Total number of subscribers for week ending May 1 291,809
Number of new subs for week ending May 8 9,748
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Gain for week 1,716

Total Number of Subs for Week Ending May 8 - - - - 293,525

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Appeal to Reason.

This Is Number 703

J. A. WAYLAND

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.
FRED D. WARREN, MANAGING EDITOR.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 22, 1909

LOOK at the yellow address label, and note the number following name. If it is **No. 704** your subscription expires with the next number. You should renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires so that you will not miss any numbers.

THE APPEAL EDITORIAL STAFF
J. A. WAYLAND — EUGENE V. DEBS
FRED D. WARREN — CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER

PROPHECY FULFILLED.

In the issue of the Appeal to Reason of March 8, 1907, I had an article from which I now quote as follows:

During the past ten years the country enjoyed unparalleled prosperity measured by the capitalist standard. Labor was generally employed; wages were high; prices higher; dividends fabulous. The plute looked with tolerance upon our Socialist propaganda—with here and there a half-hearted attempt to suppress it. He was too intent upon the mad scramble for dollars to take more than passing notice of Socialism, except to ridicule and belittle it. Today conditions are different. Profits are being wiped out; factories closing; wages reduced; millions unemployed. Industrial conditions favor the wide acceptance of Socialism. Plutocracy now realizes fully what this condition means and despotic measures will be employed to stamp out the socialistic agitation and put our press and speakers out of business. Previous attempts will be as a summer's zephyr compared to the drastic measures that will be put in force from now on. The immediate future will try the mettle of every Socialist. Are you ready?

At the time this article was written I had information regarding the plans of the administration with regard to the Socialist press, the source of which I was not at liberty to reveal, which satisfied me that the most strenuous efforts would be made to choke off the Socialist press as a means of arresting the progress of the Socialist movement. I now recall what was then written and present it to our readers in the light of at least partial fulfillment.

It is not that I was gifted with special prophetic insight that I was enabled to foretell the future, but simply because the information I had from inner sources left no room for doubt as to the intention of the ruling power to cripple the Socialist movement by a deliberate and carefully worked out plot to destroy its press.

This is the reason why Attorney General Bonaparte, backed by President Roosevelt, issued the telegraphic order to the district officials of Kansas to prosecute the Appeal to the limit and if there was not a good case against it to make one.

This is the reason Prosecuting Attorney Bone in his speech to the jury, denouncing the Appeal, declared that its name should be changed to "The Appeal to Treason."

This is the reason Deputy Prosecuting Attorney West proclaimed the Appeal's guilt and stated that Warren would be sent to the penitentiary for a long term of years.

This is the reason another official, prominent in the prosecution, boasted that if the Appeal could be suppressed in no other way it could be kept in court indefinitely, and so loaded with costs, fees, and other court expenses, that it would finally be "bled to death."

These are the simple facts. Comment upon them is scarcely necessary. This attack upon the Appeal was plotted years ago. It has now been in the custody of the court and its editor under bail more than two years and there is no end in sight.

The truth is that the liberty of the press is involved.

Protestation to the contrary deceives no one except those willing to be deceived.

The issue is stripped naked by the prosecution itself. It stands clearly revealed. There can be no mistake in regard to it.

The object of the prosecution from first to last has been to destroy the Appeal. And the reason this paper has been marked for suppression is that its circulation reaches the people and that it has a voice loud enough to be heard by the nation. This was demonstrated in the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, to the surprise of the plutocrats who had plotted that infamous conspiracy and expected to pull it off without serious interference.

From that hour the Appeal was marked and secret service operatives have been camping upon its trail. My indictment, prosecution, conviction, and suspended sentence are all in the sequel.

Let the main issue be clearly understood by our readers.

It is not for myself I am pleading. I would scorn any suggestion that I am a martyr or that I could be metamorphosed into a national issue.

Nor is it the Appeal to Reason the only paper that is aimed at in this fight. It is the press of the Socialist movement, the only movement feared by the capitalist despotism which rules the land. It is the Appeal to Reason now and later it will be some other Socialist or labor paper which can not be bribed, or browbeaten into silence.

There is but one thing for us to do and that is to muster all of our forces and resist the capitalist campaign to throttle our press. Clearly understood and wisely controlled this situation can be converted into one of immeasurable benefit to our movement. We have only to rally our host and unite in the declaration that we know our rights and in the determination that we propose to maintain them.—FRED D. WARREN.

LOUIS GLASS, a telephone magnate of the Pacific coast, was convicted of bribery. The matter was appealed to the appellate court, and the case was remanded for a new trial. It was not found that Glass was innocent. The grounds assigned for a new trial were purely technical. One of the two errors alleged to have been made in the trial court was the admission of testimony showing crookedness which was not alleged in the indictment. What a farce the capitalist courts are! Because a convicted rich man is more guilty than alleged, he must be given a new chance to come clear. Would a poor man be given such an opportunity, think you?

WHILE REJOICING, TEDDY SHOULD NOT FORGET—

THAT "HE WHO LAUGHS LAST, LAUGHS BEST"
—Chicago Socialist.

CHEER UP, COMRADES!

A few Socialists are inclined to feel gloomy over Warren's conviction. There is absolutely no reason for this. If anything it is a matter for rejoicing. It is evidence at least that Socialism has a paper and an editor worth prosecuting. This is a happy omen. It is not exactly a pink tea affair for the editor, but so far as the cause is concerned only good can come from it and there is no reason to take a pessimistic view of it, but on the other hand, there is every reason for cheer and congratulation.

Let us take a leaf from history. The Socialist movement in Germany advanced but slowly until it reached a point where it began to be a menace to the ruling class and then measures were taken to arrest its progress. Its papers were suppressed and its editors jailed. The old veterans Bebel and Liebknecht served much of their time behind prison bars.

The weak brothers, then as now, felt that a calamity had befallen them and that the movement was in a bad way, but the true Socialists came to the front and the revolutionary spirit for the first time asserted itself in more aggressive and determined agitation. The fight now began in earnest—it is only when a movement is fighting for its life that it develops its real spirit and expands to its true proportions.

The mighty Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor," invoked all the powers of the empire to crush the movement. But he failed and failed miserably and under his rule of "iron and blood" Socialism had a new birth and rapidly spread over the entire nation. Had it not been for Bismarck's repressive policy it would have taken years longer to build up the German movement.

The same results will follow the attempt of the American authorities to follow in the steps of Bismarck to suppress the papers, and imprison the editors of the Socialist movement.

The Appeal to Reason is the first paper to be attacked and Fred D. Warren the first editor and they are proud of that fact. They have no apology to make and if there be weak Socialists who give up at the very time they should prove their fealty they are but to be pitied. They lack the true spirit and unless they throw off their weakness and come to the front they cannot hope to be of any real service to the movement. They who take the back track when the enemy is encountered and the fight is on, even if it be lost, are not of the stuff of which revolutions are made.

Now is the time to buckle on the armor and sound the note of defiance, and not weakly yield to despair. Now is the time to stand up and be counted; the time to take hold with both hands; the time to show a cheerful face and speak brave words; the time to show what we are made of and prove by our acts that we are worthy of the cause; the time to go out and get subscribers and increase the power of the paper the enemy has set upon to destroy.

Cheer up, comrades, it is about sunrise and there is prospect of magnificent fighting all along the line!—E. V. Debs.

THE sugar trust has been robbing the government of millions by fraudulent weighing of imports. Of course these millions went into the pockets of the trust owners. Now comes the grand jury and indicts a few small employes, charging them with the crime. Of course they are but the goats in the case. They got none of the swag. That went into the capacious maws of the trust-owning capitalists. They of course are not indicted. It is only the seven-dollars-a-week dock employes. And this is justice! Is it to laugh, or to weep, or to swear?

KIDNAPING.

Kidnaping is a crime, or was a crime, in all the states of the union *until legalized* in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case *by the supreme court of the United States.*

That court of last resort ignored the constitution and laws of the states and the constitution of the United States when the three leaders of the Western Federation of Miners were kidnaped by the Mine Owners' association and virtually became accessory to the kidnaping by judicially sanctioning it and giving it all the backing of the United States government.

Thus kidnaping was made legal by the decision of the highest court in the United States. See Associate Justice McKenna's dissenting opinion.

To test the validity of this decision the editor of the Appeal to Reason offered a reward for the kidnaping of a capitalist governor, a fugitive from justice, the object being to see if the interpretation of the law by the supreme court applied equally to capitalists and workingmen.

There was this difference, however, in the two cases: The Mine Owners' association kidnaped three workingmen who were *not under indictment*, had been charged with no crime, and were absolutely innocent under the law, whereas Warren offered a reward for the kidnaping of a capitalist *who was under indictment* for murder, a fugitive from justice, and upon whose head there was a reward of one hundred thousand dollars.

