant (Hoover) company. I also find as a fact that the terms of this memorandum HAVE NOT BEEN OBSERVED OR PERFORMED."

Under the circumstances I am of opinion that to allow the defendant (Hoover) company, while they insist on retaining the benefits of the transfer, to escape from the obligations of the memorandum on any pretext that Hoover was not authorized to agree to its terms, or that it was impossible for the defendant (Hoover) company to perform some of these terms without altering its constitution would be CONTRARY TO ONE OF THE PLAINEST PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY. IT WOULD BE TO SANCTION SUCH A FLAGRANT BREACH OF FAITH AS IN MY OPINION COULD NOT BE TOLERATED BY THE LAW OF ANY COUNTRY."

That vehement judgment was from an English court against the man who is now President of the United States, and who at that time, by his own statement under oath, claimed England as his country.

Why Did Hoover Come to the U. S. A.?

This section brings the "great engineer" from foreign lands to this country. Previous sections, all based on statements published in the John Knox book, "The Great Mistake," have briefly taken Hoover through his youth and his school days at Stanford University and through some "queer" parts of his history of a score or more years in foreign lands.

Through all the activities incidental to those periods runs the thread of that superiority complex which seems to be a disease that has become chronic with the man. Surrounding all those years—his boyhood and school days in America, and his days as mining stock promoter and promoter in England and in other foreign lands—there seems to hang a veil, akin figuratively to that mist that hovers over great waterfalls, like that of Niagara. Through this veil, from time to time, pointed facts thrust themselves, that seem to indicate, if not distinctly to say: Things concealed by the mist are not exactly what they are said to be, what some people have been led to think they are. Much that has been given out as actuality is really mythical.

Many people have asked, and there seems to be no recorded authentic answer to the question: Why did Hoover bob up all of a sudden, and become so prominent in this country, from which he had been divorced nearly or quite a fourth of a century, and concerning which he knew little or nothing? Who brought him over here? Who sent him over here? What motive prompted his hop-skip-and-jump departure from England and his arrival in the United States, and activities in the direction of assimilating the United States? Was he sent over here by special British interests? Was he induced to come here by special American interests? Was he brought or sent here or did he come of his

own motion, for the purpose of grinding some particular axe for some especial interest? Hoover has never taken anybody into his confidence as to those things. He has clothed himself in a certain sort of mystery.

Probably not one hundred people in the whole United States had ever heard of Herbert Clark Hoover, yet in less time than it would take an ordinary man to catch onto the points of the compass after landing in America, we find him taking over the job of feeding the people of Belgium with American money. How was that brought about? Was that the initial step in the direction of taking over the food supplies of the United States? Did the ambition range farther and include the entire food supply of the world? If so, for whom and in what interest was Mr. Hoover acting?

Woodrow Wilson, just about that time straining himself to impose the League of Nations on this country, seems to have "discovered" Hoover. How? Why? Is there any connection with this idea of dominating the food resources of the world and that other idea of Woodrow Wilson as "President of the civilized world," through elevation to the presidency of the League of Nations? If thoughtful people consider this gigantic idea fantastic, let them recall that Col. E. M. House, Wilson's most intimate friend at that time, was authority for the plain declaration that Wilson was to be made chief executive of the League of Nations.

In this connection intense interest must attach to revelations made in the John Knox book on "The Great Mistake" with regard to the tricks played by the American food commission, of which Hoover was chief under appointment by Wilson. Let's bring it right home: There are hundreds of thousands of people who remember how we used to stand in line and wait for the privilege of buying a few pounds of sugar, at exorbitant prices, as one of the results of Hoover's rationing scheme. In this Knox book startling FACTS are brought out, showing how Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Senator Reed of Missouri, and others, literally forced Hoover to make admissions that were of so hideous an aspect it was not deemed safe to expose them to public view. In brief, this is the sugar chapter of the story:

The Hoover-directed food commission contracted, in the name of the United States, for the entire Cuban crop of sugar for certain years. Cuba produced much more sugar in those years than in any others. Thousands and thousands of bags of that sugar were stacked in the open in Cuba, and there exposed to the weather, that rotted and destroyed it. Other thousands of bags were shipped through this country into Canada, thence to England; but the people of this country had to be rationed and to pay from five to ten times normal prices for sugar.

Nothing More Than a Shady Stock Promoter

To have a proper realization of the almost astounding truths given to the world in this book of revelations written by John Knox, the reader must keep in mind the prime fact—that Hoover came into public activity "out of the everywhere into the here," hailed as a transcendently capable, able and creative genius.

"A great engineer," he was proclaimed, who had conducted mining operations on a world scale, in far-off parts of the world, the glamour and distance and mystery adding to the wonderfulness of the man. Mining engineer he was designated by his diploma from Stanford University, mining stock promoter he really was when he landed in London to take up a special piece of promotion work for a firm of promoters and speculators.

A mining stock promoter he continued through the twenty-five years he pulled off jobs for that London bunch. But it was as a mining engineer that he was brought back, was sent back or came back to this country. The Knox book makes it plain that the only engineering he ever did was the engineering of shady and certainly, in one particular instance, decidedly tricky and self-enriching stock promotion schemes.

It is of especial interest to note that almost from the minute he came back from his long life in foreign lands, right up to this time, his activities have had to do with food stuffs. He took over or was given

the job of spending American money for feeding the starving Belgians in a manner that practically proclaimed that he was the only man in the world capable of handling the job of feeding a whole nation of hungry people, yet he was a mining engineer. What possible relationship exists between providing food for starving millions and mine engineering? Absolutely none, except as both may be relegated to the realm of schemes and the promotion of schemes. A mining engineer in print, a mining stock scheme promoter in fact, yet practically all his activities since he came back from foreign lands have been more or less intimately connected with the CONTROL of food supplies on a big scale.

From the Belgium job, Hoover was eased into the food commissioner of the United States, ostensibly for war purposes, and in a very short time he was veritably the food czar of this country, with much of his activities directed towards foreign nations. He organized a great grain exporting company, with practically the whole treasury of the United States backing him, by the grace of Woodrow Wilson. In this immediate connection the story of sugar is illustrative and fraught with significances that were almost terrifying, as uncovered by the Knox book's recital of official record facts. Some of this story is told in the form of correspondence between Woodrow Wilson and Hoover. More of it is told in page after page of startling revelations of the grilling given Hoover by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, and others. The testimony of Claus Spreckels is also set forth at length.

From all this it appears that Hoover, as food commissioner of the United States, purchased the entire sugar crop of Cuba. The handling of this sugar was under the direction and supervision of Hoover, actually placed under the control of Hoover's sugar men, and they did what they pleased with it. There are hundreds of thousands who vividly recall how we were all rationed on sugar; had to pay as high as thirty cents a pound, and stood in long lines begging for the privilege of buying, with Herbert Hoover enthroned as the veritable and absolute monarch of sugar.

In the official testimony, as set forth in this Knox book, it is brought out that millions and millions of tons of sugar were sacked and stacked up in the open fields in Cuba, a very large part of which was allowed to melt and rot, and although it belonged to the United States, was absolutely controlled by the food commissioner, and hundreds of thousands of people were refused the privilege of buying, even at fixed prices from five to ten times as large as the normal market price.

At the same time, millions of tons of this Cuban sugar, controlled by the food commissioner, was brought into New York, thence shipped to Canada, and from there went to England, while only dribbles were allowed to come into this country for consumption. That story of sugar was a tragedy almost beyond compare. In the course of Senator Reed's questioning of Claus Spreckels it was brought out that three English sugar refiners, by grace of Hoover, actually fixed prices and apportioned the distribution of this American-owned sugar, with no one sitting in to represent the people of the United States. It is a hideous exposition, especially in the light of the fact that this ex-czar of sugar is now President of the United States, and wants to succeed himself.

Why Does Hoover Remain Silent?

Particularly interesting, and even singularly significant, is the fact that so much of the activity of Herbert C. Hoover in American public life has had to do with the world's food supplies and their distribution. He came to the front first, as is well known and especially dwelt upon by the author, of the book from which so much of the material for this article has been obtained, as the managing director or something of the sort of the feeding of the Belgians. Next, he was United States food commissioner, in which capacity he was clothed with or assumed almost dictatorial authority and power. The chief food commodities with which he seems to have been concerned were breadstuffs and sugar. In a previous section we have reproduced some of the almost hideous revelations of that deal in sugar by which the United States took over, for a price, the entire sugar crop of Cuba, and from the data contained in the John Knox

book that the Americans were not permitted to have that sugar.

Some of the revelations we have hesitated to reproduce in detail, telling of that sugar deal from the Cuban end, and President Menocal of Cuba is given as authority. The story is told of how ships operated by the American Shipping Board were the only lines of transportation between Havana and the United States. These vessels again and again were forced to return to this country in ballast for lack of cargo, while this American-owned sugar was rotting and wasting in the open fields in Cuba. Let us quote at this point from the Knox book:

"Herbert Hoover was food commissioner. According to his own statement he accepted full responsibility for the actions of his subordinates. As long as his 'executive genius' was at the sugar helm, sugar was scarce (in America) and the price prohibitive. When the matter was taken out of his hands and put back into what Hoover called the old wasteful system of trade it immediately went back to normal prices and quantities."

With that acceptance of responsibility by Mr. Hoover, some of the further revelations border closely on the sensational. Let us again quote:

"President Menocal of Cuba was asked why all that vast quantity of sugar was going to waste in Cuba. He answered: 'It is a shame. This sugar has been bought by the United States, but they don't seem to want it. I have done my part, and the matter is out of my hands—but I hate to see the sugar wasted.'"

