

# Freeman Editor Can Win!

conservative Republican leaders, who have told me that if conditions do not improve before the next election Haldeman-Julius may become a real factor" in the campaign for Curtis' old seat in the Senate. We have received literally hundreds of newspaper clippings, and most of them take very seriously The Freeman editor's candidacy. Their vicious attacks prove their alarm. With the help of The Freeman Army Haldeman-Julius will go into the Senate, where he will expound an economic program that will be radical in the precise dictionary sense of the word—he will strike at the roots of capitalistic evils. Kansas voters must be reached with The Freeman's broadsides. The Freeman editor's plans are sound and sure to win --if the friends of the cause of sane radicalism measure up to their opportunity by supporting this Kansas fight, which is also a national fight.

Week Ending Aug. 8  
Circulation  
20,582  
Gain for Week: 500

# The American Freeman

\$1 per year (50c per year in clubs of four or more.)

Published Every Saturday For Those Who Dare the Risk of Knowing

Published weekly at 220 E. Forest Ave., Girard, Kans. Single copies 5c; (\$1.50 a year Canadian and foreign). Entered as second-class matter at the Girard, Kans., postoffice.

NUMBER 1864

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HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

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August 22, 1931

## Moore Ring's Operations Flagrant in Washington

### A Scandal of "Refinancing" in the Mayflower Hotel Bond Deal

One of the big deals in which the American Bond and Mortgage Company revealed its familiarity with the trickeries of high financing and higher refinancing was the Mayflower Hotel deal. This hotel was until recently and we believe still is personally under the management of William J. Moore. He has been allowed by the Chicago Title and Trust Company and Arthur N. Draper, acting as trustees, to continue in this management in spite of his notorious connection with reckless financing of this property, with the disastrous ventures and unscrupulous practices of the American Bond and Mortgage Company which threw that company into financial and legal difficulties, and with many other schemes of promotion which were morally, if not in every instance legally, censurable in the extreme.

The Mayflower is the hotel where Vice-President Curtis has been given a magnificent suite at a charge of only \$5.35 a day, although during his trial in Washington Harry Sinclair paid \$150 a day for this same suite. Curtis says he does not know Moore—which is strange if true. Does he know Harold A. Moore? It is significant to us that Harold A. Moore filed in a Chicago federal court his \$500,000 libel suit against The American Freeman on the day after Curtis had spoken in Mooseheart, Ill., close to Chicago. And Curtis had just left Kansas, where he had been extremely annoyed by E. Haldeman-Julius' insistence that he explain his connection with the Mayflower Hotel.

A Big Refinancing Deal  
William J. Moore has also been permitted by the receivers to have personal charge of the Park Central Hotel in New York City and other properties in which the American Bond and Mortgage Company owns all or the controlling shares. Moore profits from the management (or, as it is alleged, the gross mismanagement) of these properties although the company which owns them was guided by him and his sons to wreckage and is now in the hands of receivers. This adds force to the contention of creditors of the company so long and so disastrously controlled by the Moores, that the present receivership is operated in favor of the Chicago Title and Trust Company and banks represented by it and also in behalf of William J. Moore and his sons.

In the Mayflower Hotel deal, the Moore company acted originally, as in many other deals, as a financing agent. That was in 1922. The property was first known as the Walker Hotel. The mortgage bonds were issued, but the financing was not sufficient. The American Bond and Mortgage Company then acquired principal control of the property and renamed it the Mayflower Hotel.

A refinancing deal was engineered, in which \$7,000,000 in first mortgage bonds and \$2,400,000 in second mortgage bonds were floated, although it was shown in a United States Senate investigation of real estate securities in the District of Columbia that the actual value of the Mayflower was less than \$6,000,000. As owner of the property the American Bond and Mortgage Company assumed for this special purpose the name of the Mayflower Hotel Company, while as operator of the property it called itself the Mayflower Hotel Corporation of America. A variety of corporate names and identities was always useful to the Moore ring in its career of promotion.

Got Hotel for Nothing  
In this case they acquired the Mayflower Hotel property for nothing, under the guise of refinancing. When Walker, who had originally started building the hotel and had employed the American Bond and Mortgage Company as financial agents, failed to complete the project the Moore company took over the hotel, retired the original issue of \$4,500,000 in first mortgage bonds and in its place floated the large issues of first and second mortgage bonds to the amount of \$9,400,000.

The statement was made to bondholders that the hotel and its furnishings had been appraised at a valuation of \$12,600,000, yet testimony before the Senate investigating committee showed that the hotel was actually valued at less than half that amount. This investigation also showed that the value of Mayflower Hotel first mortgage \$100 bonds, three years after they were issued, had dropped to \$65; while the value

of the second mortgage \$100 bonds had dropped to \$25.

Under the name of the Mayflower Hotel Company, the Moore ring completed the building of the hotel. When the \$9,400,000 of bonds were floated the company repaid itself for all money advanced in building the hotel—and it still owned the hotel, without having actually invested one dollar in the business.

This hotel is now involved among the claims of conflicting receiver-ships. It has been testified in a federal court action in Maine by Harold J. Cone, a former auditor of the American Bond and Mortgage Company, that the stock of the American Bond and Mortgage Company in the Mayflower Hotel Company has been, as he believes and alleges, transferred to William J. Moore and (or) his wife as, in effect, an improper and unpaid gift to them personally.

Moore still on the inside  
It is certain that Moore was permitted to manage the Mayflower Hotel, notwithstanding his record in connection with that financial venture and similar ventures; and that he has drawn a salary of \$12,000 a year for managing the hotel—ostensibly for that alleged service although the hotel has both a manager and an assistant manager at high salaries.

William J. Moore also has drawn \$12,000 a year from the Park Central Hotel in New York City, where he had and we believe still has living quarters and his personal business office without payment of rent; and he also has or did have large living quarters in the Mayflower Hotel.

With regard to the Park Central Hotel it is interesting to know that, under the management of Moore, about \$1,000,000 of property taxes went unpaid for several years. Yet Moore was permitted to go on running that hotel and the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, although the affairs of the American Bond and Mortgage Company, having through all the years, been a large or controlling interest in these properties, were in the hands of the Chicago Title and Trust Company.

It seems that Moore, although nominally having no control over the affairs of the company which was wrecked or all but wrecked under his direction, is actually still on the inside and plans to stay on the inside so long as there is any property and income upon which he can lay his hands.

Hoover doesn't believe in "doles." But he believes in profits, which are the worst form of "doles"—wealth taken from the poor by the rich.

Talk about The Freeman the first thing after getting up in the morning and the last thing before going to bed at night.

WE DARE SAY the millions of unemployed workers are terribly tired of reading that America is the richest country in the world.

How about a big, bloody, destructive war—in a good capitalist cause, of course—to occupy the unemployed?

All we want is a chance to talk to the American people. Get us that chance in the form of Freeman subs.

"IMMORALITY" is unintelligent conduct and should be corrected by education, not by punishment.

Be sure to tell your fellow workers that The Freeman prints news which no other paper prints.

OPTIMISM handed out from Washington and Wall Street will not feed the hungry workers.

THE CAPITALISTS are not leaders of industry. They are bleeders of industry.

There is a way for you to help The Freeman if you have the will—and every little bit helps.

THE STRUGGLE for profits breeds fear, hate, endless suffering, insane chaos.