The supreme court of the United States legalized the kidnaping of three workingmen who were not under indictment, while Fred D. Warren was indicted, prosecuted and convicted for merely suggesting the kidnaping of a capitalist who was under indictment.

In other words, the capitalist courts have decided that capitalists may legally kidnap workingmen but that for a workingman to even suggest the kidnaping of a capitalist, even though he be under indictment for murder and a fugitive from justice with a price upon his head, is a crime.

Here we have the net result of the Warren trial. It is worth all it cost. There need no longer be any doubt as to where our courts stand, what class they are for, and what class they are against.

Capitalists may kidnap workingmen at will. The supreme court stands behind them, but the workingman who proposes the kidnaping of a capitalist is a criminal to be put in stripes in a state prison.

We have at least the satisfaction of knowing that we now know the law. Kidnaping is the inalienable right of the capitalist and is a crime only when hinted at by a working man.

The lesson is clear as the light of day. The present government is a *capitalist class government;* the present administration is a *capitalist class administration;* the existing courts are *capitalist class courts* to the very core.

Therefore we have capitalist class rule based upon working class slavery. This is what the republican and democratic parties stand for and what the Socialist party stands against.

The Warren trial has at least served to make clear to all but the totally and hopelessly blind the class character of the federal courts of the United States.

THE press reports that Theodore Roosevelt is being considered for a director in the Equitable Life Insurance company. This is the company in which occurred the stupendous steals that stirred the nation, and Roosevelt at the time pretended to be very indignant at the crimes of Equitable. It is very appropriate that the pretender should now be made a director in the company which can be classified only with the Alton road, where the big steal occured with Roosevelt's sanction.

VERDICT OF GUILTY

Tombstone, Ariz., May 16, 1909: After eleven hours deliberation the jury at 11 o'clock this morning returned a verdict of "guilty" against Magon, Villarreal and Rivera. A motion for a new trial will be made tomorrow, but it is expected that it will be denied.

GEO. H. SHOAF.

THE ARMY'S ANSWER.

Quick and emphatic has been the answer of the Army to the federal court's packed-jury conviction of the editor of the Appeal. The subs are rolling in like a tidal wave. Next week we will have a showing that will make the hearts of Army veterans leap with joy. It required just this attack to fire the blood of the rank and file.

The Appeal Army is now on its fighting mettle. The packed jury of the federal court and the conviction of Warren has turned sluggish inaction into bristling activity.

The whole Army is bending to its work and the tide is rising in a majestic swell, the Appeal upon its crest, and its colors flying defiantly in the breeze.

Look for the circulation statement next week and you will see what the Appeal Army thinks of the conviction of Warren. Carry the news to the prosecution! The conviction it secured by means of a packed jury is the Appeal's highest certificate of character and efficiency. Another such conviction and we will have a million subscribers. Keep them coming, comrades, keep them coming; for you are the people and the people finally reverse all unjust verdicts and establish the true majesty of the law.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL.

The Kansas City Journal has an editorial "Socialism Not on Trial," from which we quote as follows:

No doubt efforts will be made to show that in the case of Fred Warren, editor of the Socialist paper of Girard, Kansas, it is Socialism and not the man himself that is on trial. In no sense is Socialism on trial at Fort Scott. Warren's case is merely a question of fact. Did he or did he not on a certain occasion misuse the United States mail?

The Journal is so sure that it is Warren and not Socialism that is on trial that it hastens to warn its readers not to be deceived into wrongly believing that it is Socialism and not Warren that is on trial. The Journal knows very well that it is Socialism and that is why it is so solicitous to have its readers believe that it is Warren that is on trial.

The Journal has a short memory. If it will consult its own files it will find that in an editorial in its own columns it stated that the prosecution of Warren was directed against the Appeal to Reason and that it was ordered by President Roosevelt himself. If it will examine the same editorial it will find that it expresses the regret that a technicality had to be resorted to in the prosecution to suppress the Appeal to Reason.

And now the Journal has the hardihood to say that it is not Socialism that is on trial but only Fred Warren, the individual who happens to be its editor.

Will the Journal seriously contend that if Warren had been a republican editor, or a democratic editor, or no editor at all, that he would have been indicted upon this charge. Well does the Journal know that it is only because he is the editor of the Appeal, and only because the Appeal is an exponent of Socialism, that this prosecution has been instituted.

What is the specific charge upon which Warren has been convicted? It is that he mailed an offer for the return of a fugitive from justice charged with murder. Thousands of others have circulated offers of similar rewards and circulated them through the mails, but not one of them has ever been indicted.

Will the Journal kindly tell its reasons why?

We have here in this office hundreds of postal cards containing rewards offered by individual citizens and officers of the law, similar to the one mailed by Warren, which have passed through the United States mails, but no thought of indicting the senders ever occurred to any post office inspector.

Why should Warren alone be singled out for indictment and prosecution? The Journal dare not tell its readers for it knows that the reason and the only reason he has been indicted and convicted is because he is the editor of the Appeal to Reason and the Appeal to Reason is the principal Socialist paper in the United States.

The Journal ought to have too much respect for the intelligence of its readers to undertake to practice such flagrant imposition upon them.

TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF FRED D. WARREN

Summary of the Celebrated Case—Liberty of the Press the Issue—Two Years in the Federal Court and the Motive Behind It.

RECORD OF THE CASE.

Fred D. Warren was indicted May 7, 1907. Gave bond May 8, 1907, for appearance at the November term, 1907, after first appearing before the court and asking immediate trial and being denied a hearing.

November, 1907.—Editor Warren appeared before the court at Fort Scott, with his attorneys, ready for trial, and on application of the government, postponement was taken till the May term of court, 1908.

May, 1908.—Editor Warren appeared before the court with his attorneys, ready for trial, and again, on application of the government, postponement was granted until "after election," November 3, 1908.

On November 3, 1908, Warren again appeared at Fort Scott, with his attorneys, ready for trial, and once more the state asked for a continuance. The case was postponed until May 3, 1909.

May 3, 1909.—The attorneys for Warren insisted on a trial, and at last the state prepared for a hearing. Indeed, it had been preparing for some time before. Ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, was pardoned, so he might leave the State of Indiana in safety, and come to Kansas to testify. A jury, made up almost exclusively of republicans, had been selected. The case came to a hearing, but the result was foreordained. A verdict of guilty was brought.

May 5.—The court announced that it would pass sentence, in accordance with the decision of the jury, and hear arguments for a new trial, in two weeks.

May 8.—The judge announced that he would defer passing sentence on Warren until the November term of court, 1909.

By Eugene V. Debs.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS is the issue involved in the case of the United States versus Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, which has been pending in the United States court since the indictment found at Fort Scott, Kan., May 7th, 1907, over two years ago.

This is of course denied by the prosecution, the contention being that an individual offense has been committed and that the punishment of an individual is all that is contemplated. It will be remembered that precisely the same contention was made in the cases of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone when it was insisted by the prosecuting officials and the mine owners who were backing them, that these were but plain murder cases and that no other issue was involved. It developed during the trials and is now clearly understood that the real issue was capital vs. labor and the right of the Western Federation of Miners to maintain its existence and defend the interests of its members against the aggressions of the Mine Owners' association.

Similarly in the present case the issue involves far more than the punishment of an individual for the alleged violation of a federal law. If this were all, the case would have been settled long ago and would have excited but little interest.

But readers of the Appeal are too well informed and have been following the trend of events too closely to be misled by any such specious plea on the part of those who are far more interested in suppressing the Appeal than they are in punishing its editor for an alleged individual offense.

Let us briefly review the main features of this now celebrated case which has extended over so long a period and has had so many curious turns and windings that there is no other like it in all the history of American jurisprudence.

First.—The indictment charges Warren with having sent, or caused to be sent, to one Pierson in California an envelope bearing a reward for the return of ex-Governor Taylor to the state of Kentucky, from whence he was a fugitive and where he was under indictment for murder. This envelope fell into the hands of a postoffice inspector and the indictment followed. Pierson himself, to whom the envelope was directed, made no complaint. For some reason as yet unexplained he did not even receive it. How it came to be directed to him no one knows. His name is not on the Appeal's lists. Neither Warren nor the Appeal had ever heard of him, nor has he even been heard from since the trial began. Who Pierson is, or if there is such a person, no one knows. For all that the evidence shows he is simply a dummy who has been made to serve in what seems to have been a plot to indict the Appeal, a thing which had been long before and repeatedly threatened.