Now come the genuinely sensational allegations, showing what was being done with that sugar, owned by the United States, and supposed to be under the control of Food Commissioner Hoover. Again we quote:

"Meanwhile the Royal Spanish-Canadian Steamship Line was very busy. The ships came to Cuba, were secretly loaded at night, and sailed at dawn, and always after one of them departed there appeared a great hole in one of the great piles of sacked sugar that belonged to the United States. The sugar was calmly stolen and resold. It was shipped under export permits purchased from a close relative of a high Cuban official, who collected from six to ten dollars per bag for issuing the permits. Several hundred thousand tons of our sugar went this route; most of this sugar went to Vigo bay in Spain, from where it was shipped to Hendaye on the French border, consigned to chocolate-makers in Switzerland, and traveled across France in bond. When it got to Switzerland, the chocolate manufacturers usually decided they did not want it, and passed it over the border into Germany, where it sold at from thirty to sixty cents a pound. The loot was large,

and must have been cut several ways."

Having read that paragraph, it is interesting to revert to the declaration of Food Commissioner Hoover that he "assumed full responsibility."

Intimately associated with this sugar deal, there was a deal in flour. This country agreed, presumably through Food Commissioner Hoover, to sell white flour to Cuba. It will be recalled that we had wheatless days, and that many of us turned patriotically to cornmeal. Again let Mr. Knox tell the story:

"We kept our word (with regard to flour). The flour was delivered in Cuba through an agent of the war trade board, who had formerly been a United States consul-general in a Latin-American capital. He delivered the flour to the Cuban government through a Cuban gentleman whose outstanding qualification was a long experience as a leading professional gambler in Havana. The price of that flour to the Cuban government was \$11.75 a bag; to the Cuban people it was anywhere from \$26 to \$60 a bag, and diluted 50 percent or more with chalk and other adulterations, at that."

Isn't that a lovely revelation, especially when we read it in connection with the statement of Mr. Hoover, then food commissioner, for all the acts of his subordinates? By way of adding a touch of verisimilitude to this story, the Knox book continues:

"The former consul-general is said to have spent \$180,000 a year out of his salary of \$8,000 a year, and to have given each of his three daughters dots of a million dollars or so, when they married, and they married very well, socially speaking. The gentleman himself did not come back to the United States. He lives in Paris now, with a house in a correct faubourg, and a large income from well-selected investments."

In 1928, September 19, there was obtained in due and legal official form a statement showing that

[Please turn to page two]

Circulate This Hoover Exposure

This issue, dated May 30, is being mailed early in order to get our Hoover exposure before the American people as soon as possible and to enable our readers to order extra copies for distribution. Use the blank below at once. We have printed thousands of extra copies and will mail orders the day they are received.

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Reverend Norris Wants to Kill Clarence Darrow

By Harold Preece

Yes, sir, if Clarence Darrow gets stewed in Texas oil, it will be his own fault. Rev. J. Frank Norris, the two-gun generalissimo of the militant fundamentalists has served public notice that the pious and patriotic citizens of Texas will not stand for any agnostic foolishness. There is already a notch, representing the life of Dexter E. Chippis, on the reverend doctor's gun; and Fort Worth's fighting parson is pining for another opportunity to go berserk.

When Mr. Darrow spoke in the stockyard metropolis recently, Rev. Norris was furious that such heresy should have been tolerated. The impious assert that Rev. Norris really felt chagrined because he was not chosen to defend Protestantism in the creedal symposium of which Mr. Darrow's speech was a part. Be that as it may, the doctory doctor was not going to be withstood by any infidel from wicked Chicago. So Norris thundered, boomed, and spat at Darrow from the pulpit, echoing the fundamentalist platitudes, "The fool hath said in his heart

there is no God."

Norris began his discourse by declaiming on the materialism of the present age: "One of the troubles in this present day, this twentieth century, pleasure-mad materialistic age, is that we haven't enough challenge. Don't misunderstand me—the finest thing that could happen to the ministry of the Church of Jesus Christ is that ten thousand agnostics and atheists should jump on the whole crowd. My friends, there is one thing true about the Christian religion, and don't forget it, whenever the devil attacks it, then it is going on to a glorious victory." To which the yokels yelled amen.

If Norris really believes these noble sentiments just quoted, he should be thankful for skeptics such as Clarence Darrow and Joseph McCabe and pray for their multiplication. Norris is an astute business man, regularly collecting thousands of dollars from devout icemen and laundry-wagon drivers, and is hence bound to recognize the economic axiom that "Competition is the life of trade." But he always takes a firm stand against competitive beliefs.

Norris continues, "I have made it

my rule all these years, whenever any great out-spoken false teaching lifts its hydra-head in my front yard or in my back yard, to protest, and I do so without any apology, let or hindrance from anybody on the face of God Almighty's dirt."

By these words, Norris himself stands convicted of heresy in view of his personal career while staying in Fort Worth. Judging from the past, the shamless-salvationist must consider "Thou shalt not kill" to be a false teaching. Having written abusive letters to himself and accused his enemies of being the authors, he evidently has scant regard for the injunction, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Ah, look at the mote in your own eye, Brer Norris.

But this pistol-totin' saint is too much concerned with the evil forces personified by Mr. Darrow to bother with such trivial matters as the sanctity of human life and the importance of Truth.

"My friends," he proceeds, "men like Clarence Darrow are the impersonation of the underworld of crime. Let me say to you in all seriousness, America tonight is fac-

ing the greatest crisis in her glorious history. You needn't turn to Red Russia or to South America with its revolutions, you need not turn to Europe and look at its turmoils, I say to you tonight America is facing the greatest crisis in its history, when we face the solemn sad fact that the organized underworld of Chicago and New York and the great centers of this country, not only rule these great cities, but are not willing to stop there, and are reaching out their bloody hands to capture the White House! When you deny God, then friends you have got no law and no authority, no family or human government and the world is left to roll on in starless night without hope and end in miserable despair.

"The Clarence Darrows would rip the flag from its mast and tear the Constitution to shreds, they would consign the Bible to flames, pull down every church spire that is lifted up, pointing toward the stars of Almighty God and there wouldn't be a prayer meeting left. But the truth! Amen!" from the breath-thanks be unto God, we who believe in our homes, native land,

churches, and the God of the Bible, shout and sing: 'Let the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision, and shall dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel.'"

This pious assurance delivered with a vigorous stamping of the Doctor's foot and a defiant toss of the Doctor's head inspired jubilant, old-fashioned Baptist shoutings on the part of his hearers. By Gosh, that smart infidel was gettin' told by Brother Norris.

Not only are Mr. Darrow's views subversive and his presence in Fort Worth a menace to public morals, according to Dr. Norris, but his family connections are not such that would entitle him to go among decent folk. No doubt, Mr. Darrow himself will be surprised to learn of his kinship with two distinguished contemporary Chicagoans; but to a fundamentalist like Norris all things are possible with God. If sons of God can be generated spontaneously why cannot mere human beings be made cousins and brothers by divine fiat? Hear Rev. Norris' statement regarding this twentieth century

miracle of consanguinity:

"Clarence Darrow and his crowd are anarchists. Take his Chicago crowd—his twin brother, Al Capone—then you take his first cousin, Bill Hale Thompson—they would tear the Eighteenth Amendment out of the Constitution, the very foundation of all the laws of the country. That's the propaganda being carried on, but I believe in all the falling-from-grace Methodists and all the back-sliding Baptists and when they get on fire again as they used to be in the olden days, I believe, my friends, we will show this Chicago gang, and New York Tammany, and Clarence Darrow's crowd that God still has an army in this country as fair as the moon, as glorious as the sun and as terrible as an army with banners."

Having expatiated eloquently on Mr. Darrow's transgressions, the Fundamentalist Pope prepares to impose sentence after first telling a pointless story about a little boy who was bitten by a copperhead snake.

"My friends, Clarence Darrow is that copperhead snake." (That's the ren.) "And that snake entered the

Garden of Eden the first time we have any record of it, and he has been scattering poison. All down the centuries of time he has been striking at the heart of youth and old age; he has dug every grave; he has built every prison; he has erected every asylum; he has fought every war; he has wronged every tear; he has broken every heart. MY FRIENDS," in a blood-thirsty shout, "I AM IN FAVOR OF KILLING SNAKES!" Strident amens and deafening applause echoed from the congregation upon the deliverance of Norris' verdict.

If Norris is hell-bent on killing Clarence Darrow, we humbly suggest that he combine business with pleasure. The next time that Norris wants to burn his church in order to get a larger edifice, as has happened twice previously, why not imitate Darrow or some other terrible heretic in the Holy Smoke? The Rationalists would thereby acquire the vicarious Saviour so long prescribed for them by the Fundamentalist; and Norris would be well repaid for the show when he passed the hat around for the new church building. Moreover, Texas would have a fifty-eighth variety of lynching.

Hoover, America's Great Mistake

Concluded from page one

Herbert C. Hoover, the man who now holds the presidency, was formally and officially registered, once in 1911, twice in 1912, twice in 1913, twice in 1914, and once in 1915, as a qualified voter in London, England, his "dwelling" being officially listed as "Red House, Campden Hill." As a clincher, Mr. Knox, the author of the book, explains that this continuous record shows that Hoover certainly enjoyed the RIGHT of voting in London, England, and adds:

"I do not know whether or not Herbert Hoover ever exercised his privilege of voting in an English election. If he did so vote, he forfeited his American citizenship by the act. I have not tried to find out whether he so disqualified himself or not; his distressing incompetency in the presidency is so vitally serious a matter that his legal right to hold the office is a matter of minor importance."