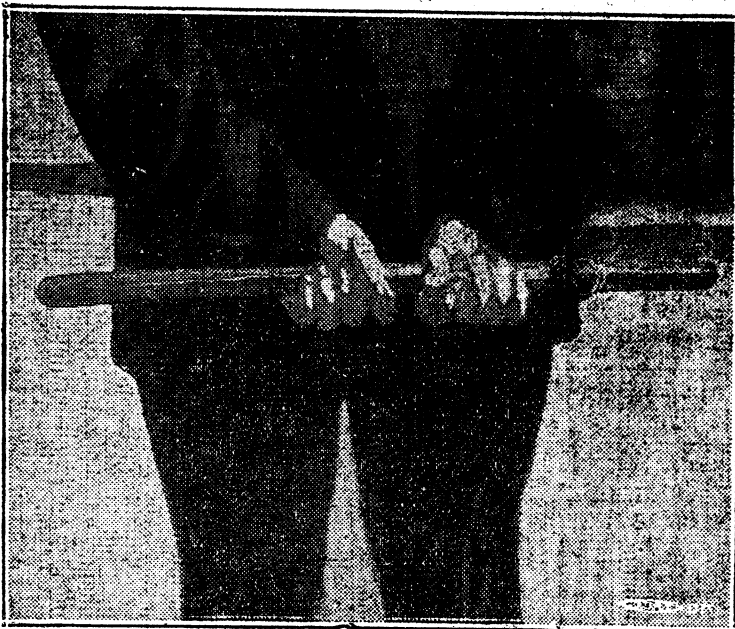
No, the capitalists didn't make the world—but they own most of it.

When you finish reading your copy of The Freeman, mail it to a friend and urge him to subscribe.

WHEN the next war breaks, the workers will be the victims as usual.

ECONOMIC depression is the result of economic oppression.

The Freeman for life, only \$10.



Police continue to break up meetings of radicals in many cities, thus reminding the victims that Grover Whalen, former police commissioner of New York City, was speaking quite definitely when he said there was "plenty of law at the end of a night-stick"—plenty of strong-arm "law" that is, to suppress workers who openly protest against conditions.

## THE CASE OF CORRUPT FALL AND THE CASE OF SUBLIME DEBS

There is no more searing indictment of the ethics of capitalist government than the difference between the treatment of Albert B. Fall, bribe-taker and defrauder of the government, and Eugene V. Debs, great-hearted advocate of peace and social justice.

Fall received a sentence of one to be in poor health. Debs was also well on in years and his health was not good; he had frequently to be given digitalis for heart attacks while in the Atlanta federal prison.

Fall received a sentence of one year for accepting a bribe of \$100,000 as his price for defrauding the government and serving the interests of the oil magnate, Edward Doheny; Fall also was fined \$100,000—the amount of his notorious bribe—but it is doubtful that he will ever pay the fine. If he should pay the fine, he would be eligible to parole and probably would be paroled in about four months. At most Fall will stay in prison a year.

Debs was sentenced to ten years in prison for expressing his honest, humanitarian abhorrence of the crime of war and for pointing out the motives of greed and power that are responsible for starting wars. Debs was actually sent to prison, early in 1919, after the war was over. Not even the assertion that he would interfere with America's prosecution of the war could then be plausibly upheld.

Vindictive Woodrow Wilson refused to pardon Debs for having disagreed with Wilson about the war. Yet while Debs was in prison Wilson was in 1919 at St. Louis—said exactly what Debs had said in 1918; namely, that the war was begun and waged for reasons of commercial advantage.

Debs was kept in prison four years, in spite of his ill health and notwithstanding the fact that he was imprisoned not for a crime but for his exceptional nobility and courage of character.

The New Mexico legislature and the two United States Senators from New Mexico have appealed for the pardoning of Fall. The department of justice in Washington is studying the legal aspects and procedure of a possible pardon or parole, although Fall has not directly asked for clemency. A friendly arrangement was made with the judge who sentenced Fall, whereby the convicted bribe-taker and betrayer of the government could serve his sentence in the New Mexico state prison, where he would be under the care and solicitude of personal and political friends, instead of a federal prison; it was pleaded also that Fall could better endure the New Mexico climate.

In short, every consideration was given this corrupt capitalist politician who had dishonorably and illegally and criminally misused his powers of office in the national government. But grand old Eugene V. Debs, the real American hero of the World War, was confined in the Atlanta federal prison, in a climate hot and severe, suffering from heart trouble, and compelled to remain a prisoner during four years.

The contrast between these two cases does not encourage respect for capitalist government. It shows as plainly as can be that, according to the ethics of capitalist government, a bribe-taker and defrauder of government, a corrupt capitalist politician, is regarded as far less culpable

and deserving of far less severe treatment than a man who expresses ideas of peace and humanity and brotherhood. Tell your Republican and Democratic neighbors about this contrast and see what they think about it.

Hoover's Moratorium Gesture Was a Year and a Half Too Late

"The Hoover gesture [of a moratorium] was a failure because it came a year and a half too late," says Dudley Field Malone, prominent New York City and Paris lawyer and liberal, on his return from a visit in Europe. He denounces the attitude of French bankers, munitions makers and political leaders, declaring that "France is warring the risk of a great future catastrophe by her attempt to keep 60,000,000 German men, women and children in economic slavery."

## NEW YORK PRINTERS HELP JOBLESS FELLOW WORKERS

The narrowness of President Hoover's hostility to protective social legislation never appears so sharply as when shown in contrast with a policy of real fraternalism and social vision. For example, the union printers of New York City have revealed themselves infinitely superior to Hoover in handling the problems of this depression. That union has paid out \$650,000 in unemployment benefits since November 1, 1930.

It has for years been the policy of the union to insure its members against unemployment in the dull summer season by assessing each employed member half of one percent of his earnings for a period of six months before the dull season thus enabling the payment of \$14 a week to every printer in New York City who is thrown out of work for the summer.

Facing clearly the situation which existed last fall, this printers' union took intelligent action by voting to carry on the system of benefits during the period of the economic emergency. Printers employed on newspapers resigned the day's work every two weeks for the unemployed in this branch of the trade; while job and book printers paid an assessment of three percent of their wages, so that each completely unemployed worker in the last-named branch of the trade drew \$20 a week, each member working only one day a week drew \$14 a week and each member working only two days a week drew \$7 a week.

In February of this year the assessment was increased to four percent and in July it was raised to six percent. Newspaper printers now surrender a day's work every week and book and job printers have the alternative of paying the assessment or giving up a day's work every two weeks. Unemployment is serious in the New York City printing trade, 1,400 being unemployed in a membership of a little more than 8,000—and unemployment is steadily growing worse.

But these printers do not, like Hoover, tell their unfortunate fellow workers to wait unrelieved for better times. They do something. Whereas Hoover believes in mutual starvation (for the masses but not for himself and the rich), the New York City printers believe in and finely practice mutual aid.

You don't have to wait until 1932 to vote against Hoover. You can do this now by sending a dollar for four Freeman sub cards, each good for 25 weeks of this fighting paper.

## Bond Ring Juggled Libby Hotel Deals

### Defaulting Bonds, Foreclosure Sale, A Condemnation Award of Millions

Among the transactions which appear particularly intriguing in the sordid record of the American Bond and Mortgage Company is that involved in the financing, the condemnation and the sale to the city of New York of the property holding the Libby Hotel and Baths. The Moore company's first connection with this hotel property was in the role of bond salesman, offering to its customers \$1,500,000 in first mortgage bonds of the Libby Hotel Corporation. These were separate corporations. The Libby Hotel Corporation was to build and manage the property, while the American Bond and Mortgage Company was to carry through the selling of bonds on the property.

Like so many of the Moore gang's high-flying financial projects, the situation quickly developed the need for a pretense for secret dealings in defaulted bonds by the Moore company, and at length for a transfer of ownership—a peculiar sort of transfer, as you will see.

### Concealed Bond Defaults

The Libby bonds were placed on the market by the American Bond and Mortgage Company in November, 1924. When \$15,000 of these bonds became due in May, 1927, and were defaulted by the Libby Hotel Corporation, this amount was purchased by the American Bond and Mortgage Company, the fact being kept secret that they were defaulted bonds; nor were these and other defaulted bonds retired or delivered to the corporate trustee for cancellation.

In November, 1927, the Moore company bought another \$25,000 of the defaulted Libby hotel bonds and in May, 1928, it took over another \$25,000 of such bonds; in no case did it reveal the true nature of these bond dealings, which would have interfered with the sale of similar bonds to other clients.

Following its practice of some years, the American Bond and Mortgage Company was continuing a game of desperate speculation, seeking to keep up the face value of the game by putting back smaller and then larger amounts into the game, and principally achieving for several years the object of drawing innocent customers into successive, almost identical traps of financing.