Second.—Warren was arrested, placed under bail the day following his indictment, and asked for immediate trial. This was denied and the case went over until the November term of court. Since then there have been four distinct postponements, all on motion of the government, every effort of the defendant to have the trial proceed proving unavailing until the case was finally called at the May term of court, 1909, two years after the indictment.

Third.—The specific charge in the indictment was that Warren had violated the federal statute prohibiting the mailing of "scurrilous, defamatory, and threatening matter." By no stretch of the imagination can the matter complained of be construed as having any such meaning. Ex-Governor Taylor did not complain. In truth he had nothing to complain about. The state of Kentucky had offered a $100,000 reward for his return to that state and spread it broadcast. The Appeal had offered but $1,000. Taylor himself, so far as any one knows, did not feel aggrieved. If any one was injured it was he and if he was not injured no one could have been, for he was the only one mentioned. No one denies that Taylor was under indictment, that he was a fugitive and that a reward had been offered for his return by the legislature of Kentucky. All these facts are well known and Warren simply took advantage of them to ascertain if a capitalist politician as well as a workingman could be legally kidnaped. He found out. He at least compelled the federal government to show its hand. When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped, the supreme court decided that it could take no cognizance of that fact in the consideration of their appeal, in effect legalizing the kidnaping of workingmen. Associate Justice McKenna dissented from the court in a ringing opinion in which he declared that the state officials of Colorado and Idaho were the real criminals and should be dealt with accordingly. Warren's offer of the reward for Taylor, although it has subjected him and the Appeal to thousands of dollars of expense and may yet result in his imprisonment, has demonstrated at least one fact of no mean importance and that is that while under the present capitalist government workingmen can be kidnaped and forcibly deported by sanction of the supreme court and denounced in advance of trial by the president, a representative of the capitalist class is protected by all the powers of government and the mere suggestion that he be kidnaped, even if a fugitive with a reward upon his head, is promptly followed by indictment and prosecution of the offender.

Fourth.—At the preliminary hearing Deputy Prosecuting Attorney West stated, in an impassioned plea for the prosecution of the defendant, that orders had been received from the department of justice at Washington to prosecute the case against Warren, the assurance being given that the indictment was good, that the law had been violated, and that a conviction could be secured. If the case involved but an individual offense, as contended by the prosecution, is it probable that the department of justice at Washington would have been so vitally interested in securing a conviction? Would the president of the United States have been so eager to direct the prosecution from the white house as announced by the press dispatches and commented upon editorially by such a powerful capitalist daily as the Kansas City Journal? Is it customary for the president and attorney general to direct the prosecution of individual offenders in cases of minor importance? But one answer is possible and that is that the administration was interested in the case, not because of Fred Warren, the individual offender, but because of Fred Warren, the editor of the Appeal to Reason, the most widely circulated Socialist paper and the most formidable opponent of capitalism in the United States.

Fifth.—A significant remark made by a gentleman of high official standing, whose name we cannot disclose without betraying the source of our information, throws a clear side light on the animus of the prosecution and also explains the cause of this long-drawn trial and its repeated postponement. The remark was to the effect that if the Appeal could be reached in no other way it could be kept in court indefinitely and loaded with fees and costs until *"the damned reptile was bled to death."* This view was inadvertently corroborated by Prosecuting Attorney Bone in his speech to the jury in which he said, "the name of this sheet, the Appeal to Reason, should be changed to the Appeal to Treason." And yet Mr. Bone in his opening statement declared that it was simply a case of trying the defendant for depositing a letter in the mails which was not mailable under law. If this was true, what had the mailing of this letter to do with the Appeal to Reason and why did he deem it necessary to denounce the Appeal as a treasonable sheet? It was here that he gave his entire case away and revealed too clearly to admit of doubt that it was the Appeal to Reason as a Socialist paper he was after and not Warren as an individual offender.

Sixth.—Judge Pollock in interrogating the deputy prosecuting attorney at the preliminary hearing shook his head significantly in denial of the latter's contention that the mailing of rewards for fugitives from justice was in violation of the federal statute, and then sounded the precautionary note in words too plain to be misunderstood that such a prosecution directed against an editor would be construed as an attack upon the liberty of the press and would probably have an effect opposite that intended. It was at the close of this hearing that the attorneys for the defense expressed the opinion that there was nothing in the case and that it had been postponed so that it might die out and be stricken from the docket. It was about this time that the department of justice at Washington was heard from, the purport of its order being that if there was "not a case against the Appeal to *make one!*" Then followed the announcement that if Warren did not plead guilty, thereby fastening the odium of having committed a crime upon himself as editor of the Appeal to Reason, he would be prosecuted to the limit of the law.

Seventh.—Rewards for criminals and fugitives from justice are mailed daily in all parts of the country by sheriffs, mayors, detectives, bankers, and private individuals, but no one has ever before thought of charging them with violating the postal laws. The claim that in the case of Warren he offered his reward to kidnap a fugitive, and therefore committed a crime, will not hold, seeing that the United States supreme court has legalized kidnaping by refusing to take cognizance of the Kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone when they appealed to that august tribunal. *If it is not a crime to kidnap a workingman who has not been indicted then it cannot be a crime to kidnap a capitalist politician who has been indicted.* That is the point at issue. The supreme court of the United States is welcome to either horn of the dilemma. The case may not be clothed here in the legal terminology designed to mystify the issue and convey doubtful meanings, but in substance and effect it is clearly stated.

Eight.—When the case was finally called for trial a jury had to be chosen from a panel which had been prepared by the United States marshal. The panel was carefully selected and no mistake was made and as a result the jury was a packed jury. There was no Socialist or Socialist sympathizer upon that jury. There was not a democrat or a populist. It consisted of rock-ribbed republicans who regarded the Appeal to Reason as a treasonable sheet and its editor as a criminal. While the jury was being chosen Judge Pollock took occasion to state that the matter of politics was not to be considered in the trial. In the light of the plain facts in the case this must be considered a joke although the judge looked too solemn to have so intended it. If there was no politics in the case how did it happen that there was not a Socialist on the panel or on the jury and that Warren had to be tried by a jury consisting wholly of his political enemies?

Nineth.—Even then it required the jury twenty-two hours to decide upon a verdict of guilty. Three of the members, notwithstanding their political hostility, were opposed to a conviction upon such a flimsy charge and held out until they were finally overcome by the large majority against them. When the verdict was announced the judge suspended sentence, the attorneys for the defendant making a motion for a new trial. The judge stated that he would hear argument upon the motion in ten days or two weeks from date. Following adjournment, however, the judge postponed the entire matter, including the passing of sentence, until the November term of court—and here the case rests. Why the judge hesitated to pronounce the sentence in accordance with the verdict found in his court and postponed the case for another six months is left wholly to conjecture. It is quite evident that notwithstanding the insistence of the prosecution, and *the power behind the prosecution*, upon a conviction, there is still some reluctance to execute the law and enforce the penalty imposed by the court.

* * * *

We have here reviewed the principal features of this remarkable case. Our readers may arrive at their own conclusion as to whether it is merely the prosecution of an individual or an attack upon the Socialist press in particular and the liberty of the press in general. Without the Appeal to Reason this case would never have been heard of. Warren might have deposited the same envelope in the postoffice every day to the end of his life and no grand jury would ever have dreamed of indicting him.

The Appeal to Reason recognizes the issue and faces the attack without fear of the ultimate outcome. Its managing editor has violated no law, but has been indicted in the orderly discharge of his duties for no other reason than that he is the editor of a paper which is opposed to the present capitalist regime and which has influence enough among the people to make itself felt in the struggle of the masses to abolish capitalist misrule and emancipate themselves from wage-slavery.

The Appeal to Reason is fortunate in having the support of as loyal a body of men and women as ever consecrated themselves to any cause and with these to back it up it is ready to face any attack which may be made upon it, and if its colors are ever lowered it will only be when it is overwhelmed by superior numbers.

THE Democratic Standard of Ashtabula, Ohio, prints in full the Appeal's reply to Roosevelt, covering two pages, besides some interesting editorial comment. The Standard is a wide-awake paper which can see the handwriting on the wall and knows that Socialism is the most vital question of the day.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD in detail in the Appeal's "Arsenal" bound in fine morocco and built just right for the vest pocket, concise, compact and accurate.

Voice of the People

Have Not Killed Socialism.

May 12, 1909.— *Dear Warren*: There is not a sheriff or a city marshal or a chief of police in the entire United States but what has done many times what you did once, yet they have not been prosecuted. You have been prosecuted and convicted because you are a Socialist and are conducting a Socialist newspaper. This fact should be placed fairly and squarely before the American people, who will some day reverse this verdict, and the judgment of the court at Fort Scott.