We venture to suggest in this immediate connection that, even though the author of the book considers Hoover's legal right to be President "a matter of minor import," Mr. Hoover should have respect enough for the American people to furnish absolute proof, IF HE CAN, that he did not exercise his British right of franchise. Incidentally, one of the striking bits of testimony set forth in the book as to Hoover's Britishness is a photographic copy of the register of a prominent club in New York, in which the entry appears, under date of February 28, 1917, in Hoover's own handwriting: "Herbert Hoover, London, England."

Following the startling stories of the food administration, the rottenness in the handling of the Cuban sugar crop, and the multifarious revelations of countless other things having to do with the food administration, and the incontrovertible FACTS as to Hoover's residence in London, England, Mr. Knox carries the Hoover myth into American politics. That was in the year 1920. The author says:

"Both the Republican and the Democratic parties have been victims of the Hoover myth. Neither party is responsible for him, though both have suffered from him."

All of which simmers down to a declaration, and its general accept-

ance, that Hoover is so saturated with British imperialism that he is utterly un-American. Mr. Knox in his book says:

"Herbert Hoover seems to lack definite political convictions. In 1918 he signed a statement calling upon the country to elect a Democratic congress. In 1920, or thereabouts, he proclaimed his loyalty to the internationalist program of Woodrow Wilson, and was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. He also wrote letters pledging himself to support of the League of Nations, the World Court and other Wilson ideas—that is, they were expounded by Wilson, but they really originated in Europe and are designed more for the benefit of Europe than of the United States. Later in that same year of 1920, he decided that he would make more political progress if he was a Republican, and he became a candidate for the presidential nomination of that party. Largely because of this remarkable condition he was not a serious factor in either convention. He entered upon the eight years of wandering in the political wilderness, during which his propaganda machine created the legend of the 'Great Engineer.' "Everything he did or said or didn't say was heralded as the voice of genius. He toured about the world, presiding over famines and calamities, and was credited with an almost divine power of feeding the hungry—always advertised by The Great Ballyhoo Chorus. A lot of people came to believe in him, and in 1928 a religious controversy gave him his chance. He was elected President of the United States on the promise of his protagonists and the religion of his opponent."

There we have the story of Hoover in American politics comprehensively told in concentrated form. It appears complete, except that it does not tell who paid for the activities of that "Great Ballyhoo Chorus." There appears to be abundant reason to believe that the funds for that propaganda came from British sources. In that relation, something more than ordinary interest attaches to certain passages in the book, "Triumph of Democracy," written by "Andrew Carnegie, and

published as long ago as 1893. Note the following paragraph:

"Readers will kindly note that this is a look ahead; how far ahead I shall not attempt to guess; nevertheless, it is ahead, and some time, somehow, it is to come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith, which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfillment. Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed forever. Let men say what they will; therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens is moving to rise, shine upon and great again the reunited state. The British-American Union."

There is promulgated an unqualified assault by Carnegie, a Britisher, born in Dumfries, Scotland, who emigrated to America, became "rotten rich" by "various speculative operations," made himself stupendously rich as a steel manufacturer, but always remained a British imperialist at heart.

Summing Up Hoover Myth

Summing up the component parts of the Great Hoover Myth, as exposed in the "Book of Revelations, According to John Knox," we find those parts to consist of a number of other myths, lesser myths, of course, since they are parts of the big myth, but none the less mystical in character, nebulous as to origin, and so erected and paraded as to still leave, after the best is made of their mistiness, many questions unanswered and with little prospect that they ever will be authentically and trustworthily answered.

We have not accepted the John Knox book without due allowance of "salt." That is why we have so carefully selected the statements we have quoted. We have not by any means gone into the depths of the volume; but we have found a degree of authenticity in the statement of certain facts that has fully warranted discussion of them, and those are the features we have used. They are by no means the worst allegations in the book, nor the severest criticisms. But they are bad enough—and we are certainly convinced that they justify the declaration that the United States of America

has right now in the office of President and commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of the nation, a man who is NOT, in spirit or at heart, an American. In fact, one of the lesser mysteries of the Great Hoover Myth is as to the AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP OF HERBERT C. HOOVER. If he ever cast a vote in England—and he has not said he did not—he forfeited his citizenship of the land in which he was born.

That is only one of the lesser myths that are comprised in the Big Hoover Myth, and back of it is another: "Why was Hoover suddenly possessed of such a yearning for his native land, after having lived and wrought for fully a third of a century in foreign lands, with his headquarters and center of FINANCIAL activities in London?" That yearning seems to have seized upon him just at the traditional psychological moment for him to land in the "whale of a job" of feeding foreigners with United States money.

The great engineer myth is another of these mythical peculiarities: He went away from this country, when he was just beginning to be a practical mining engineer—just beginning, it will be noted—scarcely more than a student. He seems to have gone to London at the behest of a London "mining" concern, who sought an American who could and would perform certain services for which they did not seem to be able to find a "suitable" man in England. Tracing his activities, as the author of the John Knox book seems to have done, Hoover is found employed by a big firm of promoters and speculators in mining securities. We do not find Hoover opening or operating any mines, but do trace him through many activities, but always as a promoter, a mining stock jobber. The nature of his employment in England and in foreign regions of a more or less mythical sort and location, is pretty well indicated by one particular official piece of documentary evidence—he is listed as drawing a salary from his London employers of \$5,000 a year as mining engineer, and \$95,000 a year as "financial expert." Keep that designation, "financial expert," in mind and then note that he suddenly reappeared in America, heralded as a "great engineer"—another myth—and was immediately given the job, by Woodrow Wilson, Democratic President, of spending Ameri-

can millions for provisioning the Belgians.

Then he moves along, as we told, into the fat job of food commissioner for the United States, under Wilson. We have told, from the Knox book data, many weird stories of that particular series of myths having to do with operations in grain, sugar and certain other commodities.

Right here the question arises: Who discovered and brought Hoover to this country? What interests, financial or international, needed his presence in the United States at this critical time? What interests on the other side of the Atlantic SENT him over here? The name was scarcely known, yet he became a veritable wonder, under a Democratic administration, in which the League of Nations plot was an obsession. Immediately his activities were directed along mysterious lines. Why?

Moving along from that point to the time when he bounded into American politics, we learn that although practically a stranger in his native land, Wilson made him one of the most conspicuous figures in American public life. At that time, the Democratic party was in the saddle, and Hoover, recently from foreign lands, was a rampant Democrat, even to the point of trying to get the Democratic nomination for President. Who or what interests were back of him in all this? The political scene shifted, and the Republican party came back into control of the government and, "overnight," as it were, Hoover was transmogrified into the rampant Republican. He begged for, schemed for, dickered and bargained for, the Republican nomination for President; got it, and by the blunder of the Democrats in nominating a Catholic and losing the votes of the South he was elected. Thus we have Hoover in the presidency, a more completely un-American office-holder than ever before held office in the United States.

STRANGE BUT TRUE

If my theory of relativity is proven successful, Germany will claim me as a German and France will declare that I am a citizen of the world. Should my theory prove untrue, France will declare that I am a German and Germany will declare that I am a Jew.—Einstein.

RACE PREJUDICE

BY L. M. BIRKHEAD

It is quite natural to dislike people who are different from us. If they talk a different language, have different customs, wear different clothes, and hold to different beliefs from ours, then our suspicion of them, our aversion to them is almost instinctive.

There is also the feeling of superiority that each race manifests toward every other race. It is natural that one's own race should seem to be the finest and best.

What Freud calls the sadistic impulse of the human race also helps us to understand race prejudice and religious intolerance. We like a scapegoat for the world's evils, we want to blame those evils on some other person or some other group. In fact, we rather enjoy pointing the finger of accusation at the scapegoat.

Religion has also added its quota to prejudice and intolerance. Religion has not been a unifying influence in the world or among nations and races; it has rather been a divisive force.

Fear, ignorance and superstition have been elemental forces in the making of racial antipathies and religious bigotry.

The impulse to uplift others and to make all others agree with us has entered into the making of illiberality. We want others to dress as we do, believe as we do, accept our ideals and culture and behave as we do. The race which feels itself chosen to impose its customs and beliefs upon other peoples is always impatient and intolerant.

Among the most destructive and cruel forces in the world have been race hatred and religious intolerance. Race prejudice, without doubt, has been at the source of many wars, much baseness, and inhumanity.

If we are to civilize the world we must remove all discrimination against every group; we must be tolerant of every variety of opinion and idealism. "In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim."

In a civilized world we do not want sameness. This would mean boredom and monotony. There ought to be room for a great diversity of races.

SEND us a club of four subs.

PROGRESS DEPENDS UPON TRUTH

BY ROBERT BRIFFAULT

Human intelligence is, like every character which has bestowed upon an animal race more efficient means of control over the conditions of life, a method of adaptation to those conditions.

It is a means of securing the conformity of man's behavior, of his thoughts and ideas, with the relation which actually obtains between him and his environment.

Upon that correspondence, as upon the correspondence between the vision of the senses and the experience which it forestalls, depends the efficiency of man's adaptive faculty.

The human environment has grown to infinite complexity. It not only includes the physical universe, the material necessities of life, but likewise the even vaster and more varied world of human relations.

That world which has grown out of the comparatively simple environment of the savage, the world which man has made, is the outgrowth of his mind.

The stones of his cities and the steel of his engines are fashioned out of his thought.

The appetites, the passions, the emotions, the interests, the prejudices, the loves and hates, amid which he moves are the outcome of social edifices and structures built, like his cities and his engines, of thought.

The degree in which he is able to exercise control over that complex environment depends upon the measure in which his thoughts are in accord with existing facts.

It depends upon the accuracy of his perception of those facts.

He will fail in the measure that the perception is false, succeed in the measure that it is true.

Progress depends upon truth.

USEFUL workers have all to gain and nothing to lose by the abolition of economic tyranny and robbery.