Then the American Bond and Mortgage Company learned that the Libby hotel property was being considered as the scene of a new tenement house development and thus might be condemned by the city of New York. That would mean a very handsome price for the property. It had a new kind of "investment" value.

Having sold the defaulted Libby bonds to the American Mortgage Loan Company, said to be another subsidiary of itself, the American Bond and Mortgage Company is said to have arranged with the Irving Trust Company of New York, which held a corporate trusteeship for the Libby bonds, that foreclosure proceedings should be brought against the Libby Hotel Corporation.

### Jugglery of Ownership

In May, 1929, there was a judgment of foreclosure in the sum of \$93,044. The foreclosure sale occurred in June, 1929, at which time the property was bid in by Anne C. Hetrick, of Chicago, for \$75,000. Anne C. Hetrick was assistant secretary of the American Mortgage Loan Company.

This woman, evidently acting under instructions from the Moores or from officers of the American Bond and Mortgage Company, directed that the deed to the Libby Hotel and Baths should be turned over to Mary J. Lyons, a clerk in the office of Martin Lippman of the legal firm of McLaughlin and Stern in New York City, who were the attorneys for the Moore company.

After this rather crude and obvious jugglery of ownership in a property which had been made more attractive by the possibility of a greatly enlarged value and a quick turnover of several millions of dollars, the condemnation proceedings in the Supreme Court for New York County, Justice McCook presiding, resulted in an award of \$2,850,000 for the Libby Hotel and Baths and the property on which it was located. The award was dated August 9, 1929, and bears interest from that date. We understand that the award has not yet been but is about to be paid.

erty—if, as we have no sure means of knowing at present, these bonds are so honored—the owner or owners of the Libby deed and then of the Libby condemnation award will, it is estimated, have a clear profit of about \$1,000,000 out of this interesting transaction.

### A Dummy Figure

It is not for a moment believed by creditors and customers of the American Bond and Mortgage Company that Mary J. Lyons, clerk to a lawyer in the pay of the Moore interests, is the real owner of this Libby award. They assert that Mary J. Lyons is merely a dummy figure, set up to enable the Moores to separate the Libby award from the assets of the American Bond and Mortgage Company. The victims of the Moore ring declare that the Libby award is in danger of being "improperly distributed," which is a polite way of saying that the Moores will grab the money for themselves instead of using it for the proper reimbursement of creditors and investors in the American Bond and Mortgage Company.

This is the kind of gang and these are the kind of operations of the gang which included among its members Harold A. Moore, who has made the brazen gesture of filing a \$500,000 libel suit against The American Freeman. As Harold A. Moore and his fellow members of the bond ring will learn, The Freeman does not surrender. It does not engage in the publication of libels, hence it does not fear libel suits. It goes right ahead publishing the facts.

## Times Better, Says Dawes, As Labor Reports Continue Black

Leaving for England to resume his diplomatic post and pastime, Charles G. Dawes told newspaper reporters that industrial conditions were better in the United States and that optimism was rising, rising, and, we suppose, all but sweeping the country. The newspaper boys knew that this was blab-blah, but they turned it in to their papers as part of the decorations of journalistic whoopee.

Unfortunately for Dawes' reputation as a truthful or accurate observer, shortly before he made his optimistic remarks the official report of the U. S. employment service, made by John R. Alpine, supervising director, admitted that conditions were very bad with no prospect of improvement. This report was for the month of June. It said: "There was little change in the industrial situation, and many manufacturing establishments continued on part-time schedules with curtailed forces engaged. A general surplus of labor was apparent in most of the larger cities."

The report began with this bit of optimism from Alabama: "A large surplus of labor was apparent throughout the state during June. There was a further reduction in the forces employed in the coal mines in operation worked part time. Curtailed schedules prevailed generally in the lumber mills and a number were closed. The majority of the textile establishments reported full-time schedules, including nearly all knitting mills."

Ah! That last line, you may point out, is optimistic. But you will change your mind quickly when you understand that these southern textile mills are drastically cutting wages and that this is the reason they can work full-time, with the aim of underselling competitive mills in other parts of the country.

But of course Dawes didn't mention wage-cutting and he didn't quote official figures nor any figures on unemployment. He just spoke pleasantly.

### Presumes to Help in Big Fight

Your candidacy for the U. S. Senate is going to give the people of Kansas an opportunity to vote for a man who will work for their interest and here's hoping you will win out with a large majority. I am sure that if the people are thoroughly aroused about conditions that are gradually getting worse, the old hide-bound politicians will be put out of business. I am going to do all I can for your campaign, and will try and send you a few subscribers from time to time.—C. W. Johnson, S. Dak.

PRESIDENT HOOVER says that we must "work our way out of the depression." Let him tell that to the millions of unemployed!

THE "CAPITALIST SYSTEM" is, after all a contradiction in terms. Capitalism is characterized by its disastrous lack of system.

\$1 puts four friends on The Freeman list for 25 weeks each.

## Striking Back at Bond Ring

The Freeman is striking back at the Moore bond ring by printing further exposures. In this necessary fight our readers can strike back by increasing The Freeman circulation. Please help by ordering four 25-week sub cards at 25 cents each on the blank below.

### I WANT TO HELP THE FREEMAN IN ITS GREAT FIGHT!

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas  
The Freeman must not be suppressed. I want to help you in your fight. Enclosed find ..... for which please send me Freeman Sub Cards each worth 25c and good for 25 weeks of The American Freeman. Send me these sub cards at the rate of four for \$1.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

Note: If you prefer to have your remittance to be used for sending The Freeman to good names in our possession make an X here .....



# The Big Need of a Radical Press

By George H. Shoaf

It is historically true that revolutions grow out of intolerable situations, and always around some concrete issue. Never yet did revolution await action by the educated fifty-one percent. When the crisis of social change comes, an intelligent and determined minority, under competent leadership, usually assumes command and directs the revolution toward the goal. The will and wish of the inarticulate majority naturally must measurably coincide with the policy and program of the leaders; else greater reaction may result.

For a revolution to succeed, therefore, two factors are necessary: first, a leadership must develop whose knowledge of the social process is fundamental and whose visualization of the objective is definite and clear; second, the mass of the people must be not only socially rebellious, but a portion of them, at least, must know something of what it is all about.

Conditions, admittedly, educate more quickly than the spoken or printed word; but conscious propaganda must be carried on to give point and coherence to the education. Aimless education never yet arrived; and education without effective organization is virtually valueless. If a revolution is going to be put over, if the impending social transition shall be directed to the common good, organizers and a radical press are imperative.

There are 125,000,000 people in the United States. It is doubtful if more than 25,000,000 read a paper or magazine of any kind, and of this number it is probable that the majority live in the literature to the crime, sex and sports pages of *The Morning Star* and *The Evening Star*, and the trash ground out by the wild-west-adventure-love story pulp paper factories. Less than 100,000 subscribe for and read magazines and weekly papers collectively known as the radical press. Concerning economics, social questions and the nature and purpose of government the people of the United States unquestionably are the most ignorant people on earth. The average European worker has the average American worker outdistanced to the vanishing point in the matter of economic and political understanding.

An instance of appalling ignorance illustrative of this fact is a recent Los Angeles episode. A few persons were gathered in a certain hall to discuss the Mooney-Billings case. An elderly American of average intelligence, seeing the audience and the open door, walked in and took a seat, mistaking the assembly for a religious meeting. After listening to the story of the arrest and imprisonment of the two men of labor, the newcomer, outraged by what he had heard, announced that this was his first knowledge of the celebrated case; in fact, he said, he had never heard of the case before. Asked where he had been all the time he replied, "Right in California, down in the Imperial Valley, raising and selling alfalfa hay." Queried further the man stated he had lived in the Imperial Valley fifteen years, knew nearly everybody in the Valley, and doubted seriously if one person out of a hundred there knew any more about the Mooney-Billings case than he did before entering the hall.