Once upon a time there sat upon the supreme bench of the United States a man whose name has become infamous, and for whom our state disgraced herself by naming a county. Men like Wendell Philips, William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown were agitating the question of human freedom and insisting that the principles should be extended to blacks as well as whites. The matter came before the United States supreme court and was fairly and squarely presented in the Dred Scott case. Old Taney made up his mind that once for all he would settle the slavery question. Instead of settling it, he added fuel to the flame.

If the twelve gentlemen who sat upon your case at Fort Scott think they have suppressed Socialism and killed the onward movement for humanity, they have another guess coming.—James C. Williams, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo.

Verdict Against All Socialists.

Dear Comrade Warren: Isn't it heartrending? Throughout the ages, in their ignorant reverence for their masters, the workers have persisted in crucifying their saviors. Since learning that Taylor was there to testify I have been worried, but I could not believe that a jury, some of whom would be workingmen, could agree on the verdict of guilty.

Your friends realize that it is they, not you, who fear the return of an adverse verdict. It can result only in good to the cause. It will force upon all thinking people a recognition of the class distinctions of today.

Every comrade eagerly enters into the fight that will set aside such an unjust verdict, only regretting that it is not given to each of us to serve you and our cause in the very largest sense as can some of our more fortunate comrades. I am doing what little I can by giving prominence to the case and urging that every effort be put forth to scatter broadcast the truth regarding it by circulation of the Appeal. Anything, everything that can be done I shall gladly do. With every good and hopeful wish for a reversal of the verdict and ultimate victory, believe me always sincerely your comrade.—Caroline Lowe, Kansas City, Mo.

Other Editors on Trial.

You are in the same position as Elijah Lovejoy, with the difference only they do not dare to kill you or destroy the Appeal. If they dared they would gladly do both. It speaks well for your work that you have built up an organ which the capitalist class thinks so dangerous that they take such desperate measures.

Magon, Villarreal and Rivera value you and the Appeal. These men are splendid. I wish you could meet them. No one could see them and not realize them as men of worth. They are the most distinguished looking persons in the court room and are men of great learning. The day will come when you will feel very proud that you stepped into the breach and helped these people who are struggling for liberty. You are making history for the Appeal to Reason. That is why you are being persecuted.—Luella Twining, Tombstone, Ariz.

For Friendship to the Worker.

Dear Comrade: I see you have been condemned for your friendship to the working people, and for giving aid to the innocent and defenceless. No higher tribute to your honor could be given. You are hated because you have chosen to be a friend to humanity. Almost nineteen hundred years ago blood-thirsty thieves and plunderers murdered one whose friendship for the poor interfered with their horrible, brutality and lust for riches. They sat in the form of a court, under pretense of law, and with the formality of a trial, *murdered* the leader of the common people.

The world is not rid of that gang of thieves yet, you will see if you will look around a little. And the members who sit in its places are just as ready as ever to commit murder under cover of "church and state." But why should I be telling you of what you have seen already? That is just why I admire you; you see it, and you are a friend to the people, in spite of the danger and persecution.

Well, you are my sort, and here is an invitation to be present at my graduation. Sincerely yours.—Daniel S. McCorkle, Sec'y. Y. M. C. A., Marshall, Mo.

Would Hold Protest Meetings.

Wish to extend to you my sympathies in the matter. Regret that it is necessary for you to go to the expense of an appeal, but feel sure victory will be the ultimate outcome.

As for me I am in favor of sounding the battle cry all over this nation, and hold monstrous indignation meetings. Let the Appeal Army, and the Socialists of this country, hold such hot meetings, and send up such a protest, that it will resound from coast to coast, and from Canada to the gulf. The protests in the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone case won the day, and surely we can do as much for a man, who is editor of a paper that is entitled to far more of the praise of gaining these men their freedom, and fighting the cause of labor than any other institution or influence in the world. Besides, in this case the freedom of the press is involved.—W. R. H., Joplin, Mo.

A National Case.

Dear Comrade: Your conviction and the Haywood-Moyer case are only the beginning of governmental persecution to check the tide of Socialism. Your case is a national party case, not the Appeal's, and the national executive committee should re-imburse the Appeal for all expenditures connected with the defense. Yours truly.—P. D. Strong, Evansville, Ind.

Mad Clean Through.

My Dear Old Man: I've been mad—mad clean through. Just got a paper with announcement of your conviction. The plutes have paid you a great compliment; they are afraid of you. I do hope you can appeal the case and go free. I'm so darned mad I can't write. With love and sympathy from both of us. As ever your pal.—Ryan Walker, New York, N. Y.

Believes in Final Victory.

Dear Fred: The Little Indian of the Daily Socialist seemed to catch the right idea—"Judge not lest ye be judged." Well, I have thought quite a bit on the decision of the jury and can find no reason to be sorry, for I believe in the final victory, and you are now placed in a position that will give you opportunity to fight the greatest battle of your life for the good cause. The rank and file are with you and I feel that your case will bring organized labor closer to us, maybe not the leaders, but the members. We are with you always—for Socialism.—J. E. Snyder, Hill City, Kan.

Resolutions by a Local.

Comrades of the Appeal: Resolutions adopted by Orienta local in meeting May 9th, as follows:

Resolved that we Socialists of Local Orienta extend our heartfelt thanks to F. D. Warren, editor of the Appeal, for the action he has taken in the past, and our sympathy with him at the results of the trial just ended at Fort Scott.—E. E. Hunter Chairman, Con Elbow, Recording Secretary, Orienta, Okla.

It Will Help.

Be of good cheer; this apparent defeat will only help to hasten the ultimate victory. When I was in Girard a few weeks ago I took ten dollars worth of subscription cards away with me. They are not all disposed of yet, but this decision against yourself and the Appeal will help to hasten the disposition of them, and when they are gone I will send for more.—Herman Meyling, 401 4th avenue, New York, N. Y.

Offers Congratulations.

Congratulations on the great "conviction." Nothing could be better for you and the cause.—Gaylord Wilshire, New York City.

THE COMING SPECIAL.

The next big edition of the Appeal will be No. 705 and will appear June 5th. It will supplement the edition containing the reply to Roosevelt. It will do more for it will furnish the proof to condemn capitalism out of its own mouth. The facts, the horrible facts, which this issue will contain are taken from the official report issued by President Roosevelt's "Home Commission," a report suppressed by the very administration which ordered the investigation.

Here is a fine state of affairs. An investigation is ordered, a hideous state of affairs is disclosed and promptly the report is suppressed for fear that the people may trace the iniquities to their source and turn against capitalism under whose fostering care the slums are recruited and vice and crime flourish in all their hideous manifestations.

Order this issue and spread it far and wide in your community. When you send your order be sure and send your express office address for it has been hinted that the issue may be held up by the postal system. The Appeal has determined to spread this report among the people and invoke the aid of all its workers to that end.

Let the truth be known though the heavens fall!

If you are armed with a copy of the Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts" you will never be at a loss for facts with which to meet any argument put up by the opponents of Socialism. Every begin he brings up you have the data to show him its his own blessed system he's knocking. It takes twelve subscriptions at 25 cents each to get this book, or the purchase of twelve sub cards at 25 cents each, or you may subscribe for a bundle of twelve copies each week for a year for $6.00. Money alone won't buy this book. It's subscribers we want, and you need the "Arsenal."

YOU ARE EASY.

The lead interests of the world have just formed a combine to hold up all the people of the earth; and the independent coke plants have just formed a gigantic combination for the same purpose. And you are silly enough to believe that you can curtail or control the trusts! Yes, there ought to be a tariff to protect the dear little infant industries! You common folks think you are very wise, and the owners of the trusts stick the harpoon into you and grin. What you know about government would make two large blank pages in a small book. You are the easiest jaspers that the world has ever known. To give you the ballot to protect your own interests has been about as effective in doing it as was the giving of the ballot to the negroes. Did it protect them? You are not protecting your interests any more. And you know about as much about government affairs as they do. Because you were born white does not make you wise. Europe is white, but people there are supporting kings and other useless parasites and you wonder at their jasackiness. But are you not supporting with larger incomes more men than all the nabobs of Europe? Say, John, you are easy—dead easy.

IS IT REALLY HATEFUL?

If Socialism were the *hateful* thing that you believe it, don't you know that nobody would want it or advocate it? Do you not know that a thing that has nothing to commend itself to you would not have anything to commend itself to others? The facts must be either that Socialists do not understand what it really is or that you do not. Men differ on things that they do not comprehend, but on facts that can be easily demonstrated they do not differ. For instance we all agree that fire is hot, ice is cold, water is wet, the sun produces light ,and so on, but when we get into other matters that require closer investigation, we differ and discuss and slowly understand, and then we agree on even such other subjects, like the world is round, that it rotates, that lightning is electricity, etc. You never met a Socialist who had not read something about it, but you meet many who say they are opposed to it who have not ever read a single book on the subject. There are many who have read books and still oppose it, but it is easier to talk to them than to talk to those who have never read. Don't be ignorant about the question that is agitating the whole world today. You can opose it much more effectually if you have a good understanding of it. Show the Socialist wherein he errs in following it and you can make a convert of him. He left the old parties and he will leave this one if you can show him wherein he is being duped. Are you as willing to be convinced? Every Socialist takes a capitalist paper, but do you take a Socialist paper? Are you as fair minded? Why not?