LIFE's best rewards are the pleasure and the understanding which we can have without robbing our fellow men.

Too MANY moralists still have a sour, sanctimonious tendency to identify pleasure as wickedness.

Preachers' Peace Questionnaire Should Not Be Swallowed Whole

That thousands of Protestant preachers have "withdrawn their sanction and support from the war system" is the hopeful contention of Kirby Page, editor of *The World Tomorrow*, based on 19,372 answers to a questionnaire sent to 50,000 preachers and 3,000 seminary students. The result of the survey is carried in the May issue of *The World Tomorrow*, which is a liberal-pink-pacifist monthly.

A total of 12,076, or 62 percent of those who responded, expressed the opinion that the church should now go on record as refusing to sanction any future war. Fifty-four percent, or 10,427, declared their present purpose of not sanctioning any future war or participating as an armed combatant.

All this is hopeful and speaks well for part of the Protestant clergy's attitude toward war. But in the almost universal chorus of acclaim which has greeted this manifestation, it was forgotten that over 30,000 of the 50,000 to whom the questionnaire was sent have not replied. It is safe to assume that at least three-quarters of this number are not opposed to war.

Add to this number the total of those who expressed opposition to pacifism when answering the questionnaire, and, boiled down, the optimism of Mr. Page seems entirely unjustified.

And when a job as chaplain is in sight, the vote goes the other way. Then 8,700, or 45 percent, declare that they would take jobs on active duty in wartime and 3,721 are in doubt. Thirty-four per cent of the one-third answering the questionnaire say they would not.

Thus the role of the church in wartime has not been overturned, as many hasty pacifists and pink liberals conclude from a glance at the figures. As always, the church is peaceful and pacifist when no war is in sight, but

when the war clouds loom, it suddenly reverts to the role of supplying fodder for cannons, machine guns and the more deadly modern perfections of Mars.

And, also consistent with its past, the church is righteously indignant that it should go into the ranks and endure filth, hunger, bullying, cold, pain and death. Fifty-four percent of those answering Kirby Page's questionnaire are most positive about their desire not to serve as armed combatants.

But give them a chance to "save souls" and provide cannon fodder, and they are most eager for the job. Offered such jobs, they accept—45 percent answering the questionnaire do.

Mr. Page or whoever drew up the questionnaire omitted one most significant query. The preachers who thus showed their liberalism and opposition to war (in peace time) were not asked what attitude they would take toward a war against a nation commonly called atheist. What would they have replied about a war against, for instance, Russia? "White" Russian propagandists have issued and prompted a great deal of propaganda to the effect that Russia is grinding Holy Church and its preachers' incomes under the heels of a working-class government. In view of this, would the preachers reverse their progressive attitudes in a war with such an "atheist" country?

When asked whether they regarded the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war as sufficient to justify sanctioning or participating in a war of "defense," the preachers showed less firm convictions. Forty-three percent, or 8,316, answered "Yes" and 3,563 were in doubt. The preachers

apparently forgot the axiom that no wars are fought except in "defense." In the World War the Germans were told—by their preachers—that they were fighting "to defend the Fatherland." The press and church and literature of the nation drenched the people with this idea. In France, to say nothing of almost all the other Allied countries, the soldiers were told the same thing. Both countries were fighting wars of "defense," absurd as it may seem.

One comment on the statistics released by Mr. Page, hitherto unpublished, was made by a critical student of economics and political science, She declared:

"It is my opinion that the remnant of people who go to church today are impressionable, and the kind who listen and like to be told what they ought to think, especially by their clergymen. If only 19,000 out of the total 100,000 clergymen in the country make 'peace-mindedness' a part of their program, they would, according to Einstein, be a very effective part of the peace movement."

"And so one might say that the church can stop war, if one believes that millions of peace-minded people can turn the sweeping economic tide on which we are being driven toward another Armageddon, led by a handful of humans who wield the economic and political forces today. I fear that numbers alone can no longer stay the mighty hand, unless those numbers rise in a passionate fury and wipe out those few mighty hands of gold, driving them into oblivion—but that will again be war, and one in which the church, too, will sink."

CHURCH FOSTERS "100 PER CENT" REACTIONARY PROPAGANDA

And National Radio Chains Give Free Rein to Anti-Radicals

BY LEO GRULIOW

(Special to The American Freeman)
NEW YORK.—That the Catholic Church, like the Protestant, has its professional "one hundred percent" Ku Kluxers, and, despite its suppression of others preaching more liberal faiths within its ranks, will not act against these reactionaries, is evident in the work of Father Coughlin of Detroit, who, as Rev. Dr. Henry Elmer Barnes says, "saves our nation" every Sunday evening in his "Little Flower Hour" over radio station WABC and a national network.

Father Coughlin began with a small Detroit radio station of his own, broadcasting the "red scare" hokum of Harry Jung and his Military Intelligence Society of Chicago. Since then prominent and evidently rich persons have come to his aid in the spreading of this insidious and false "patriotism," and Father Coughlin has outdone Ralph Easley, Fred Marvin, Matthew Woll, Margaret Robinson and the "Better America" Federation, also known as the "Bitter America" Federation.

The Catholic Church has seen fit to muzzle intelligent and liberal Catholics such as Abbe Dimmet, author of "The Art of Thinking," but it refuses to step in and remove this priest, who, by his "patriotic" work, has continued the role of the church as the foe of modern enlightened thought.

The few weak voices within the Catholic Church which have come out for the principles of modern economic liberalism and radicalism have been driven to cover by the church itself, while such as Father Coughlin continue to disseminate reactionary propaganda, dignifying their absurdity with the name of "Holy Church."

Not only does the Catholic Church and all other churches seek to shut up the stirring voices of freedom which sporadically rebel within the ranks, but Father Coughlin's rantings are further complicated by the question of "freedom of the air."

Foes of such retrenched institutions of backwardness as the church, capitalism and fascism, have been repeatedly kept off the air and barred from speaking over national radio hook-ups. The roster of those whom most American radio stations would refuse permission to speak includes our most famous men—advocates of companionate marriage, advocates of changes in the economic system, opponents of Big Business and of tyranny and dictatorship.

Yet these same radio stations, whose basis for refusing these people the right to free speech is that "controversial" topics cannot be broadcast, allow the conservative and reactionary sides on these questions full sway. The church, big business, the capitalist political parties and advocates of the established order are regular given the freedom of the radio and national hook-ups. Are the things they say not "controversial"?

Ask the owners and controllers of the national radio chains. Ask Father Coughlin, red-baiter and reactionary propagandist.

A LABORATORY OF SOCIAL ILLS

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

In Palestine would seem to be found all the occasions of diversity, all the issues of antagonism, which vex humanity. This little land appears as a kind of microcosm of all the hostilities which rend and tear the human organism.

Is it racial differences?—here you have them in the race prejudice between the Arab and the Jew. Is it political differences?—here you find them in the clash between Arab nationalism, Jewish nationalism, and British imperialism.

Is it religious differences?—here they are in the fierce fanaticisms of Christians and Moslems and the orthodox piety of the Jews. Is it economic differences?—here they flourish in the basic contentions for the land upon which men must feed.

Is it social and cultural differences?—here they abound in the Fel-

lachein shepherd, the Arab landlord, and the Jewish Cholutzim.

It is because Palestine has always been the unhappy meeting place of differences of this kind, that the history of the land has been so tragic.

PROVES PUBLIC ELECTRICITY IS CHEAPER THAN PRIVATE

Editor, The American Freeman:

In your issue of May 2, you commented on electrical rates charged by the private power company operating in Detroit, stating that the rate was 10c per kilowatt-hour for the first thirty hours and 4c for the next 120 hours. You are more than fair to that outfit, for that rate is based on a connected load of one kilowatt. This means that if a home has a lighting load equal to 1,000 watts (ten 100-watt lamps) they would pay the rate above indicated. The remarkable municipally-owned power system in Tacoma makes such a cheap rate that a home of any size has far more than a connected load of 1,000 watts. In my own home I have globes and electrical outlets that total 4,000 watts of load. This means a connected load with a maximum demand of 4 kilowatts (4,000 watts). The benevolent Detroit outfit would base my charges on a demand of 4,000 watts.

For the month beginning February 16 and ending March 18, I used 645 K.W.H. of energy for lighting. For this, I paid the City of Tacoma the sum of \$3.34. The charge for this service in Detroit would be as follows:

645 KWH Demand 4 KW	
30 hours x 4 equals 120 KWH	\$12.00
at 10c equals	
120 hours x 4 equals 480 KWH	
at 4c equals	19.20
45 KWH at 2c equals	.90
Total	\$32.00
Tacoma charge	3.34
Difference	\$28.66

You will notice how cleverly the rates of a private company like the Detroit company are camouflaged to bunk the public. The only way I could get the rate that they apparently give the public would be to remove 3,000 watts of globes from the light sockets, and then move lamps from room to room.

Here is some comedy for you, taken from the Detroit-Edison Company's tariff. The company says:

"The company makes a rate for residential lighting as attractive as possible, consistent with good service, believing in a cheap supply of electricity to householders, good advertising for its business and for Detroit as a place to live in."

For the service that Tacoma gives its home-owner for \$3.34, the privately-owned Detroit system charges \$32.10, and then has the gall to advertise to the world that it has a supply of cheap electricity.

Homer T. Bone, Counsel, Port of Tacoma, Wash.

ATHEISTS DEMAND SCHOOLS BAN BIBLE

Calling biblical tales myths, the Freethinkers of America, on May 5, reopened their court fight to ban the Bible from New York's public schools.

Through the society's attorney, Arthur Garfield Hays, the Freethinkers filed an appeal from the decision of Supreme Court Justice John A. Ford dismissing a similar suit filed last year.