At the time of the preparedness day explosion in San Francisco in the summer of 1916 the newspapers everywhere carried the news as a murder story. People read the story, joined with the press in denouncing Mooney and Billings as the murderers, and quickly forgot it. The implications of the story, the fact that two militant and innocent labor men had been framed by the corporations, that a premeditated and consciously directed blow had

been delivered at the cause of the organized workers, were never made public by the hiring press. Only those Californians who read the liberal, labor and radical papers—and their number is pitifully small—really understood why Mooney and Billings were arrested and why they are kept imprisoned to this day. What is true of the people of California respecting this case, is true of the people of every state in the American Union.

Just graduated from the University of California, a young man, on another occasion, admitted his ignorance of the Mooney-Billings case, said that during his entire college career he never once heard the matter mentioned. As much as socialistic discussion has entered the classrooms of many leading colleges and universities, this same young man conceded his inability to differentiate between anarchism, socialism and communism, nor could he tell wherein these issues differed from capitalism, about which he admitted, he knew less than nothing.

Nothing of Political Science Conversations with Los Angeles citizens such as mail carriers, laundry workers, grocery and dry goods clerks, ice men, milk wagon drivers, gasoline station attendants, common laborers and skilled mechanics, were quite revealing. The overwhelming majority knew nothing of the merits or implications of the Mooney-Billings case, and many more than a majority were dimly ignorant of the meaning and significance of the socialist and communist movements.

Most of the persons conversed with, who had given the matter thought, entertained the impression that communism was Russianism, and that Russianism was equivalent to or identical with free love, atheism and assassination. Socialism was commonly accepted as a scheme whereby the rich were going to be forcibly made to divide up with the poor. Poverty-stricken as are the Los Angeles poor, nevertheless the majority of the miserable wretches opposed such division on the ground that it was neither just nor right.

This Los Angeles condition, be it emphasized, is a national condition. Out of a population of 125,000,000 Americans it would be hazardous to wager that 750,000 would poll a combined socialistic and communistic vote, and it is very likely that a far less number would poll a really intelligent radical vote.

Evidently, a rapid and intensive educational campaign must be commenced if an appreciable number of Americans is going to be put wise to the economic situation, and prepared to fit into a movement capable of taking over the institutions of capitalism and adapting them to the conditions of the cooperative commonwealth. To do this educational work a radical press with a nationwide circulation is necessary. The character and kind of radical papers or magazines that will most effectively function constitute a matter about which opinions differ. Some editors prefer grave and stately journals filled with scientific abstractions like the *American Journal of Sociology*, found only in the public libraries, and read by nobody. Other editors lean to safe and sane literary publications like *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, whose circulations run between thirty and fifty thousand, and whose columns are perused only by those with a highbrow complex. A few editors, with some newspaper experience, cognizant of American working class psychology, knowing the penchant the average American worker possesses for the sensational, and keen enough to cater to the national prejudice, are inclined to give the workers what they want in the matter of a propaganda press.

Labor Press is Pitiful Most of the union labor papers

and journals are merely advertising mediums through which small business and professional men try to reach the labor public. None of the labor press is interested in a crusade for social change. With few exceptions the religious press, representing as it does organized religion, whose vested interest in capitalism is obvious, is strong for the status quo.

That section of the capitalist press which features crime and sports, and satisfies the prurient curiosity of the crowd, gets the circulation. This fulfillment of an apparent want explains the huge success of the tabloids and the pulp paper magazines. Lamentable as it may be, it seems that the only way through which radical editors and writers can reach the minds of the American workers in the mass is to recognize the limitations of the working class mind, and either follow the methods of successful capitalist journals, or strike out on trails originally their own. While holding to fundamentals, radical editors and writers, to get their message over, must be essentially opportunistic.

One mistake most radical editors make is that involved in the notion that their propaganda pills must be sugar-coated if the workers are to be induced to swallow them. In the so-called polite circles, where social snobbery prevails, a sugar-coated propaganda may be necessary. The persons who move and have their being in the upper circles, obsessed with mental indirection, their general approach to any subject is by siege and parallel, and they demand circumspection in their literature and conversational exchange. Not so the workers. Accustomed to direct action in their physical labor, their mental processes, while crude, are just as direct. What they read they want simply but vigorously written. They want a spade called a spade. Concrete situations handled in the liveliest manner they will read, but not long and dry dissertations on abstruse philosophies. Long articles they will wade through avidly if the subject matter is exciting and so written as to compel interest.

Must Not Mince Words William Lloyd Garrison never minced words in expressing his belief through the columns of *The Liberator*. AROUSE, YE SLAVES! a challenge filling the entire front page of the *Appeal to Reason*, written by Eugene V. Debs, electrified the nation and sent the circulation of that paper soaring. The short and pungent paragraphs of J. A. Wayland, founder of the *Appeal to Reason*, were read and quoted in every mine and factory and on every farm in the United States. Every edition of the *Appeal to Reason* was a challenge and a fight. The editors of the paper put capitalism on the defensive, and had it not been for a personal equation they would have put the system to rout. Audacity, always audacity, based on truth and fact, was the secret of the success of the little propaganda sheet that for a while made the beneficiaries of the plundering quake with fear.

The reason why the workers of this country in the main are ignorant of the Mooney-Billings case, know little or nothing of the principles of socialism and communism, and are in the dark regarding developments in Soviet Russia, is first, because they don't read; and second, because there are so few radical papers whose editors know how to present these matters in a manner that will attract attention. Many writers are prone to satirize and condemn the workers, but the workers can't be consistently condemned for what they don't know.

Never was a radical press more sorely needed than now. In the midst of the most terrible industrial crisis in history, with multiplied millions out of work, with a record winter of poverty, starvation and crime coming and the future black as hell, it would appear that if brave words plainly written and widely circulated were ever needed, they are needed now. Not a multiplicity of papers with a divided support, but one flaming journal of merciless attack, at the editorial helm of which are writers not afraid to go to jail, is the supreme and urgent demand of the hour.

Can that, will that demand be met? I think so. The progress of The American Freeman is a ray of hope. It has the right kick. It is militant, fearless, intelligently radical, and it does not compromise with the enemy. It is our duty to get behind The Freeman and give it the circulation it deserves. Let's all pull together. We should all get The Freeman a club of subs at once. It is growing, but not fast enough. It should have 80,000 more readers during the next three months. This can be done, if we all get into action.

Old Age Pension Idea Spreads Slowly the idea of old age pensions makes its way as an enlightened social measure. Within the past year, as reported by the *Old Age Security Herald*, pension laws for the aged have been passed or pension systems have been put into practice in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, New York and Delaware.

The Wisconsin law passed by the latest legislature will be in operation on July 1, 1933. It provides that all who have lived in the state for at least 15 years and who are aged 70 years or more will receive a maximum pension of \$1 a day. In Massachusetts, 8,000 are receiving old age pensions, while New York gives pensions to 40,000. Delaware has set aside \$400,000 for old age pensions, especially arranging to place on the state pension rolls those who are now receiving pensions from the Du Pont corporation. In Detroit 242 victims of age, which can't be prevented and of poverty, which can't be prevented, are pensioned by the city; while in Baltimore 133 are receiving old age pensions from the city.

CLERICALISM is "spiritual" usury. Progress proclaims the doom of dogma.

THE SADDEST spectacle: A contented slave.

PRIESTS and capitalists both have the "Gimmies."

THERE is no need to use bullets so long as we have ballots.

HOOVER hates "doles"—but where did he get his ten million dollars?

A FACT can't be brought close to a myth without displacing the myth.

CATHOLICISM and Protestantism are eternally at war—over the spoils.

A Freeman bundle order is a definite piece of work for social justice.

No FOSSIL that a scientist ever found was as dead as a priest's mind.

THE PRIEST strives to explain the unknowable in the language of ignorance.

CAPITALISTS shut up the factories and the police shut up the protesting workers.

CAPITALISM wastes more than is needed to take care of all the suffering it causes.

SCIENCE is based on the exchange of ideas. Religion is based on the suppression of ideas.

IN HIS week-ends at Rapidan, President Hoover fishes—for new excuses to fool the people.

THE PRIEST persuades the workers to look up at heaven, while the capitalist picks their pockets.

TRAINED to function in a world of bunk, there is little wonder that the clergy rail at the debunkers.

WHY EXPECT the church, which is itself based on exploitation, to help in the liberation war of humanity?