MAKING NEW GRAFTERS.

Seven good republican grafters of the city government of Pittsburg, Pa., have been sentenced to prison. But there is another crop growing. The conviction of Tweed did not stop the graft of New York city and the sending to prison of every member of the city government of Pittsburg will not stop graft there. Graft is an effect of conditions and the conditions that made it still exist and graft will still exist. Graft is in every city and state and the nation, because the conditions for graft are here. No matter whom you elect to office you will have graft if the soil is suited for it. Only by changing the system under which graft has flourished so long can it be gotten rid of. You might as well expect to grow figs from thistles as to produce honesty under conditions favorable to dishonesty. The actions of men are according to their environments. If you should put a girl baby in a bawdy house and raise her up in it, would you expect to see her grow up into a fine, chaste woman? Do you not see that her environment determines her actions? And will not the environment determine the actions of men as well? If environment has nothing to do with what men will be, why are so many people anxious to put the saloons out of business? If men will be sober if they are to be sober and drunken if they are to be drunken, what's the difference how many saloons there are or where they are? Are you so stupid that a thousand years of observation and history can teach you nothing? You can have a government without any graft if you will make an environment that *cannot* offer any inducement for graft. The men who deny this are either ignorant or else desire to retain the conditions so they can graft. Every graft is the result of private capital or wealth in the things which other must have. Make all public employes and you will create more wealth and furnish no advantage to any set of men to bribe. If you will study this you will see that it will work out that way and cannot work out any other way.

The Bishop approached the Governor. "You have no more right to rent these mountains than to rent yonder sea," he said, and he stretched his arm toward the broad, blue line to the west. "They belong to God and to the poor. Let me warn you, sir, that as sure as you set up one stone to enclose these true God's acres, I shall be the first to pull that stone down."—"The Deemster: A Tale of the Isle of Man," by Hall Caine.

THE SOCIALISTS: Who They Are and What They Stand For. By John Spargo. Admirably concise and clear. States the principles commonly held by Socialists in brief crisp chapters, systematically arranged, and is a good introduction to almost any of our larger and more difficult books. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 10 cents, postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 155 Kinzie st., Chicago.

The Man Who Bought an Island

BY CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER

Synopsis.

A writer and an artist, man and wife, having come into a large legacy, buy an island of 108,000 acres off the western coast of Mexico. It is stocked with 5,000 cattle, 3,000 work oxen, 500 hogs, etc., and is complete as to other equipment, being worked by a colony of peons. When they move to their new possessions the peons are interested in some of the pictures, and, seeing something that appeals to their superstition, they leave the island in a night, taking all the boats along. For several days the two persons left work very hard caring for the stock. Then they turn everything loose to care for itself and proceed to build a boat from such material as they can pick up. When tired of this unusual work they take a day's vacation, and, when on another part of the island, the house burns, together with the boat they had begun, presumably set on fire by rats gnawing matches. They piece together a hut from the peon shacks and furnish it with broken vessels from the burned house. To save their clothing they patch up garments from rags the peons abandoned, thus becoming in appearance peons themselves. While engaged in this work they let their fire go out, and have trouble trying to "make" fire. At last they find a match and treasure it highly until once more it brings them fire and comfort. The rainy season comes on, the wife is ill, and stock suffers. Many animals die. When at last good weather arrives, the couple are surprised to find some hunters on the island, and the man, disregarding his wife's advice to dress in their better clothes ere meeting them, remonstrates with them for shooting his stock. In response they lash him and insult the wife. When he strikes one down, they chase the couple away, and then in revenge burn their house and the barns. Left without houses and being fearful of building a hut, they decide to become cave dwellers. They find a retired place in the island, and to a shelf in the cliff dig an excavation, building in front until they have a shelter. Then the wife waxes enthusiastic at each improvement and they begin cheerfully the upward climb from barbarism. Life in the summer is easy, and the tropical climate soon makes the island so overgrown as to seem wild.

Chapter XI.—Playing the Game.

"If we are to be barbarians," I told my wife, "you must become my slave. We can't play the game correctly in any other way."

"That," returned wife, laughing, "is unnecessary, until there are more people. What is the use of slavery, so long as no one has to work?"

"But I think we ought to work," I returned. "The rainy season is coming on, and it is only prudence to prepare for it."

"There you show that you are not a true barbarian, the lessons of experience appeal to you. But perhaps we cannot be more than a mingling of the barbarian and the modern, after all. Suppose you show yourself a real husband by husbanding the things we shall need to eat during the rainy season, while I will become truly a wife by weaving garments for that period."

It was so ordered. But we began by searching for more suitable quarters. By accident we came to a small opening in a cliff, and when we had crawled through we found a large chamber with a dry, sandy floor. Beyond that was another chamber, where water was dripping, and in a third flowed an underground brook of clear, cold water.

"This is the place for us," I said. "I wish I was able to light it with electricity."

"What incongruity!" answered my wife. "Think of a real cave man having electric lights."

"But we are not real cave people. We are generations of experience ahead of the cave people. I believe I can do it."

And I did. From the wire in the fences I made a dynamo, and from a water wheel which I whittled out with a pen knife I secured power sufficient for our need. Before this, I had discovered several mineral deposits, including a bank of graphite mixed with carbon. From this I whittled electrodes and rigged up a contraption which gave a very good light—not as perfect of course as is found in civilization, yet very much better than candle light. While I was working with my electric plant, and thoroughly absorbed in it, my wife was stitching us a change of suits, made from sheepskin with the wool inside.

This work occupied us for some time; it also interested us. But we knew the rainy season was not far off, and now we began to gather in the cave such things as we would need for food. Nuts were plentiful, and these, with fruits and roots, were soon stored away in abundance. In the inner chamber, where the water trickled, we lay our meat, salted from deposits found by the sea shore, and soon found that it was a perfect cold storage, preserving things excellently. We had just time for preparing these things and carrying in what wood we might need, putting up the stove so that the smoke would escape through a hole I made above the entrance, when the rains came.

How comfortable we were, compared to our situation a year previous! Not only did the light dissipate the gloom, not only did the shelter and warmth, and the assurance of abundance, keep us in comfort, but our mental attitude was so much better than it had been. I think that our clothing had something to do with it. No longer were we garbed in rags, and the wool next to our flesh absorbed the perspiration, keeping us warm, while the skin on the outside both looked well and shed the dirt. Wife and I talked over the change, and felt quite sure that should the hunters come again in the spring, they would no longer, thinking we were peons, treat us like brutes.

The drip and drizzle outside were nothing to us. We talked over the situation as we had not done before. We planned what we might do in the future. We spent hours in recalling literature we had read, and repeating such things as we could remember. Finally we began planning work of our own. Wife even scratched rude pictures on the walls to enable her to remember. Never in my life had my brain worked better than then. If I could have caught the books I planned I am sure I might have written something worth while, but we had no paper and so the better part of it was lost.

Yet this period of comfort, of real home life, of planning great things and of dreaming sweet dreams, had a rude ending. It was near the close of the rainy season when it came, the worst storm that I ever knew to visit the island.

(To be Continued.)

THE FOOLISH MAN AND THE BALLOT.

There are certain things you want in this life—things that make life worth living—things that you work for and strive for every day of your life. Many thousands commit crimes to secure the means of getting these things and most of you—a tremendous majority of you—fail. For the majority of mankind of the past and present, all their efforts have failed utterly to get these things—and yet you pursue the same old age-long tactics that have proven a failure. Your ballot is the only thing that can solve this riddle, that can secure for you these good things of life—and it is the last thing that you look to for helping you out of the slough of despond. That is because you do not know what the ballot is for, how to use it and what it can do for you. You look at your ballot as a thing to help some friend into a fat place, while you take the lean and hard places. The ballot in the hands of a foolish person is an injury for it will enable some cunning one to get it and use it for their personal gain. I know that you would use it to help make life sweeter if you knew how. Even if it were not honest you who commit crimes to live would do it, for it would not endanger your personal freedom. So it is not because you hesitate on the moral side of the matter, but because you are too ignorant to know how to use your ballot to help yourself and your family. Why don't you get some book on Socialism and it will explain to you how to use your ballot honestly and justly and make it serve you as all your life's work has not yet been able to do? Wake up.