Hays, who will be aided by Clarence Darrow in arguing the case, said in his brief:

"Are the young to become influenced toward fundamentalism by having impressed on their minds that the world was created in seven days, that woman was made out of man's rib and that the troubles of the world arose from the derelictions of Adam and Eve?"

"Science has destroyed the acceptance of these myths, and the principal of a school has no right to designate his school as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or infidel by deciding what version of the Bible be read to students."

DURING the last campaign the Republican slogan was "Who but Hoover?" This year it should be "Not a Hoot for Hoover!"

GOVERNMENT talks about law enforcement while supporting the greatest economic and social crimes.

CALIFORNIA ASSAILED FOR MOONEY CASE

State Faces Disgrace If Men Die Unpardoned, Says Harper's Article

"After fifteen years nothing short of a violent awakening of the state's long dormant sense of social indignation can save us from the disgrace of having these men die in prison—and from having some future generation shudder at California's callous indifference and stupidity."

With this conclusion, an article on the Mooney-Billings case was placed in the hands of the conservative "elephant" of the nation through the pages of Harper's Magazine, one of the oldest periodicals of the country.

Under the main title of "Our American Dreyfus Case," and the sub-title of "A Challenge to California Justice," the article, written by Lillian Symes, has foremost position in the May issue.

"Almost every year of the fifteen that have elapsed since these men were arrested in 1916 has witnessed some fresh disclosure of perjury or injustice in relation to their cases," writes Mrs. Symes, "some new appeal in their behalf from men intimately connected with their trials."

"The trial judge in the Mooney case, the ten living jurors, the assistant district attorney who prosecuted Billings, the chief of the detective bureau who assembled the evidence, and the present district attorney of San Francisco have repeatedly petitioned California's successive governors to pardon the two prisoners on the ground that they were unjustly convicted."

PROTESTS FAILED
"But all these efforts, together with intermittent protests of labor groups, of prominent individuals, and of the liberal press, have bounced ineffectively against the wall of California's official indifference."

"It (California) has been willing—as its recent ex-governor admitted—to grant the men parole, because parole, carrying with it the intimation of mercy to repentant guilt, would still outside agitation in their behalf."

"But to grant pardon is to admit officially what has already been amply proved. And to admit perjury is to cast serious reflections upon prosecuting officials. So far the state hasn't taken such chances."

Mrs. Symes then goes into a history of the labor movement in California and points out that only the large public utility corporations were able to resist successfully the pressure of union organization. She also discloses that as early as 1913 these corporations, acting through Martin Swanson, private detective, attempted to implicate Tom Mooney and Warren Billings in a dynamiting plot in connection with an electrical workers' strike.

"It was at this fortunate moment (calling of a street car strike by Mooney)," she continues, "that the Preparedness parade explosion took place."

REWARD OFFERED
"The Law and Order Committee immediately elected itself the community savior. A reward of \$17,500 was raised for the apprehension of the criminals, and San Francisco frothed at the mouth in an orgy of fright, hatred and desire for vengeance."

"On the very evening of the explosion, before any clues had been gathered, Martin Swanson, the utility corporation detective, who had been on the trail of Mooney and Billings for three years, visited the district attorney, who had been helped into office by the United Railways a few years before, to dismiss the remaining graft prosecution indictment against them."

"Swanson was placed in charge of the investigation, and four days later Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Billings and two other trades unionists, Israel Weinberg and Edward Nolan, were arrested."

The story of the trials that followed is then undertaken by the writer, who says that because of the weakness of the evidence District Attorney Charles Fickert resorted to the desperate expedient of importing the "honest cattle man," Frank Oxman, as a witness.

On Oxman's testimony Mooney was sentenced to hang. Then Oxman, by his own letters, was disclosed to have been in another city when the bomb went off. Oxman was tried for perjury, principally because of the insistence of Fremont Older, California's fighting editor.

NATIONAL INTEREST
National interest in the case caused President Woodrow Wilson to dispatch a special investigation committee, and, on the recommendation of this body, the governor commuted Mooney's sentence of death.

"It may seem incredible," Mrs. Symes continues, "to the disinterested reader, that in the face of these disclosures and confessions, this complete breakdown of the web of perjury and intrigue which surrounded the trials, it should require any moral courage on the part of the state executive to right these wrongs."

"But Californians know that the Mooney-Billings affair has become political dynamite, and no careerist willingly handles high explosives."

JUSTICE is so neglected and forgotten in America that many men have difficulty in distinguishing the nature of justice.

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ruminations

Isaac Goldberg

WHEN THE DEAD RETURN

Miracle at Verdun. By Hans Chlumberg. New York. Greentano's \$2.

I was present at the second night of the Guild production of this play. It was a strange combination—as produced—of intense interest and unbelievable ineptitude. Some of the scenes were presented in the form of talkies; other were done in the imaginative style that we have come to associate with the Theater Guild. I cannot help saying to myself, as the play must be better than the performance or the presentation. And now that the printed version is at hand I am quite sure that this is the case.

That is not to say that Chlumberg's play is a masterpiece. It is not. But it deals at times fascinatingly, and at times even humorously, with a tremendous theme. The human mind cannot conceive of the intense aggregate of mourning that overwhelmed the world during the late and unlamented war. The playwright makes bold to imagine that the dead warriors, on a catastrophic night, arise from their graves and return to the homes where for so long they have been mourned as husbands, brothers and sweethearts, and celebrated as heroes. To their stupefaction they discover that they are not wanted. The dead belong under the sod. What is the world to do with thirteen million mouths demanding to be fed, when hunger and want oppress the nations? The risen corpses are bidden to die a second time.

This is a cold resume. It is sufficient, however, to hint at the tremendous truth that lies buried in our hearts even as these soldier heroes in their tombs. It is a truth that now and then breaks out of our hearts and we bid it, as the world bids these soldiers, to descend to a second death.

You may take my word for it that you missed very little in the ill-considered Guild production. If you have any imagination you should be able to grasp the essential qualities of Chlumberg's play from a reading of the text. It is a play that, for other reasons than pure drama-turgy, should be known.

TWO MASTERS

Goethe and Beethoven. By Romain Rolland. New York. Harper & Bros. \$5.

The greatest poet of modern Germany and the greatest composer met but once, in 1812. Goethe took the first step toward cultivating friendship with the somewhat boorish genius. In a sense, it was an unfortunate time for their meeting. The poet, who was always falling in love, had just broken with Bettina Von Arnim, and Bettina had been the composer's staunch advocate. Goethe, to be sure, was not in love with the modernism of his day. His tastes ran in the direction of health, order, design. Beethoven, who was the Dionysus to this Apollo, was passionate, abandoned, aristocratic in his disdain of the aristocracy. From a friendship between two such geniuses should have sprung mighty collaborations; yet nothing happened. Why?

According to Rolland it was not Bettina; it was not Goethe's ignorance of music (Rolland in a special essay shows that Goethe was a not inconsiderable musician); nor was it the influence of Zelter, Goethe's musical advisor, who was opposed to innovations. Rolland advances the strange thesis that Beethoven represented an aspect of Goethe's character that Goethe feared and had determined to repress. The great poet, it seems, was an artist only in his art and not in his life. He feared morbidity and the disorder of a violent temperament. Beethoven and his music represented this threatening alter ego, and it was in self-protection that he avoided the man.

In all of Goethe's writings there is but a single reference to Beethoven. This does not include the enthusiastic letter that he wrote to his wife, Christiane, on the occasion of that meeting in 1812. It sounds incredible. Rolland's theory, which, despite the author's glorification of intuition, rests upon a most interesting accumulation of data, suggests a new approach to the biographies of both the composer and the poet. It should have a strong ap-

peal alike for the literary musician and the musical literatus.

BEND SINISTER

Love-Children. A Book of Illustrious Illegitimates. By Miriam Allen deFord. New York. Mac-Veagh. \$3.50.

The author of this book, as readers of this chaste weekly do not need to be informed, is the wife of our favorite science popularizer, Maynard Shipley. The chances are that you have read more than one of Shipley's blue books and that you will enjoy making the acquaintance of his partner in this unconventional—and beautifully printed—volume.

There has always been a superstition that children born out of wedlock were somehow predestined to distinction. Shakespeare, who seems to have overlooked nothing, has poetized this idea in a famous passage that, naturally, our author did not overlook. Here it is, as she quotes it from King Lear:

Why bastard? wherefore base? When my dimensions are as well compact, As honest madam's issue? Why brand they us? With base? with baseness? bastard? base, base?

Who in the lusty stealth of nature take More composition and fierce quality Than doth, within a dull, stale, tired bed, Go to the creating a whole tribe of fops,

Got 'twixt sleep and wake? . . . Now, gods, stand up for bastards!

Just to show that she's not too highbrow, she quotes also from that dramatic travesty of Tin Pan Alley known as June Moon:

Should a father's carnal sins Blight the life of babykins? She should have added the two that follow:

All I ask is give our child a name, I mean, a last name.

Just how much truth there is to the Shakespearean notion that bastards are the result of a special sexual ardor, I do not know. I rather suspect, however, that bastards, like so many legitimate children, are unwelcome accidents. Personally, I am not satisfied that bastards are inherently superior to their more fortunate brothers and sisters. They have much to contend with socially, though this was not always so true as it is today. Doubtless, when they know of their status, they develop a persecution psychology. And by the way, consider the stupidity of the adjective "illegitimate," or, of the far worse adjective "natural," as applied to bastards.

The book, after an introduction on love-children (and who said that every bastard is a child of love?) treats of William The Conqueror, Alexander Hamilton, Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, D'Alembert, Borodin, Strindberg and Dumas Fils. There are thus covered the fields of kingdom, statesmanship, scholarship, painting, science, music and literature. There is an interesting finale to round out the essays.