The greatest joy comes from spreading ideas of truth and progress among the people. Do it with Freeman subs.

ANDY MELLON'S "broader base" of income taxation will be obtained by knocking the workers flat on their backs.

HOOVER'S "Rugged Individualism" requires too many ragged individuals to keep the capitalist and his parasites in a rugged condition.—Bob Lyle.

AFTER all, is there not a certain grim satisfaction to be derived from considering the ignominious end to which capitalism seems irretrievably doomed?

UNDER ALL the confusion and distress of these perilous times, two distinct social trends of incalculable significance are plainly visible: the decay of capitalism and the rise of socialism.

OF ALL the despicable and deplorable—and dangerous!—utilities now practiced or proposed in this mad world, what could be more despicable and dangerous than the "remedies" and unctious now being prescribed for moribund capitalism by its great doctors and high priests? But, historically, have not ruling classes usually waited about listening to their critics until it was too late?

THE "stabilization of capitalism"—the goal of contemporary western European and American statecraft (of which craftiness is certainly the active principle)—means, simply, the perpetuation of the exploitation and degradation of the workers. Aside from that, would not such a state nullify the known laws of social evolution? The "stabilization of capitalism" must be the stupidest dream avarice has ever dreamt.

TO THOSE little spoon-fed innocents who, in concocting their miserable little private social philosophies, wish to avoid all taint of radicalism and to maintain their "social standing" in the community: Keep the commandments of the capitalist and do not attempt any social thinking at all. SPECIAL NOTICE: This is not merely the best formula for attaining that happy end; it is the only known formula.

The Freeman is full of good things. We want a million Americans to read these good things.

PLANS are now being laid in 400 American cities to meet the most menacing aspects of the hunger-and-distress situation which is bound to become more critical next winter. Of even attempting to do simple justice to the millions of hungry unemployed, there is not the slightest suggestion; the "relief" plans are assumed by the smug and the simple-minded to proceed from "sweet" charity. Even that assumption, however, is utterly groundless. The only real relief contemplated by the "patriotic" promoters of the sorry enterprise is the relief of the capitalists' fear of general uprising. What must all intelligent workers think of that?

MUCH as the capitalist system deserves to be blown to hell, the very great danger that workers would be tricked out of the fruits of revolution, in the general confusion following a violent uprising, should be kept steadily in view. Despite all the heat of emotionalism that may be generated in the masses, the destiny of nations can never be entrusted to ignorance and stupidity. The impassioned cry, "Arouse, ye slaves of capitalism!" certainly sounds dramatic enough and may be necessary; but something else should go with it. The more prosaic yet equally important task of educating the said slaves must be carried on indelibly and with infinite patience, courage, and fortitude.

## MATTHEW WOLL—A MESSIAH ON THE CAPITALIST SCENE

All competent observers of the present American scene must find vast amusement in the patriotic grimaces and gesticulations of certain professional disseminators of the Red Terror. Among contemporary politicians, Congressman Hamilton Fish, I suppose, is still entitled to wear the tallest dunce-cap and to explode the loudest torpedoes on the upturned buttocks of his fellow-clowns, though Senator Copeland of New York has recently put on a solemn demonstration of his patriotism—a demonstration obviously aimed at the bone-heads allowed to vote in that unhappy province. But, of course, such fantastic capers are supposed to be cut by old-party politicians; we seem to be forgetting, for the moment, that none but the feeble-minded can take them, as a group, seriously.

It is with peculiarly ironical appropriateness, however, that "labor" now puts forth a mighty champion to challenge the Red Menace. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the National Civic Federation, stands out in striking contrast to the blatant politician whose whole purpose is served in discharging a lot of fox fire and winning the next election. Matthew proposes to do something. Indeed he has already done something, with the help of his disciples, until he has done something stupendous and miraculous. In fact, Matt waxes unmistakable symptoms of being possessed of a messianic urge. He has formulated and offered the capitalist world a plan of salvation and has already named and appointed his disciples—to whom a somewhat detailed reference will be made later.

Matt proposes a world boycott against all Soviet products reaching Christian shores. Yes, sir, an absolute boycott! As a preliminary, Matt has emitted this call for world action:

"It is clear as the noonday sun," says Matt, as quoted in the New York Times for July 6, "that the capital of the civilized nations, their skill and ingenuity, are being used in helping to create a Frankenstein which, if it continues to develop and grow, will eventually crush the existing [civilized] governments of the world."

Is All Hot and Bothered Then he propounds these hair-raising questions, Matt does:

Are we to remain silent and inactive in such imminent dangers? Are the peoples of the world to remain quiescent while the Red states of Northern Europe [Soviet Russia] is attempting through the Third International to provoke and foment every industrial disorder into a revolutionary manifestation? Are we silently to permit the Soviet trade organizations to operate within our midst? And are we to be blind to the ultimate disastrous consequences upon our own as well as other markets of the world and the complete unbalancing of our whole economic order?

Is it not time for the people of all democratic and free nations of the world to join with one another in meeting the challenge of Soviet Russia? Has not the time come for the peoples of the civilized nations of the world to call a halt upon the onslaught being made upon free and democratic institutions [and the "help" institutions] and for the safeguarding and perpetuity of the principles and practices of freedom? Could there be a more appropriate time than now to inaugurate such a World movement? (Bold type ours.)

Matthew, as you can see, is inspired. It seems that he has been "representing labor" before capitalists for some time but evidently the transfiguration of Matthew occurred on June 10. It came to pass in this way: The National Civic Federation tendered an elaborate banquet to one Georges Theunis, until recently president of the International Chamber of Commerce. This was at the Bankers' Club in New York and Matthew Woll, as acting president, must have been all over the place. On this solemn occasion he declared that "only by a counter-movement of international scope could Soviet Russia's openly announced purpose to bring about world revolution and the destruction of civilization be defeated."

The Holy Saints of Capitalism Whereupon the assembled "patriots" resolutely a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee of 100—a committee of capitalist safety—to constitute the United States section of a proposed international committee to fight communism. The members of this committee were chosen by Matthew himself and they are now his duly authorized disciples. The roll of names, together with the official position and business connections of the patriots, makes interesting reading. We regret that space is not available for a reproduction of the whole list. But the following cross section will give a clear idea of its quality and make-up. And, by the way, Bishop Bill Manning, Cardinal Dougherty and James W. Gerard, who has already formally declared war against Soviet Russia, head the committee. Among the holy guys are:

Right Rev. James E. Freeman, bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.; Right Rev. Ernest A. Steyer, bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City; N. Y. Rev. but not Right Albert Sidney Johnson, pastor First Presbyterian Church, Charlotte, N. C.; the Rev. also not Right Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., vice-president Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Next to holy men come bankers: Samuel McRoberts, chairman of the board, Chatham Phenix National Bank and Trust Company, New York City; James Brown, Brown Brothers & Co., New York City; Percy H. Johnston, chairman, National National Bank, New York City; James D. Forgan, Jr., vice-president, First National Bank, Chicago; Peter J. Brady, president, Federal Bank and Trust Company, New York City; F. M. Kuntze, L.

Seattle, former president South Carolina Bankers' Association.

Corporations Are Represented Heads of corporations make up about half of the list of Matthew Woll's disciples, among whom are: J. P. Weyerhaeuser, president Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, Tacoma, Wash.; Forest P. Dryden, former president Prudential Life Insurance Company; Chas. Edgar, president Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston; Alexander J. Porter, president Shredded Wheat Company; James S. McCulloch, president New York Telephone Company; Henry B. Joy, Packard Motor Car Company; Irving Hall Chase, president Ingersoll Watch Company; John Omwake, president High Low Jack and the Game Company, Cincinnati.

"Labor" is represented by: Charles S. Barrett, president National Board of Farm Organizations, Union City, Ga.; L. J. Taber, master the National Grange, Columbus, O.; J. A. Franklin, president International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, New York City; M. J. Keough, president International Molders' Union, Cincinnati; Joseph P. Ryan, president Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City; Daniel J. Ahern, president Allied Printing and Stationery Council, New York City; William D. Mahon, president Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, Detroit; Thomas F. McMahon, president United Textile Workers of America, New York City; James M. Lane, president Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia; I. M. Ornburn, president Cigar-makers' International Union of America, Washington, D. C.; Ellis Seales, editor United Mine Workers Journal, Indianapolis; Frank W. McCarthy, organizer, Massachusetts Federation of Labor, Boston; W. E. Bryan, general president United Leather Workers International Union, Kansas City, and others overflowing with zeal for "labor."