SEND YOUR EXPRESS ADDRESS

In ordering the forthcoming edition (No. 705), of the Appeal which will appear June 5th, give us your full address so that in case of need we may reach you by express. It is possible that the edition may be held up by the postal department. There has been some intimation of this and we wish to be prepared in case of emergency. The issue will be unlike any other which has yet appeared. It will deal directly with the crimes of capitalism in their most horrible and heart-rending forms and show their causes and trace them directly to capitalism itself.

Millions of our people know absolutely nothing about the conditions which prevail in the large centers of population, nothing about the thousands of victims that are rotting in vice and immorality, in rags and filth, the victims of capitalism, which has closed every source of information to the people except such as misleads them into continuing their support of a system which makes a shamble of an industrial center and a mockery of civilization.

Send your order and spread this issue among your neighbors that they may see for themselves what they are actually supporting when they give their votes to the capitalist regime under which these conditions have been fostered and these countless victims have been diseased, debauched, crazed and put to death.

ANOTHER REWARD OFFER.

Please look upon this facsimile of a postal card which was mailed to all parts of the country by the chief of police of Aurora, Ill., December 12, 1908. We have the original on file in this office:

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Produce Dealer (Poultry & Eggs) Nashville, Tenn.

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Will be paid by the First National Bank, Nashville, Tenn. for his arrest and delivery to Nashville authorities.

Please note that in this case the reward is offered by a banker and not by a Socialist editor and also that a portrait of the fugitive appears upon the card in connection with his description and the offer.

Please note also that the banker who had this postal card mailed and the chief of police who mailed it have not been indicted and will not be prosecuted for circulating "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter" through the mails.

There's a difference between a capitalist banker and a Socialist editor. Find the difference and vote accordingly on election day.

Socialist Fables

Bunny Rabbit on Trial.

Bunny Rabbit was arraigned in court on a charge of using incendiary language. He was a mild mannered little fellow, and insisted that he had only repeated what a Dog had said about trapping Rabbits, which remark the Court had held was perfectly legal in the Dog. But Bunny Rabbit was duly arraigned, and a jury of Dogs empaneled to hear the case.

"I am afraid the Dogs cannot give an unprejudiced verdict," suggested Bunny. "They are not friendly to Rabbits."

The court, a Mr. Wolf, scowled. Mr. Fox, the prosecuting attorney, said severely: "You see the nature of the defendant in this remark. Observe how he is reflecting on others."

"But why do you not give me a jury of Rabbits?" Bunny asked. "If a jury of Dogs could be unprejudiced, why could not a jury of Rabbits?"

The Fox scowled harder than ever. "Put Bunny Rabbit on the witness stand," he thundered.

Bunny was put on the stand.

"Did you say that it was lawful to kill Foxes?" asked the prosecutor.

"I said I had heard a Dog say that it was lawful to trap Rabbits," Bunny answered.

"Do you not know that such language is scurrilous, defamatory and calculated to reflect injuriously on another?"

"But," responded Bunny mildly, "Brother Wolf has decided that it was legal for the Dog to say that Rabbits ought to be hunted and trapped."

"That is not the issue," declared Brother Fox, scowling. "The question is, can a Rabbit legally threaten or abuse a Dog? Are you ready to plead guilty before we use the inquisition on you?"

"No."

Then Brother Fox addressed the jury. He waxed eloquent over the danger to society from allowing Rabbits to criticise Dogs and Foxes, and declared that it was necessary, if civilization wa sto be preserved, to put a stop to the agitation of the Rabbits.

The jury heard and brought in a verdict of guilty. While awaiting the sentence of the court, Bunny Rabbit mildly remarked: "What else could you expect when a Rabbit is tried by Wolves, Foxes and Dogs?"

C. L. PHIFER.

LECTURES AND ESSAYS. By Thomas Henry Huxley. On Our Knowledge of the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature, The Darwinian Hypothesis, Time and Life, The Origin of Species, Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature, the Natural History of the Man-Like Apes, The Relations of Man to the Lower Animals, etc. Cloth, 455 pages, 50 cents postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 155 Kinzie st., Chicago.

Profit and Free Speech

AN EXAMPLE FROM THE BIBLE

At the same time there arose no small stir about that way; for a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; whom he called together, with the workmen of like occupation, and said:

"Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover, we see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at naught; but also that the great temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshipeth."

And when they had heard these sayings they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying:

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

And the whole city was filled with confusion; and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theater.

And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain men of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theater.

Some therefore cried one thing and some another; for the assembly was confused; and the mort part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with his hand and would have made his defense unto the people. But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice, about the space of two hours, cried out:

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

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MISCELLANEOUS.

NOTICE—WANTED—To learn the whereabouts of my father, Sam Gresham, or Gresam, from whom I was kidnapped when five (5) years old, about 20 years ago. Can't remember the place. Since which time have never heard from him. I have no known relatives. Some kind person please write me if you know him. Cordelia Morgan, West McLennan Co., Texas, care F. P. Morgan, attorney.

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The Mexican Cases

THE TRIAL AT TOMBSTONE.

Opening of the Case Against the Mexican Patriots at the Town of the Significant Name.

By Telegraph to Appeal to Reason.

Tombstone, Ariz., May 14.—Before a jury of nine republicans and three democrats the government began the evidence against Magon, Villarreal and Rivera. The selection of the jury occupied one day. Men who were members of labor unions, members of the Socialist party or readers of the Appeal to Reason were disqualified. As a result no one on the jury has any sympathy with the laboring class and its struggles. If this jury acquits the defendants it will be because of the absence of any evidence that could tend to point to conviction.

Evidence so far introduced is incompetent and immaterial and is regarded by the spectators as having no bearing on the case. All objections made by the defense have been overruled. In spite of the numerous witnesses examined, most of them Furlong detectives and Mexican spies, it is believed that the jury will be forced to acquit. The worst that is expected is a disagreement.

Duration of the trial cannot be determined at this time.—George H. Shoaf.

SERENE BEFORE THE TRIAL.

Special to the Appeal.

County Jail, Tucson, Ariz. April 15.—In a few days we shall be taken to Tombstone to be tried on the charge of violating law. Our accusers say we conspired to organize an expedition in the territory of Arizona of the United States of America, from there to invade Mexico and overthrow the dictatorship of Profirio Diaz.

It was made plain, in our hearing before United States Commissioner Kin Dyke in Los Angeles, that we did not commit the crime with which we are charged. We have violated no laws of this country, but our persecutors have violated not only the written law, but also the most rudimentary principles of humanity, honor and justice in their persecution of us the Mexican revolutionists.

It is now well known that the plutocracy of the United States and Mexico, through the governments of both countries, holds us prisoners.

Our crime is that we have sought the liberty and welfare of the Mexican people. *We go to present ourselves before our judges, tranquil and serene. We have done no wrong and have nothing to fear.*

The American people have rendered their decision and that is why we are tranquil. The decision of twelve people may be bought; that of the whole nation, never.

Acquitted by the jury and condemned by the people, we should feel profoundly disgraced; but absolved by the public opinion and condemned by the jury, contented we should go to the penitentiary.

Yes, we should go proudly, because the only tribunal which is incorruptible, which cannot be bought, has acquitted us.

I am convinced that we shall be playthings of the bandits interested in continuing the enslavement of the working class.—Ricardo Flores Magon.

RIFLING THE MAILS.

How the Mexican Dictator Is Undermining American Institutions.

By telegraph to the Appeal.

Tombstone, Ariz., May 8.—Charging that United States District Attorney M. D. Alexander, who is leading the prosecution against the Mexican revolutionists, has been unlawfully tampering with the United States mails, Attorney W. B. Cleary, of the defense, today laid the matter before the federal grand jury with the demand that the body take action. This, the foreman declared, would be done, and that an investigation would be commenced early next week.

Alexander is charged with opening, without authority, letters addressed to persons other than himself.

Included with the Alexander investigation may be one or more others high in United States government employ if the quiet work now being carried on by several leaders of miners' union gives warrant. Edw. Crought, an organizer for the miners' union, states he has failed to receive several letters lately addressed to him through the Tombstone postoffice, and that he has had a similar experience in other Arizona towns.

It is known that Mexican counsels are permitted to open mail addressed to suspected revolutionists and that no Socialist's mail is safe. Attorney Cleary declares he will push the charges against Alexander.—George H. Shoaf.

AS TO BONE'S MARTYRDOM.

In an interview in the Topeka Capital Prosecutor Harry J. Bone, who represented the government in the prosecution of the editor of the Appeal, expressed the belief that for his part in the case he was a "marked man" and that he would be bitterly persecuted by the Socialists. Said Mr. Bone:

"I suspect that I will be hounded the rest of my days by the Socialists for doing my duty in prosecuting the editor of the Appeal to Reason."