On the Firing Line with The Freeman Army

Benjamin Skolas, Wash., sends \$1 for a club of 10 and adds: "I hope it may lead to yearly subscriptions." So do we. By the way, it is a fact that a large percentage of these trial subscriptions come in for a full year later on. These trial subscriptions are splendid for building circulation at a time when we need more readers.

Here's a nice batch of ten subs from L. S. Baylor, N. J.

John Keil, Jr., N. Y. C., sends in \$1 for trade coupons. That will bring him \$1.10 worth of coupons good for anything published by us. We allow a 10 percent bonus on all purchases of trade coupons.

A. W. McArthur, Ill., shoots us \$1 and asks us to broadcast sample copies. You bet! Fifty copies went out to 50 buyers of Little Blue Books, plus an up-hill job converting the political literature, but we are getting results, judging by the way The Freeman's circulation is climbing.

R. Switzer, Kans., liked the Vice-President Curtis Scandal Edition so much he sent \$1 for a bundle of 50. And then he adds more good news by sending in a club of four subscriptions.

Nells Peterson is another Armyite who likes to help in the good work. He sends \$1 for 50 copies of the Curtis edition.

Hardly a day passes without our getting a bundle order from F. A. Johnson, Kans. Here he is with \$5 for 250 copies of the May 16 edition.

Ernest Eagle, New Britain, Conn., sends in a welcome club of ten subs.

So does Louis Frederick, of Ill.

Albert Klein, Iowa, doesn't believe in keeping The Freeman a secret. He got us ten subs.

F. L. Wallis, Mont., comes in with an order for four sub cards, at 25 cents each, each good for 25 weeks of The Freeman. Have you a supply of sub cards with you all the time? Order a supply today. Get at least four.

G. H. Oakes, Kans., wants ten "pure souls" to read The Freeman. The names are now on the list. Who's next?

Method No. 3 suits Morris H. Hackett, N. Y. He sends \$1 and instructs us

to send out 50 free copies of The Freeman.

Here's a club of 10 subs from C. H. Hall, Fla.

G. F. Hankins, N. C., believes in boosting The Freeman, but he wants to do it with his own names, which suits us. He sends in \$1 and 50 names for sample copies.

A. M. Hanna, Newport News, Va., is an old reliable member of The Freeman Army. His Army card has 14 entries, which proves him to be a hard worker in the cause. His last was for a club of 10 subs.

Dr. Enns Hansen, Minn., thought enough of the On-to-Washington drive to come in with \$1.

H. H. Hansen, Calif., hands us 10 subs, which help a whole lot.

Alfred O. Hanson, Minn., likes to see The Freeman's circulation go up. He put it up ten notches.

C. W. Hanson, Minn., liked Method No. 2 to the extent of \$1. That method, for the information of the new sending copies of The Freeman to go to names in our possession. And we have a million such names. It costs only 2c per name, with a minimum order for 500, that's a good way to get a lot of work done for a small amount of money.

H. D. Harkness, Wash., helps every once in a while. He has twelve so far on his Army card, the last one for \$2 under Method No. 3.

S. J. Harper, La., is now a member of our Bundle Brigade, because he sent in \$1 for 50 copies of the May 9 Freeman.

Dr. R. H. Harper, Okla., is an old friend of The Freeman. His last order was for \$2 under Method No. 3.

F. Hassall, Wash., boosted The Freeman's circulation four notches, for which he paid \$1.

Wm. Healey, Mich., sends us a club of 10 subs, which cost him \$1. This method is very popular at this writing. You can get 10 names on The Freeman list for 10 weeks each, at only 10c per sub. That's a good way to get a lot of work done for a small amount of money.

And here's Ernest Hebert, La., with a club of 10. Thanks, friend.

Carl Heyder, Wisc., wants to see The Freeman go to the million names of Little Blue Book buyers that we have in our files. He paid \$1, for which we are sending out 50 papers.

John Higgins, Calif., is in with \$1 and that's quite a help to the On-to-Washington drive.

Clyde L. Holden, Conn., is here with \$1 for the On-to-Washington campaign.

Hans Holden, Minn., wants to see The Freeman grow bigger and huskier. He's here with \$1 to help the cause.

Elmer Howe, Wisc., cheers us up with a club of 10 subs.

Emery Jensen, Wisc., is another Armyite with a club of 10 subs.

Here's a club of four subs from Wm. Johnson, La., for which he paid \$1. That means four heathen "dog souls" will get good intellectual fodder for 25 weeks.

Fred Johnson, N. Dak., is in with 10 lively subs, which cost him only 10 cents each.

J. W. Johnson, Mont., went out and hustled up a club of ten.

J. H. Jourbert, D. W. I., is a steady worker in The Freeman Army. His last was for a club of subs. By the way, note that D. W. I. means Dutch West Indies. A long way off, but a close friend of The Freeman.

John P. Kamer, Jr., lives in Topeka, Kans. He decided to bring some light to his fellow Topekans, so ten names went on our sub list.

Nathan Kaplan, N. Y. C., must like The Freeman or he wouldn't be so enthusiastically on the job. His last was for \$2, which means more readers for The Freeman.

Wilbur Lichtwadt, Ky., is another old reliable. We hear from him often, the last for \$2 to help expose Hooverism.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN'S ROYAL FAMILY

BY R. R. WINTERBOTHAM

Alphonso XIII, king without a country, sadly sat in London, feeling that history would vindicate his being a king, for that was the only wrong he had committed.

"Monarchy was voted out; if it ever comes back it will have to be voted back," he said. "The municipal elections may have expressed the nation's will, only parliament can carry it out."

"Once," he continued, "I understood Spain wanted me no more, I lost no time in leaving. It was the greatest sacrifice of my life, and I would be very sad if I could not hope that history some day will do me justice."

Pathetic, perhaps, but it is a story as old as kings. Throughout the world Spain's action was hailed as a step toward the light of Freedom and Democracy. Undoubtedly our Methodist and Baptist forefathers blessed of an Eighteenth amendment in Spain.

Private instructions were issued by the Pope telling his henchmen to work no longer for the restoration of the Spanish monarchy. It was doomed in the great sweep of Republicanism. Always a politician, the Catholic Church swung to the popular side, after a long, but futile, campaign in support of tyranny.

Spain may be more free, in a political as well as a theoretical sense. The Spanish people will learn a great deal. Politicians will learn much more. Few Spaniards, however, will learn what they expected to learn. The overthrow of King Alphonso was not a revolution such as those of the United States, France and Russia. In Spain it was a gesture of tossing a weak king into the discard and drawing to fill a split straight.

In the middle ages Alphonso would have been superseded by a crafty nobleman, as king. The style today is the succession of a crafty politician, or the puppet of a crafty politician, as president.

Alphonso was past his prime. He was getting old and he had no

strong, princely offspring to follow him.

History is full of similar episodes. David, greatest of Biblical kings, ruled with a strong hand until he grew old. On his deathbed, beside a virgin brought to keep David warm, and who still remained a virgin, even Joab, general of David's armies, plotted the king's overthrow. The people of Jerusalem murmured because the virgin remained a virgin. The life of many a Roman emperor was measured by physical strength nearly as much as by political strength.

If Alphonso had a son like the Prince of Wales, normal and princely looking, monarchy might still oil Spain's engines of state.

But Crown Prince Alphonso, Prince of Asturias, suffers from a hereditary disease, called haemophilia. This curious malady is transmitted through the female line, but it afflicts only the male issue in ratios conforming with Mendel's law.

Any slight scratch or abrasion to a person suffering from haemophilia will cause such profuse bleeding that death is likely to result unless medical aid is given. The blood refuses to clot due to an absence of adrenalin. The treatment is an injection of adrenalin.

The crown prince, consequently, is an invalid. The second son, Jaime, now 23, is not afflicted with haemophilia, but he is deaf and dumb. The fourth son, Prince Gonzalo, is afflicted with the bleeding disease. The third son, Prince Juan, is in good health.

During the reign of Dictator Primo de Rivera, it was suggested passing over Alphonso and Jaime, but the two oldest sons protested over the losing of their rights to the crown. Alphonso wanted to reign. Jaime wanted to marry and allow his children to reign after him.

Prince Juan entered Dartmouth naval college in England late in April to become an English sailor. King Alphonso sighed as he saw the only son who could possibly succeed him give up all hopes of coming to the throne.

"It is a great sacrifice for him because the life of an English sailor is hard," said the king. "The boy's spirits are high."

What caused the tainted strain in the royal Spanish blood?

Alphonso is the son of a normal family of kings. He met his queen, Victoria Eugenia Juliana, princess of Battenberg, at a dinner which he attended to ask the hand of the golden-haired Princess Pat (Patricia of Connaught), who refused to become Queen of Spain.

King Edward VII of England warned his Spanish cousin of the haemophilia strain in the Battenberg family. Several British royal persons had been afflicted with the disease and Princess Ena, as Victoria was then called, was a granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

Alphonso refused to heed the warnings and the press hailed the marriage as a "true love match." It undoubtedly did have some biological aspects. Princess Ena was a handsome young woman.

When the tainted made its appearance in Alphonso's sons the masses of Spain took it as an omen predicting the fall of the monarchy.

John Gunther, an American newspaper correspondent in Spain, published an account in January, 1930, showing the effect that the number of tombs in the Escorial was having in fostering the belief that the monarchy was doomed.

The Escorial is a citadel of death, built by King Philip II, 1556-1598, to commemorate his father, Charles I, who was also known as Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, 1519-1556.