Knowledge and Wisdom is humbly represented by: Dr. W. W. Phelan, president Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Okla.; J. H. Kirkland, president Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; Charles F. Thwing, president emeritus Western Massachusetts University; Dr. Josiah H. Penniman and others.

The art and mystery of statecraft and law-giving are represented by: Senator Clark, former United States Senator, Clarkburg, W. Va.; Morgan J. O'Brien, former Judge Appellate Division Supreme Court of New York; J. Mayhew Wainwright, Member of Congress, Rye, N. Y., and a few other luminaries. Ham Fish seems to have been overlooked.

The National Civic Federation itself is, of course, numerous, represented on the committee, its Woman's Department especially being represented by big sisters who fairly exude patriotism.

Oh, certainly, the Better America Federation of California had to be represented on a committee such as that and this function is performed by its president, Lieut. Col. Leroy F. Smith. The military is further represented by Brig.-Gen. John Ross Delafield, former Northern Military Order of the World War, New York City. Matthew Woll, the new messiah, will doubtless stay on the job until it is finished and surely, now, the uneasy heads of capitalists' can rest in peace.

This proposed boycott will probably be quietly and unopponentously lifted, however, as to foodstuffs, if Soviet Russia should offer to help feed America's starving millions of unemployed "free" democratic citizens next winter.

HUNGER is a hard teacher. Will it be successful in teaching the workers to understand their economic interests?

OVERPRODUCTION? No, no—over-exploitation. That's what is the matter with the country.

POLITICAL freedom is an empty bauble unless it is used to win economic freedom.

AMERICA's best interests will never be served by America's exploiters.

THE CHURCH has never voluntarily surrendered a privilege.

PRAYING capitalists like praying workers.

## READERS, ATTENTION!

As the first move in its fight to resist the Moore bond racketeers who are suing The American Freeman for \$500,000 we must have in the near future a fund of \$3,000. We are not asking you for donations. Help us raise the needed fund by sending for at least four Freeman sub cards at 25c each, good for 25 weeks. Or send us your remittance and tell us to use it under Method No. 3, which means we will send copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession. Do your share today. The \$3,000 must be raised among Freeman readers at once!

## WORKERS, UNITE!

BY GEORGE W. FREEMAN Workers, unite! How few, compared with you— But how united!—those of that proud class Who for your lords and masters ever pass— The arrogant and pampered privileged few! To sequestered prince and mixed prelate, who Gave place and power, above the human mass. To use for ends of that unrighteousness Which steals the fruits of labor, labor's honest due? United stand the lords of industry, With all production's means, and of the whole Of labor's tools have absolute control!— Hold workers in effectual slavery! And all this sordid prince and priest who claim Authority in Great Jehovah's name! Workers, unite! You've gauded but chains in jeopardy!

Workers, unite! In union there is might, And by your solidarity alone The battle for your freedom can be won. A noble thing is purpose "honor bright"; Chicanery is of chaotic night! The evidence of worth is work well done, When Truth throws Error from its ancient throne, But solid front in righteous cause must win your fight.

The panacea for chronic graft and greed Of poring master class, prescribed by quacks Whom barreled park attracts. Are not the physics that your ailments need: No balm in Gilead ever will be found! Production's means must be in common owned, And full results of work must be the worker's mead.

Canada Jobless in "Work Armies" Beginning late in September, the provincial government of Ontario in Canada will gather the unemployed single and itinerant workers within its borders into "work armies" which will be sent into labor camps in the northern part of the province and kept at work during the winter at road-building.

The sporadic and incomplete attacks of capitalist governments to handle the unemployment problems created by the failure of capitalist industry suggest one thing above all to a thoughtful observer: Why not end capitalist control of industry and have a socialized industry that will supply steady, useful, well-planned employment for all the workers all the year round?

A system that has failed tragically from the viewpoint of mass welfare must in the end be thrust aside for a system which will prove better for all.

## Now They Can Really Understand Socialism!

# Socialism Special Edition

There is much talk of hard times, the causes and the remedies—but the most important economic movement and economic philosophy of modern times, Socialism, is not discussed as it should be. We do not need to tell you that only a small minority of the workers really understand what Socialism means, what it aims to do, what are its origins, its ideas and its methods. Farmers, clerks, small business men and, in fact, the vast majority of citizens share this ignorance of Socialism.

They need no longer be ignorant. In Socialism Special Edition dated September 5 The American Freeman will explain clearly and thoroughly the truth about this tremendously important movement. This will be the most valuable analysis and explanation of Socialism which has ever been printed in this handy form. By circulating extra copies of this special edition—thousands and thousands of them—you can help to increase greatly the understanding of Socialism throughout the United States. That it should be so understood is a vital necessity of our time. For Socialism goes right to the roots of all our economic and social ills. It is the most sound and daring attack upon the very conditions which are now distressing and perplexing the American masses.

Your fellow workers cannot obtain a clearer insight into the causes and the remedies for these hard times than by reading carefully every word of our Socialism Special Edition of September 5. We promise too that it will not only be educational but will be lively, interesting, readable in every line. Get busy now to help us pile up a record circulation for this Socialism Special Edition. Use the order blank below.

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(September 5)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

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







# Hoover Personally to Blame for Distress He Won't Prevent

Until Congress meets in December, when strong efforts will be made to pass federal legislation for unemployment insurance, the shameful spectacle of the strongest and richest government in the world refusing aid to its millions of jobless, destitute workers.

The personal guilt for this situation rests upon President Hoover. If Hoover had favored instead of grimly opposing such federal aid, legislation would have been passed in the latest session of Congress. It is quite likely that unemployment insurance and a large program of public works by the government will be legislated by the next Congress, even though Hoover should persist in his opposition. But in December, when Congress meets, the suffering will be tremendous and until Congress acts with energy and vision for the national welfare there will be no sufficient means nor measures to remedy this suffering.

Apparently Hoover has not changed his position that private charity and local governments, cities and counties and states, must bear the burden of relief. It is not only his fear of a socialistic tendency in government, his stubborn attitude that the government should not interfere with the workings of "economic individualism," which inspires Hoover's resistance to unemployment insurance and federal relief. He is also protecting the rich from higher income taxes.

Federal aid to the jobless millions will, it is known, necessarily be financed by an increase of income taxation on the very rich, although, until such taxes could be collected, the government could issue bonds for immediate financing of relief measures. It is a fact which should be known, clearly and bitterly, to every American worker, to every unemployed American worker and to every suffering American family that Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, has persistently opposed and obstructed national relief measures because he wants to save the enormously rich from being forced to part with a larger share of their shameful wealth.

Hoover's outstanding contribution in this crisis is his unrelenting support of the despicable anti-social principle that the rich should not be taxed for the relief of the poor, starving, shelterless masses. The President is guarding, not the welfare of the American people, but the fortunes of the few rich who have millions in wealth while the poor starve and suffer terribly. He defends, even with dictatorial measures, the predatory capitalists; and he delivers kick after kick in the faces of the oppressed victims of capitalism.

It is for this reason that we denounce Herbert Hoover as the most vicious enemy of the American people, the most vicious enemy of social welfare, the most vicious enemy of a decent, human civilization—a man who should be booted so vigorously out of office through ouster proceedings by Congress or defeat at the polls that he will spend the rest of his life wondering what hit him.

Meanwhile Hoover holds his oppressive power, enjoys until Congress meets practically the position of a dictator, and refuses to consider the need of government relief as the nation heads toward a winter which is certain to bring distress of the most appalling extent and character. Although private charity

failed last winter and will fail more conspicuously this winter to perform the immense work of relief—a work so immense that only the federal government can perform it fully and adequately—it appears that Hoover still believes in the helplessness of the nation to do anything but drift and muddle through with private charity.