Oh, no, Mr. Bone, you are not going to be hounded by the Socialists. Your apprehension is entirely groundless. Socialists must be excused from having any part in your self-imposed martyrdom. Socialists clearly understand your positon; know just what you have got to do to hold your position and they know too, that the average office holder is about the last stuff out of which a martyr is made.

Socialists cherish no animosity toward individuals and have no personal feeling toward those who oppose, or even prosecute them. It is true that some public officials go out of their way to show their contempt for and hatred of Socialists, just as some dogs bark at a wayfarer to please their masters and perhaps win an extra bone, but this only emphasizes their partisan prejudice.

Mr. Bone's statement to the jury that the name of the Appeal to Reason should be changed to the "Appeal to Treason" betrayed his true animus in the case. It was not Warren he was after at all, as an individual, but as editor of the Socialist paper, the suppression of which would be worth several grades of promotion to him in the federal service. In passing we would like to ask Mr. Bone what the Appeal to Reason had to do with the case at all in the light of his opening statement to the jury that the only thing they had to consider was as to whether Warren had mailed a certain letter as charged in the indictment?

We have reason to know that Mr. Bone would give much to suppress the Appeal and as a means to this end he boasted before the trial that he would send Warren to the penitentiary for a long term of years. Yet Mr. Bone can safely relieve his mind of any apprehension that he is to be persecuted by Socialists on that account.

Socialists are after the whole beast of capitalism and have no time to waste on the fleas that nestle in its hide.

If Mr. Bone understood the first principle of the Socialist philosophy he would know that it deals with causes and not with effects; and that Socialists would regard it as a sheer waste of time to follow up a petty officeholder to the neglect of the vicious system of which he is but an insignificant part.

Postal Sub Cards.—Please search your old clothes and see if you have any unused postal sub cards. Put 'em in commission at once. The Appeal needs the subscribers.

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NEW SOCIALIST GAME

"The Class Struggle" Good fun, good propaganda. Interesting as chess. Whole family can play it. Sold for 25c a copy, 3 copies 50c, postpaid. CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 153 Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill.

"THE CRIME OF THE COURTS."

The Kansas City Journal, has an editorial with this caption which opens with the following inquiry: "What is the matter with the federal courts these days, any way? Why have they, with practical unanimity turned against the people and sided with the railroads and other large corporations?"

After reading this opening paragraph the unsophisticated reader might be led to expect a vigorous denunciation of the courts. But not so. The Kansas City Journal is itself owned by the railroads and so of course its voice is the voice of the railroads and the paragraph above quoted is the opening of a satire against the people for being silly enough to believe that the courts are on the side of the railroads and against the people. The article concludes with an eloquent defense of the courts for standing by the railroads, which of course might be expected from a railroad organ of such eminence as the Journal.

Answering the inquiry of the Journal from the point of view of the people there is nothing the matter with the federal courts except that they are corporation courts and in that capacity are rendering first class service. Many of the judges now on the bench graduated there from the railroads and practically all the rest from other corporations.

The average federal judge is a corporation attorney. The supreme court is composed wholly of corporation attorneys. They were placed there by corporation influence, but for such influences they would not be there. Why should not the federal courts "with practical unanimity turn against the people and side with the railroads?"

Just as the Journal speaks for the railroads because it is owned by the railroads so do the federal courts speak for the railroads because they are practically owned and controlled by the railroads and other trusts and corporations.

The satire of the Journal may tickle the ears of the plutocrats who own it and the railroads, but it will not fool any hard headed workingman who has sense enough to think for himself and to see for himself why the courts are for the railroads and against the people under the prevailing capitalist system.

THIS IS THE BOSS OF

TEDDY THE WAGE-SLAVE.

ELLA GINGLES.

What powerful influences have prevented the investigation of this case? Most of our readers are familiar with the awful crime perpetrated upon this young woman in a leading Chicago hotel. For a few days it created a sensation and great excitement prevailed. Now the interest has almost died out and the papers have all shut it out of their columns. The mystery is as great as ever, but the sleuths of the press have for obvious reasons lost interest in it.

The prosecuting attorney seems to have been hypnotized for with all the clues which have been given him and all the evidence he has to work upon he has done practically nothing and unless the Socialist press takes hold and demands an investigation the case will soon drop entirely out of sight.

Ella Gingles is a working girl. She has been the victim of an infamous outrage. It is the duty of the authorities to ascertain who is responsible for it. This can be done without a doubt for the perpetrators are known.

All the indications point to the guilt of certain powerful capitalist politicians and they have had influence enough to shut off inquiry, silence the press and throttle investigation.

The name of one politician of national reputation has been freely used in connection with this crime. If he is innocent it is nothing less than an outrage to thus smirch his name, but if he is guilty the monster ought to be exposed and no punishment could be too severe for him.

The charge against the assailants of Ella Gingles is that they were instruments in a conspiracy to make of this pretty working girl the white slave of a prominent capitalist politician. This is the charge to be investigated and if there is any laxity on the part of the officials it is because the machine has given them the tip that nothing must be done. If the accused or suspected persons were poor devils they would long since have been in stripes at Joliet. The fact that the alleged culprits are rich and influential politicians should not be allowed to shield them from exposure and punishment.

The people of Chicago and Cook county, and especially the Socialists, trade unionists and working classes, owe it to themselves to raise such a clamor for an investigation that even the authorities of Chicago, corrupt as they are, dare not deny it.

One thing is certain and that is that an investigation will not reveal Socialists as the lascivious criminals in the case. Ex-President Roosevelt and the Outlook will please take notice.

THE capitalist idea of "permanent partnership of love and duty" is practically illustrated in the thousands of bawdy houses which it has produced. The bawd is merely a wage slave.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given that the Appeal to Reason is not connected, directly or indirectly, with any company, scheme or enterprise, here at Girard or elsewhere, and that it is not vouching for, nor is it booming any such business, and if the names of those connected with it are used in any such way it is without their consent or authority. All such must be treated upon their own merits, and no responsibility must attach to the Appeal or its publishers and attaches for any investment made or any support given to any such enterprise.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM.

LaFollette's Weekly Magazine of a recent issue has a splendid editorial leader entitled "Mexican Revolutionists or Mexican Criminals?" It is a precise and candid statement of the Mexican situation. We quote as follows:

With the freedom or slavery of the people of Mexico we may at this time take the position of having nothing to do. But with the treatment of political refugees from Mexico, we are greatly concerned. If Mexico is under a despotism, that is her affair. If she is making of our courts agencies for sending back or driving out from our midst revolutionists guilty of crimes merely political, that is our affair. The nation that sheltered Kossuth and Schurz and the refugees of Ireland and Hungary and which has just liberated Fourez and Rudowitz from the pursuit of Russia, must not be blinded by friendship for the republic of Mexico, nor by the interests of capital in Mexican investments to the necessity of maintaining here an asylum for political refugees from all lands.

This is the vital point involved in the Mexican cases. Magon and his associates who are now and have been for over two years past in our jails awaiting trial are leaders of the Mexican liberal party and are charged with purely political offenses. There is not a reason why under our law they should be in jail an hour and if this question is rightly understood by the American people they will be speedily liberated. We quote further from the same editorial:

If the right of asylum is threatened, the rest of the country cannot afford to leave its defense to Socialists and labor organizations; for to do that is to concede to them the right to a monopoly of active patriotism. The whole matter should be investigated. The papers published in the vicinity of the arrests and conviction are said to be either silent or enlisted against the prisoners with a unanimity that seems to mean either clear guilt on the part of the refugees or interested bias on the part of the local press. That much money has been used to convict these men seems as clear in their cases as it was in those of the Russian refugees. It will not do to say that Araujo's conviction implies his guilt. He is a poor man and friendless. Jan Pourez was sentenced to extradition under such circumstances, and it was only when the American people became aroused that his case was taken up and reversed.

We owe it to ourselves as Americans to have every step of these proceedings illuminated by searching examination before sending the men back to Diaz, or committing them to prison here on charges preferred by the agents of the Mexican government.

This is to the point. The whole matter should be investigated. Who is better in position to institute such an investigation than Senator LaFollette himself? A resolution introduced by him in the United States senate demanding such an investigation would attract instantaneous and country-wide interest. The people have a right to know why these Mexican patriots are allowed to fester in the cells of American bastiles, incommunicado, for more than two years, under pretense that they have violated our neutrality laws. We have said before and now repeat it, that if they are guilty they should be punished and if they are innocent they should be acquitted, and in either case they have a right to be tried and there can be no possible excuse for allowing them to rot in jails by denying them a trial.