The Paradox of Hooverism---An Orgy of Blind Stupidity

A grim individualist, the passionate defender of big business, he will have nothing to do with obvious measures of relief. He attacks unemployment exchanges. He speaks with passion against unemployment insurance. For him the charitable agencies are the only method of coping with the problem.

Thus Prof. Harold J. Laski speaks of the fat "Quaker" sitting in the White House—a "Quaker" who is never moved by any generous or worthy spirit. (Oh, yes, it's correct to put Quaker in quotes when referring to a fellow like Hoover—the traditional Quaker was noted for honesty, sincerity, and simplicity.)

Without seeming to question the essential accuracy of Prof. Laski's characterization of the Fat One, the editor of the (Baltimore) *Evening Sun* notes that Hoover went to somebody's "relief" with the highest tariff known to American history—a "relief" that is subsidizing various forms of business to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

Next, the farmers of the country were "relieved" in some way which "dug a vast hole in the \$500,000,000 fund set at the disposal of the Farm Board."

Then, when Congress had adjourned and Senator Wagner had gone home, the Great Reliever did go about setting up unemployment exchanges under executive, rather than congressional, control. Naturally, that "relieves" the unemployment situation *ala* Hoover.

"Relief" amounting to \$1,700,000,000 was granted the heroes who "ended" war and made the world safe for democracy or something.

The *Sun* editor thus concludes:

It is doubtful that any government on earth is spending as much as Mr. Hoover's government for relief in various forms and under various guises. Yet, somehow, Professor Laski's assertion that Mr. Hoover is against using the public money for the relief of individuals sounds like truth. It is a pretty paradox.

A pretty paradox, indeed, but not one which baffles explanation.

Los Angeles---Where Patriotism Runs High

By George H. Shoaf

With The Freeman editor's permission I am going to relate my impressions of and reactions to a public meeting recently held in Patriotic Hall, Los Angeles, under the auspices of Roosevelt Camp, an organization of veterans of the Spanish-American war. I am doing this because it enables me to analyze a type of mind and reveal an attitude characteristically American—two things which must be understood and appreciated by social dissenters if they wish to succeed in disarming prejudice and putting across their propaganda in this country. Modestly stated, I may say I think I have a right, the editor permitting, to thus ventilate myself. I was born and raised in the southern portion of the United States, as were my ancestors for generations before me; like my forbears I am of and from the poor white trash of the South, but unlike them I severed connections many years ago with all the established prejudices and cherished traditions which still largely dominate the people of that section.

Responding to newspaper announcements, about 500 persons assembled in Patriotic Hall to hear speakers from the Better America Federation fulminate against radicals, especially those of the communistic persuasion. This was a fairly good crowd, numerically considered, as it is quite difficult for any speaker, without a side attraction, to draw large numbers of Angelenos to a public meeting, although the city boasts of a population in excess of one million. Where one Angeleno will exhibit sufficient intellectual interest to attend a lecture, three hundred will inconvenience themselves and sacrifice an already depleted exchequer to go to a prize fight or a movie picture show.

Patriotic Hall is a height limit building of imposing proportions located on one of the principal thoroughfares leading out from the downtown business district. On the first floor, in addition to a major hall, are smaller rooms, including a library and reading room from which publications of a liberal or radical nature are severely excluded. Anyone caught therein with a copy of The Debunker or The American Freeman would be regarded with disfavor; the person who dared to profane that room with a Socialist or communist paper probably would be ejected. The remainder of the building is given over to purposes of patriotism, to which American Legionnaires and veterans of other American wars only are welcome. Everywhere military regalia, suggesting the pomp and circumstance of war, greets the eye, and across the platform in the hall where the meeting was held two immense American flags streamed their glory.

A Hungry-Looking Lot of Patriots

Preceding the appearance of the speakers, thirty uniformed members of a fife and drum corps with

military precision strode across the stage, stood attention, and blew a succession of blasts calling the meeting to order. The members of that corps, individually and collectively, afforded an interesting and significant display. They were a hungry looking lot, many of them being lean and lank, and while their uniforms would pass inspection, their shoes and shirts showed a poverty they could not conceal. Evidently they were members of the working class without jobs. Yet, following their martial demonstration and after they had seated themselves in the audience, virtually every one tried to excel the other as all of them thundered their applause when the speakers hit working class movements the hardest.

Very few young people were present, the majority of the auditors consisting of middle-aged and elderly men and women. A cursory glance disclosed that those present were Americans to the manner born—typical representatives of that element which boasts its 100 percent Americanism—the people who pride themselves in hating Jews, Catholics, foreigners and "niggers," and who possess little tolerance for opinions at variance with those held by themselves.

The audience resembled the transplantation of a section from Angelus Temple, the rendezvous of religious imbecility presided over by Aimee Semple McPherson, or an aggregation from the hills of Arkansas or the mesquite brush of South Texas, although many persons obviously were from states north and east. A stonier faced group of hard-boiled reactionaries—capitalist-minded and capitalist-aspiring proletarians—never got together than that audience which met to hear radicalism, especially communism, denounced. Those men and women were hold-overs from a generation that confronts the present like a hideous nightmare. While their physical organisms, of necessity, conform to current requirements, their minds, or rather their emotions, dwell constantly in the past. Their ideas and ideals are those of the fathers who framed the Declaration of Independence, without however, any appreciable understanding of the principles of that immortal document. It is doubtful if any of them realize that the war—any war—is over. Through the fog of tradition they behold the shades of Patrick Henry, George Washington, Andrew Jackson and Abe Lincoln, and echoing across the intervening years they hear or seem to hear the battle cries of the soldiers of the Revolution and the strife between the states. The wraiths of those old soldiers still marched in the imaginations of the auditors as with quickened hearts they gazed upon the flags, and, when they heard the speakers passionately condemn all things socialistic and communistic, they clinched their fists and marched again with those who

fought and died for their country in the long ago.

They Live in the Past

I am not questioning the honesty or the courage or the patriotism of these people. It is doubtful if they could be induced to take what was not theirs; they would starve before they would steal. The courage of the men—or men whose blood brothers they are—has been proved on a hundred battlefields and in countless personal altercations where to fight meant the death of one or both combatants. The women are every bit as courageous as the men—Spartan women who instantly would choose death to dishonor—and who will cheerfully surrender their sons and husbands when their country calls. What I am pointing out is their woeful lack of understanding of the historic process, their ignorance of the changes that have taken place in the world, especially that portion of it known as the United States of America, during the last hundred, or even the last twenty-five years.

Neither am I leveling my strictures at this particular gathering; these people are typical of the native American herd. They do not appear to realize that times have changed, that conditions are different, that we are living not in the philosophic individualism of the eighteenth, but that as individuals we are struggling with the mechanistic organization and mass production methods of the twentieth century. With them, and others like them independent of their residence, be it Maine or Mississippi, this country and its institutions are the same yesterday, today and forever, and like the Bourbons of ante-bellum days, they seem never to have learned anything or forgotten anything. They really and truly believe that the Declaration of Independence is their exclusive property, that the Constitution of the United States was written and intended only for them, that they and they only are the legatees and custodians of the nation's flag.

Are Ignorant of Social Changes

In an analysis of the individuals composing this and similar American audiences many factors must be considered. If these men and women ever availed themselves of educational opportunities, the education they received was most elementary and provincial, circumscribed by metes and bounds which kept them uninformed as well as misinformed, and administered by educators whose knowledge and capacity were small. Perhaps in no civilized country today are people more ignorant of the great social changes of history and the reasons therefor than are the people under consideration here.

Notwithstanding their stupidity as it relates to a knowledge of the laws governing or directing the evolution of society, and their almost total unawareness of the significance of events connected with the social and economic processes, these people are the most consummate egotists and vainglorious braggarts that ever lived. They actually imagine they are the chosen ones of earth, and above all others the most favored by Jehovah. They do not hesitate

Yep, the Ragged Individualist is hotly opposed to "doles" all right—when the "dole" is proposed for workingmen. His government, of course, in common with all other capitalistic governments, expends about all its energies and ingenuities in devising ways and means of "doling" out public money "under various guises." The high art of government consists chiefly of transferring the maximum amount of money from the pockets of those who have earned it to the pockets of those who are above the necessity of earning money, with the minimum of friction and "disorder."

The process is simple enough; it is only because it is carried out on such a colossal scale that the ordinary citizen, continuously harassed by debts and the dread and fear of deeper poverty, does not see it as a whole. The government simply reaches out with the long, strong arm of the taxing power and rakes in billions of dollars a year. Before it was raked in by the government, all this money was private money—the same kind you slip to your bootlegger—the kind it is wrong to steal—but once in the hands of the government, it becomes public money and subject to being doled out. But, according to the Hoover notion of public propriety, it must be doled out "under guise." Much of it goes to job-holders, most of it, perhaps, goes to grafters, and some of it percolates down to the naive patriots who have earned it.

It is all done quite legally, of course, even dignifiedly and solemnly.

For the most part, however, the government simply stands by, ostensibly in a state of armed neutrality but actually to see to it that the weak, deluded, and exploited masses keep within the law; that is to say, that they offer no effective opposition to the system set up and sanctified by their masters.

The doling out of hard cash is rather crude; even Hoover is sensitive to it—when it is proposed for hungry workingmen: the more correct and approved technique of doing business is for the government to dole out

to herald their bravery and intellectual acumen, or announce the fact that their men can outfight all others and their women outcharm any of their sex. With them, in their conceit, rest the fate of nations and the destiny of mankind.