It is announced that a nationwide charity drive for funds will be made between October 19 and November 25. The Association of Community Chests and Councils is planning for another winter of pitifully insufficient, ineffective and incompetent Hooverized "relief." The job of relief this winter will be greater and the failure will be correspondingly more pronounced and tragic. "Whatever change may come in business conditions," says Allan T. Burns, executive director of the Association of Community Chests and Councils, "welfare and relief needs will be more acute next winter than last." He adds that "private philanthropy cannot possibly raise all the funds needed to meet the aggregate demand" and emphasizes the importance of relief contributions from city and county funds. He neglects to mention the most effective and large-scale form of possible relief—namely, the organization and financing of relief by the federal government.

In other words, Burns echoes the Hoover doctrine, which is utterly inconsistent. For Hoover urges smaller government units to engage in relief work, while doing his worst to prevent the largest and richest government body—the United States government—from engaging in relief work. Hoover is not even consistent in advocating the principle that government should not help the unemployed but that this work should rest entirely with private charity. What he says is that the federal government shall not help the unemployed; that is to say, the government body which is most able to help should not do so, according to the punitive dogma of Hoover.

But, as we say, this is more than a dogma. It has a very concrete basis. It has a very sharp and selfish motive. Hoover is protecting the rich men's fortunes from higher taxation, including his own fortune of ten million dollars. He repeats his assertion that private charity must provide relief in this crisis, although he knows that private charity has proved itself inadequate and that the major work of relief, such as it has been, has fallen upon city governments.

"In many places," says Burns, "notably Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York, all funds raised for emergency relief from private sources have been exhausted, with the year only half gone. The situation demands joint planning in each city by public officials and private welfare agencies." But there will be no "joint planning" and no action by the federal government if Hoover has his cruel, callous, conscienceless way.

Hoover throws the burden of relief upon the city governments, many of them almost broke in the face of tax shortages and delinquencies occasioned by the depression, and insists with the heartless perversity of a hater of mankind that the United States government, rich and powerful, shall not use its mighty resources for the national relief that is so tragically needed.

We have never said that Herbert

Hoover was personally responsible for the depression. We have said that he is a supporter of the system which is responsible for the depression and that as such we condemn and oppose him.

We do, however, say now that Herbert Hoover will be personally responsible for the extreme suffering, the starvation, the freezing, the deaths of this coming winter. We charge Herbert Hoover with personal responsibility because his influence for real adequate, nationwide relief resources the use of the government's resources for relief.

We hope and we have reason to hope that Congress, when it meets in December, will quickly pass legislation for unemployment insurance and immediate federal relief. But it is plain to see that much suffering will occur before that legislation can be passed and made effective. Congress should be in special session now, legislating and planning for real adequate, nationwide relief.

We should go into the winter with a system of unemployment insurance in full operation. That we will not, is unescapably the fault of Herbert Hoover. He, this symbol and active agent of the worst in mankind, is condemning millions to starvation, to shameful destitution, to tragic pain and death—and why? He is condemning these millions in order to save a minority of rich men from the necessity of parting with a share of the wealth which they have robbed from the people. Herbert Hoover decrees starvation for the poor masses that he may protect the rich few from higher income taxes. History records no more damnable crime against society and mankind.

## In the World of Books

By Isaac Goldberg

### A STUDY IN AMERICAN MUSIC

Having just completed a book on George Gershwin, which is to be published on his birthday, Sept. 26—he will be thirty-three on that day—I hasten to communicate the secret to the growing family of The American Freeman. It is not inappropriate that my patient readers should be the first to learn of the book in detail. There is, and there has been from the beginning, a genuine American freedom to the music of George Gershwin. He is by birth and breeding a New Yorker of New Yorkers. He grew up in the atmosphere of the ragtime period and proceeded with it into the era of jazz. His life, thus far, has been a parenthesis between two wars, and during this important epoch he and the United States seem to have come of age together.

I know that the musical world is full of snobs who turn up their noses at the mere mention of jazz and its chief creative exponent. They can't be blamed for not knowing that a good half of what Gershwin has written has nothing whatever to do with jazz, and that the composer himself is not at all interested in that much used and imperfectly understood term. Music is either good or bad; the category means little. I have heard persons with supposedly excellent classical taste wax enthusiastic about the silly use of a phonographic needle on the record of Gershwin's composition, The Pines of Rome. For this score was written, not by an intruder from Tin Pan Alley, but by an Italian symphonist and friend of Toscanini. The selfsame persons made very faces when Gershwin's humorous tone poem, An American in Paris, was played in a symphony hall; when four taxi horns sounded from the music, and they were most skillfully employed as an integral part of the work, the snobs suppressed shrieks of laughter at this impertinence and insolence from the musical slums.

The taste of such persons is hardly worth cultivating, and Gershwin can do without their suffrage. That he is, in my opinion, a highly important figure in our music goes without saying. Here, in the brief career of one young man, who had very little instruction in piano playing, and even less in composition, we find epitomized the emergence of a native music from the various strains that blended to produce our popular tunes. This boy, and an amazing boy he is, has been goaded on from the first by an instinctive need of experimentation. He is the product not of tuition but of intuition. In his own imperfect way he belongs to the family of Schubert, sharing the faults of the lyric type of composers—inexpertness in construction, brevity of essential ideas, difficulty in welding together the various elements of his work. On the other hand, he shares the felicity of that type—an inborn gift for melody, the courage of those who have no academic investments at stake, the inspiration of numerous passages that are as gifts from heaven.

Consider the accomplishments of this youth: to our popular song he has brought humor, grace, and a new vitality; he has enlivened the musical comedy and in his later work suggested the creation of an American counterpart of the Gilbert-Sullivan operas; not content with this, when it could keep him in the wealth that it has brought, he has aspired to show that the rhythms of jazz, and the spirit associated with those rhythms, have in them the potentialities of something more than the dance. But do not misunderstand him. It is not that he looks down upon the dance; why should he? The history of the symphony

traces its evolution back to the humble popular dance. He does not, because he has begun to achieve an international reputation for efforts in symphonic music, look down upon the popular rhythms out of which these efforts grew. He simply has discovered that they are susceptible of more complicated development, and the experimentalist in him followed that lead.

Let me again revert to the musical snob. He is the fellow, for example, who will bore you to extinction with his raving about Ravel's Bolero, but who has no room in his sympathies for the Rhapsody in Blue. Now this time, don't misunderstand me. Ravel is one of the most interesting composers alive; his skill with the modern orchestra is uncanny. If Gershwin possessed it, as some day he may, he would electrify his hearers. But the Bolero is hardly great music; however expertly it has played its variations upon its Spanish theme, The Rhapsody in Blue, on the other hand, with all its faults, which sound much worse on paper, in the mouths of its detractors, than they do in actual performance, is a work with a large element of irreplaceable inspiration. I have called it, among other things, the Declaration of Independence of American music. Not that it hasn't any foreign elements in it; it has. But the original declaration, after all, is written in the language of the people against whom we revolted. Moreover, it is a poor soul who hesitates to acknowledge intellectual debt. There is no such thing as a self-made man.

But it is not my intention here to summarize my book. Nor is that book a biography. Such an aim, in the case of a man who has well under thirty-five and has in all likelihood only just begun to do his best work, would be fatuous. The book is first of all a record of fact, a digest of opinion, and but lastly an attempt at evaluation.

### NOVELLETTE

Amok. By Stefan Zweig. The Viking Press, New York. \$1.50. I remember the time when there was a great stir in this country about the short story (without a hyphen) and the short-story (with a hyphen). Later, under the stress of our hurried life and our cramped space we have been treated even to the short-short-story. It is strange that in a country that devours so much short fiction in its magazines there should be a prejudice against collections of the selfsame stories. Not this alone; the novelette—a sort of in-between form—has a sort of stupid to parcel out our fiction in standardized lengths. A story should be as long as it takes to tell it most effectively.

This new tale by Stefan Zweig is a novelette told with hardly a superfluous word. Had the author so desired, he could easily have padded it to the proportions of a novel. As it is, it gains by concentration and economized power. Externally it is the tale of a doctor in the tropics who, suddenly confronted by a beautiful white woman—she has come to him to procure an abortion—demands as his price her body. She is a lover, not a prostitute, and refuses. Too late, the crazed physician, realizing the hell into which he has sentenced this wife, whose husband will shortly return and discover the truth, beseeches her to let him save her and to forgive his momentary madness. The woman dies; even her lover is spared the knowledge of the cause of her death. Conscience and the image of what might have been, goads the physician to suicide.

As I say, the story is told with a vitalizing economy. To read it is to learn more about how to tell a tale than a dozen text-books could give. Also, it is to increase acquaintance with one of the finest spirits of our day.

The modern generation demands, not that a marriage be sanctified by the church, but that it be sanctified by love.

RACKETEERING by gangsters has its counterpart in racketeering by politicians and big business.



Bernard Shaw, great writer and Socialist, leaving Russia after a very interesting visit. England, and other western countries must follow Russia's example, said Shaw.

### GLEANINGS

BY J. C. C.

Religion is best defined as efforts on the part of humanity to appease the wrath of imaginary deities.

Truly, dogmatism is necessary to a religionist. But as agnostics justified in calling agnostics dogmatic for rejecting as impossible the existence of mind without matter, since no one has ever given evidence of such phenomenon?

Probably a writer is correct in saying that 99 percent of the people are what they are because of birth, if he includes religionists only. But most agnostics and atheists were also born in religious homes. It happened in their case that the religious virus did not take readily and effectually, or else they were able after reaching the age of reason to free themselves from it.

Prohibition has not been a success with enforcement, but as a means of promoting discord and setting neighbor against neighbor it has been one of the greatest things the exploiting class has tried. So long as the great mass of the people can be kept agitated over prohibition they will not be inquiring into the reason why millions of people are near starvation in a land of overproduction.

It is now estimated that there are not less than ten million adults in this country for whom there is no employment. These are people who up until the last two or three years had farms or worked in shops or factories. But how many millions would be added to this if we included all who are worse than idle? Bootleggers, spies, professional politicians, promoters of all sorts of shady schemes, fakers, especially the religious variety, and those driven into ordinary crimes?

Labor unions that do not take into consideration and work for the welfare of all who toil cannot hope for any permanent success. All who contribute their share to human needs are natural allies and any craft attempting to lift itself alone is like a man trying to lift himself by his bootstraps. The comparatively high wages that some crafts ultimately were paid by the farmers and other industrial workers, not by the big employers, and only hastened the day of general depression.

The name "agnostic" applied to men like Ingersoll or Darrow is unfortunate, since it leads to endless hair-splitting. Most preachers, either purposely or ignorantly, assume that an agnostic is merely a doubter of Bible miracles. "Why," asks a preacher, "since an agnostic admits he does not know, does he seek to undermine the faith of weak-minded people that Joshua stopped the sun or that the whale swallowed Jonah?" An agnostic and an atheist are entirely in agreement as to the origin of all so-called sacred books.

Not long since a writer denounced the doctrine that the human race is born in sin as being one of the most unfortunate and vicious ever fostered. I am in full agreement with this. But how can the writer reconcile this with his recently expressed opinion of the truth of Christianity? The foundation rock of Christianity is that everybody since the beginning of the world has been born in sin and condemned to everlasting perdition, but that some 1900 years ago, Jesus, son of Jehovah, became a sacrifice, and thus Jehovah's wrath may be appeased toward the small percent of the race who hear and are able to believe it.

What is dogmatism? My dictionary defines the word as a positive assertion of opinion. If this is correct, no normal person is free from being dogmatic. But it is not correct. Who was dogmatic, the fathers in the Christian church who asserted that the earth stands still, or Galileo, who asserted that it moves? The church, by torture, compelled Galileo to retract, but as he rose from his knees, he is supposed to have muttered, "And yet it moves!" Who was dogmatic, John Calvin or Servetus? Calvin led Servetus to Geneva but had him seized and burned at the stake. Who was dogmatic, the Puritan fathers or the Quakers and other non-conformists whom they put to death for their opinions? Who was dogmatic, Cotton Mather or his victims?

### The Great Red Plague

That book I got free with my year's subscription to The American Freeman, entitled *The Great Red Plague*, is the best of its kind I have ever read. It is plain and simple so that the ordinary layman can easily understand. A specialist would charge hundreds of dollars for the information it gives. I have read many books on the subject of syphilis as the study of same has a peculiar fascination for me.—Sam Ragendorf, Ohio.

### Constable Changed His Mind

Flourishing his gun, a West Virginia constable drove a striking worker's family from their home near Wheeling, W. Va., and threw the furniture out of doors. The constable changed his mind—or, at any rate, his style—when a crowd of strikers made him carry the furniture right back into the house. That's one time a constable actually worked.

Nor now we die, but how we live—that is the question.

### THE CURSE OF "PROGRESS"

L. F. Loree, prominent railroad capitalist, agrees with Henry George that progress and poverty are twin children of the modern age. "I believe," he says, "a commercial depression to be the normal consequence of progress."

Perhaps we had better be a little clearer about our definitions of progress. As intelligent human beings, we define real progress as an improvement in the living conditions, both material and cultural, of humanity. We regard true progress as the development of greater happiness and security for the whole people.

But Mr. Loree evidently has a different notion of progress. He is thinking of the progress of a few rich men in piling up enormous incomes, of the progress in the concentration of wealth, of the progress of capitalists toward their goal of supreme and relentless exploitation of the masses.

That may be progress for Mr. Loree and his kind. But it is a conception and consequence of progress which the generality of mankind can recognize only as a curse. Real progress consists in removing the evil effects of Mr. Loree's kind of progress.

### Suppress Truth About Strike

How capitalist papers suppress facts friendly to labor is exemplified in the strike of Pittsburgh, Pa., taxi drivers against the Parmalee Transportation Co. The cab company runs statements daily in the newspapers declaring that the strike is a failure and that taxi service is "back to normal." The taxi drivers' union issued a statement that, after thorough checking, it had found only a little more than a hundred cabs in active service; but this statement by the union was not published in the Pittsburgh capitalist dailies.

The latest move of the cab company is to discharge its whole staff of telephone switchboard operators because they refused to tell inquiring callers that there was no strike. Less than twenty of the striking taxi drivers have returned to work.

Generally operating as a scab concern in many large cities, the Parmalee Co. in Pittsburgh was compelled some time ago to recognize the union, a recognition that was, however, not complete nor genuine. Recently a policy of discharging active union men led to the present strike.

### THE WORST ENEMIES OF LABOR

Why do revolts occur, from time to time, among the rank and file of unionized workers? In Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky many thousands of coal miners have rejected the conservative leadership of the United Mine Workers of America and are striking under the direction of the National Miners' Union. Their old leaders have betrayed them, have thought more of upholding their own power within the union than of fighting the battles of the union members, and indeed have been more reactionary than conservative. John L. Lewis, president of the U. M. W. A., is a labor faker and a politician who has ruthlessly served himself and his clique at the expense of the miners' true interests. So the miners are revolting against their betrayers.

Another illustration of the reason behind these revolts of union workers is seen in the action of the International Longshoremen's Association in its recent New York City convention which voted to increase the salaries of its officers, in the face of the severe depression, a considerable loss of members by the union and a raise of the per capita tax on each union member from 23 cents to 25 cents a month. Now Joseph P. Ryan, president of the longshoremen's union, will be paid \$8,000 a year; the secretary-treasurer will get \$5,000 a year; the vice-president will get \$75 a week; and organizers will get \$70 a week. Yet longshoremen, when fortunate enough to obtain work, have averaged only \$25 a week in wages during the past year.

No wonder the union workers occasionally awake to realize that their movement is infested with greedy labor politicians who are really the worst enemies of labor.

## On the Kansas Front

The Freeman is getting results on the Kansas battle front, in the campaign of E. Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator. Get into the fight by joining the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club. Membership is obtained by sending at least \$1 for four 25-cent sub cards or by sending at least \$1 to be used according to Method No. 3. Use the blank below.

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The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

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