Were it possible for these brothers and sisters of mine, now under animidversion, to open their minds to the reception of new ideas and discard their prejudices long enough to learn the truth about things, they would speedily discover that the Declaration of Independence, whose principles they revere, has no place in the present social, political and economic scheme; that the Constitution of the United States, to which they have pledged their fealty, as an instrument of democracy, has lost its meaning, if it ever had any; and that the flag they literally worship and in whose defense they would give their lives represents their interests about as much as hell reflects the purity of holy water. If these people were not so blinded by bigotry it might be disclosed to them with truth that the government they so much praise and for which they are willing to fight to the death is not their government, but is the political property of the big rich who use it as an instrument with which to keep in subjection the lives and destiny of the American people. If they were not so stubbornly and stupidly patriotic they could be shown that the flag long since has ceased to fly for them, but unfolds its standard of protection over the possessions owned and controlled by the trusts and combines which have the people of the United States by the throat.

Are Victims of Militarism

Whenever these people fall for the militaristic propaganda of their masters, and permit themselves to be stampeded into war, what, really, are they fighting for? In their ignorance and folly they think they are upholding the honor of their country and their flag—that they are fighting to perpetuate government of the people, for the people and by the people. But is this true? Like monarchial conscripts, they are fighting and dying not to preserve the ideals of liberty and democracy, but to further strengthen the government, which belongs to the plutocratic rich, so that the government may more effectually keep them, the fighters, poverty-stricken and obedient to the masters whose ownership enables them to rule. What the plain common people really are fighting for when they respond to the colors, therefore, is to continue the system which impoverishes them and give unconscionable grafters greater opportunities to ride more easily and comfortably on their backs.

All these and kindred thoughts flickered through my mind as I sat and analyzed that audience and noted its reaction to the emotional oratory poured out by the speakers. When the speakers referred to the bravery of the men before them or praised the beauty of the women, the auditorium resounded with applause. When they pointed dramatically to the flags, or gathered the national emblems to their bosoms, which they frequently did, and challenged any communist or social rebel to assault the colors or

seek to trail them in the dust, the auditors went wild. When a speaker would frown with feigned indignation as he related far-fetched incidents allegedly associated with radical agitation, the auditors would frown with him. When the speaker would work himself into a frenzy of passion and clench his fist and square himself, as if for a fight, the auditors would shift in their seats and look about to see if there was any radical present against whom they might vent their vengeance. I admit I was in a ticklish situation. Seated next was a big brute of an ignoramus, who gladly would have socked my jaw had he known my sentiments, and all about were excited men and women from whose reason apparently had fled. I did what anyone under the circumstances would have done. I clapped my hands. And I looked the part, too, for I was as much an American as any present.

A Look at the Speakers

Before relating what the speakers said, let me disclose their identity and purpose. Col. Leroy Smith, successful radio patriot and chief speaker, is the salaried mouthpiece of the Better America Federation, a local organization of business men in whose minds horrible pictures exist of an America invaded and conquered and made desolate by communists from Russia. For he remembered that business and professional men are just as foolish and glib as are ordinary men, just as ignorant of the economic foundations of society, and just as susceptible to propaganda. Col. Smith and other patriotics have thoroughly propagandized the commercial and industrial leadership of Los Angeles and have induced the majority to believe that radicals, especially communists and socialists, are terrible fellows bent on destruction and bloodshed. These business men have been told by Col. Smith and his associates that if they, the business men, do not band together into an organization, like the Better America Federation, and put up money for a determined battle, dire consequences will befall the country. Therefore, the business and professional men have organized virtually one hundred percent, established elaborate headquarters, and placed Col. Smith in charge with a corps of able assistants. To make the matter entirely clear it will be stated that the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and the Better America Federation—all three—are composed practically of the same men, with the last-named organization exercising by far the greater influence.

The purpose of the Better America Federation is the suppression of the truth as it affects working-class movements, and the strengthening of the forces that are sworn to crush labor to the earth. Directed and led by Col. Smith it protests constantly against any and all movements having as their objective the organization and emancipation of the working class. At the moment it is majoring against communism; but the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W., or any other group that dares to question the wisdom and justice of the established order alternately is the target of its attacks. Col. Smith speaks frequently over the radio and as often as possible before civic and religious bodies. Repeatedly he has been challenged to discuss on the public platform the issues that divide society into classes, but he refuses joint public discussion. His outstanding answer to a radical argument seems to be a policeman's club wielded at his instigation by the uniformed men who compose the "red" squad.

For one hour Col. Smith held the

audience spellbound in Patriotic Hall. He warned his hearers against the menace of radicalism. While emphasizing communism as most immediately dangerous, he spared none of the liberal and radical movements mentioned. He lumped them all together and pleaded with those present to shun them as they would dens of rattlesnakes. Any one, no matter whom, he said, who spoke sneeringly of the flag or the institutions represented by the flag, should first be manhandled, then locked up, and if a foreigner, deported.

(Somehow Hoover gives one the impression that, according to his social philosophy, nothing—nothing!—is wrong when it is profitable enough and profitable to those who are already rich.)

So we suspect that the pretty paradox discovered by the *Sun* resolves itself into this: that whereas a dole to unemployed workingmen grossly violates one of the most sacred economic laws and sets a dangerous and foolish precedent, a dole is not a dole at all when it goes, under the proper guise, to unemployed millionaires.

Probably the "Quaker," if closely pressed, would admit that the workers should not be permitted to starve out, literally; for, after all, you know, they are useful. But their "relief" should come, according to the gospel of Hoover, via private charity. Let them learn the great lesson of loving the hands that feed them in emergencies! Let them develop a hereditary loyalty, a lowly and thankful feudal allegiance to the wealthy, the class from which their blessings flow!

But, come to think of it, whose President is he, anyway?

Pays Tribute to Religion

In his tribute to religion he waxed eloquent. Feelingly he referred to the religion of our mothers, and earnestly he begged his auditors not to forget Gawd. Imitating the verbal pace set by President Hoover, he stressed the spiritual, proclaiming that things material were unsatisfactory and ephemeral, but that things spiritual were from everlasting to everlasting. He advised everyone within sound of his voice to pray constantly, to attend church regularly, to heed the preachments from the pulpit, to read the Bible daily, and always to render obedience unquestioningly to those in authority in our country's affairs. In fact the chief trouble with the country and the world at the present time, he declared, was dereliction of duty on the part of the people in the matter of religious and law observance. If the people worshiped Gawd and obeyed the law hard times would vanish and prosperity would return.

This speech is significant in that it revealed a mind that was either helplessly and hopelessly saturated with ancient superstition and flamboyant patriotism, or its possessor really knew, and was only seeking to deceive and mislead a people who were as unsophisticated as children. While lauding to the skies the virtues of religion and the simple life, not once did Col. Smith, or the other speakers who spoke in similar fashion, refer to the real causes of poverty and economic injustice, or to the fact that widespread misery festers in the presence of concentrated wealth. In his effort to persuade his listeners to be contented with their lot, he apparently forgot that the rich are getting theirs now, while the getting is good, and are quite content to let the poor receive their share in the sweet bye and bye. Any ten-year-old radical could have mounted that platform and shot that speech so full of holes that its author would not have recognized it had it been redelivered over the radio. It was sheer tommyrot; but it was the "works" with that crowd of shouting and sweating one hundred percent Americans.

NEW RACE PROBLEM IN U. S. A.—INFLUX OF FILIPINOS

(Special to The American Freeman) WASHINGTON, D. C.—The United States is facing a new problem of colored mass immigration which has some very peculiar features. It is that of Filipinos. As the Philippines are under the American flag their inhabitants are not "aliens." No quota system restricts their entry; no Gentlemen's Agreement keeps them out. An agitation to exclude them has the support of the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, and the California State Legislature.

The facts have been scarcely reported. They are not widely known in the United States. But for nearly three years a bill to declare Filipinos aliens has been before Congress. In view of it the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations decided to undertake an inquiry. For this purpose they employed Mr. Bruno Lasker, a highly skilled investigator with special experience of inter-racial problems. His report, a bulky 446-page document, has just

been issued by the University of Chicago Press; with a preface by Professor J. T. Shotwell.

There are now about 60,000 Filipinos in the United States, largely concentrated on the Pacific coast. There are also 75,000 in Hawaii (in a total population of about 370,000 only). Most of them (nine-tenths on the mainland) are males, and most (four-fifths on the mainland) are under thirty years of age. One might have written off these young men as temporary visitors, but in fact, very few return home—only one in fifteen of those who have settled in Hawaii and not more than one in five of those on the mainland. The tide flows one way, with very little backwash. Meantime the fact that it is composed of young bachelors creates social and sex problems, which many witnesses regard as the principal cause of their unpopularity.

Racially they are Malay, often with large admixture of Chinese. But they regard themselves as white. Spain, which ruled them for centuries, knew no color line. Under American administration they have attended American schools, where democracy and the rights of man are taught without dilution. So they claim to be treated as social equals by Americans, including American women.

There are, however, great difficulties in the way of any exclusion policy. In the first place, it raises the whole question of Philippine independence. For the United States to exclude her own subjects is an awkward proposition. Again, it would react very unfavorably on the sentiment of other Oriental peoples whom Washington is most anxious to conciliate. And there is a peculiar hitch over Hawaii. To Hawaii the Filipinos have made themselves economically indispensable. They form 60 percent of the employees on the sugar plantations; and if Congress adopted an exclusion measure, Hawaii would in all probability have to seek exemption from it. But if it did, what about its much-cherished claim to eventual statehood within the American Republic?

For these and other reasons many thinking people oppose exclusion. On the other hand, where the problem is immediate and visible—i. e., on the Pacific coast—public opinion is exclusionist. Mr. Lasker makes it clear that this is very little due to economic conflict. Filipinos perform very cheap labor tasks, chiefly in the fields. They do not displace other labor, save, at times, Mexicans. At most their availability may be held to postpone certain possible forms of mechanization. The feeling against them is on racial, social, and sexual grounds. It is a race cleavage.

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