Yes, the whole matter should be investigated and it is earnestly hoped that Senator LaFollette will take the initiative; and he may be assured that he will have the country, all but the trust capitalists, promoters and shell game operators, behind him.

If there is a really live man in the house of representatives a similar resolution will be introduced. There are several trade union representatives, but not one of these has been heard from, or is likely to be.

It is noteworthy in this connection that Bryan's Commoner has been as silent about the Mexican cases as it was about the Moyer and Haywood cases. If the Commoner is really the champion of the common people here is a chance for it to champion the cause of the true champions of the common people.

The Mexican leaders who are lying in our jails have been fighting the battles of their oppressed and suffering people and every patriotic American should espouse their cause and demand their liberation.

IT IS EFFECTIVE.

The Army and Navy Journal, after writing a long editorial in which it condemns the Appeal and other Socialist papers for distributing Socialist literature among enlisted men, saying that such propaganda will never be effective, ends the two thousand word effort with this paragraph:

The recent strike of government postal and telegraph employes in Paris shows the danger that is certain to attend the attempt to apply socialistic methods in the conduct of public affairs. The fate of the government itself and the ministry was trembling in the balance for days over such a simple case of wage grievances.

In other words, the Army and Navy Journal argues that Socialists should quit their agitation because when they get the working class aroused to its class interest it can paralyze even the government. It can, too, and the A. and N. journal is desperately afraid of it.

There is one thing that our comrades have been overlooking—that the Appeal and that is it's Job Printing Department. We know there are thousands of business men, who carry a Red Card, and who have lots of printing done, and there is no reason why they should not send this work to the Appeal. We have every facility known to modern printing, and can take care of any kind of work. If you use printing (it pays you our free samples). If you do not, let us send them to you anyway so that you can show them to your grocer, butcher and other tradesmen and try to induce them to send their printing orders to us. Remember that the union label goes on all printing unless especially requested not to use it. This is the way it looks:

PALACES OR PENS?

When one looks about and sees the shacks, shells, shanties and shambles that mark the earth, destroying its beauty and utility, such view should make him disgusted with the effects of private initiative. Were the public to do the building no such structures would be tolerated. The beauty spots of every city are destroyed by adjacent hovels. You see tall buildings, low buildings, brick buildings, stone buildings, wooden buildings, wide buildings, narrow buildings, inharmonious colors and a general anarchy of effects. Every effort at beauty and utility is checked by the limited means or knowledge of the owners. There is not a beautiful city or town on earth and never will be while the public initiative is divided. Only by management of construction of towns and cities by the public can beauty and usefulness be brought out. If the great indutsries were owned individually, some different person owning each department, with unequal means and knowledge, such great industry would be a failure. Its parts would not work together, and friction would be continuous and destructive. So it is with the building of cities and the production pines. The secret of the success of the great monopolies lies in the fact that they build on a plan that includes all their needs, and the little fellows that cannot do this are doomed to failure. The industries of all nations will be owned and controlled by small groups of men and all others will be their serfs, or else they will be owned and controlled by all the people, through the machinery of government. One or the other *must* be the condition. If the few own the industries they will be as kings and nobles; if all own the industries they will be equally owners and workers and equally free. By common ownership of industry the entire resources of the nation will be available to the perfection of each industry, and all the wastes of competition will be eliminated, the greatest possible production, with the least possible effort, will result, and the people who work will be the people who will have all the things that go to making life worth living. How often do you come across the statement that life is not worth living? I meet it every day. And yet life should be and can be a joy from the cradle to the grave, if only you work people could be jarred away from your inherited prejudice. Socialism will harmonize all the conflicts of life, but this you can never know until you have studied the question carefully, and get a good understanding of it. But mark this: You and your children are doomed to be the serfs of the great Barons of Industry unless you take the industries out of their hands and make them public property and operate them for the common good. Every day sees the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few and the relative impoverishing of the people who produce the wealth. To keep you in ignorance of the real condition is the purpose of kings, nobles and capitalists of all nations; to awaken you to the real conditions is the purpose and hope of all Socialists.

Cleared $100.00.

Dear Comrade: Branch 8, Socialist party, recently organized, is rapidly becoming one of the most effective organizations on the coast.

A number of Socialists believing that the sale and distribution of literature is the best kind of propaganda, have put the idea into effect with great success.

We are not yet two months organized as a branch, but from an original group of seven or eight we have grown to a membership of 125. We ordered four thousand May-Day Appeals. When they arrived we took them to a local printer and had a big red scare head put on the front page, "Extra," "Attack on Roosevelt." We held them in till Saturday, 9 a. m., then we started out a crew of newsies.

We took the city by storm all the kids shouting "Extra," "Extra," and the people jumping over each other to find out what had happened to Teddy. When they bought the paper they saw "Appeal to Reason" staring them in the face. Some laughed, some cussed, and the capitalists all chorused "stung." We sold three thousand five hundred Appeals in one day through our crew of newsies at 5 cents a copy, and our scoup is one of the most discussed things in Portland. Nothing has been so effective here as our literature campaign.

Even those who cussed put the Appeal in their pockets and we are hoping for great results from it. The branch is much alive and we are not neglecting any part of propaganda work. We have procured the service of George Holmes, of Frisco, as a speaker, and we cordially invite all readers of the Appeal to our headquarters, 208½ Stark street. Reading room open daily from 9 a. m. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m. G. H. Zahn, Librarian Branch 8, Portland, Ore.

Serving the People.

How many laws have been passed by our national congress in the past twenty years which were asked for by the common people? I can recall but one, the rural delivery law. Here are some things they have got without asking for them: The Dick military law; the Penrose bill; the raise in salaries. Here are a few things the people have asked for and been denied: A law to stop gambling on the board of trade, postal savings banks, parcels post law.—Hayseed.

WHERE TO GET BOOKS.

Don't send to the Appeal for Socialist books, except for the few titles that we are closing out. Send to Charles H. Kerr & Company, 153 Kinzie st., Chicago. We have sold the Appeal's book business to them, because we believe that Socialist books can be supplied from one central point with better results for all concerned.

The Warren Case.

From St. Louis Labor.

The daily capitalist press, in a short dispatch from Fort Scott, Kan., announced that Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, was found guilty of using the mails for circulating scurrilous and obscene literature. Of course, there is a well defined purpose in this kind of capitalist newspaper work. To expect that the "molders of public opinion" would tell a true story of the Warren case, is unreasonable, because capitalist papers are not published for that purpose.

Every reader of Socialist and labor papers knows that Fred D. Warren made the Governor Taylor kidnaping reward offer for a specific purpose: to compare the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in Colorado with Governor Taylor's connection with the Goebel murder case in Kentucky, and to attract general attention to the Colorado outrage.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped, taken to a special train by armed guards, and hurried from Denver to Idaho, without being given time to communicate with counsel or even with their families. All the ordinary processes of extradition were violated, all the rights legally accorded to common criminals were denied these men. When they appealed to the courts, the courts ruled that, while they had been unlawfully arrested and deported, yet their trial should go on under circumstances unfavorable to themselves and favorable to the prosecuting authorities, who had sworn that they should never leave Idaho alive. To call attention to this outrage, the Appeal to Reason offered a reward to anyone who should seize former Governor Taylor, the republican politician of Kentucky, who had been indicted for the murder of the democratic governor—Goebel—had taken refuge in Indiana, and was being shielded by the republican governor of that state. The announcement of this offer was "defamatory" only in the sense that it recited the facts brought out before the jury that indicted Taylor. Taylor was not kidnaped, and on the witness stand at Fort Scott he (Taylor) stated, according to reports, he did not think that Warren had any malicious intentions against him, but simply desired to call public attention to the Colorado trouble.

It requires no exceptional intellect to see the yellow streak in the Fort Scott verdict against Warren. A verdict of not guilty would have been a moral conviction of the originators of the persecution. Whether Fred D. Warren will go to jail or not is hard to tell at this time. But suppose the supreme court should uphold the Fort Scott verdict, what of it? Will it change the fact that Warren achieved his purpose in attracting the attention of thousands of people to the Colorado outrage? Or will any sensible human being believe for a moment that the conviction and imprisonment can prevent the Socialist press from continuing the heroic struggle for labor's rights and emancipation?

Is it a mere coincidence that the persecution against Warren and the Appeal to Reason comes about the same time when the Citizens' Industrial Alliance wages war against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison and the American Federation of Labor?

No. It is the modern capitalist warfare against the Socialist and labor movement. It is a feature of the great conflict between the capitalist class and the organized proletariat.

A copy of the Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts" goes by first mail to a comrade in Africa. Poor Teddy. Socialism haunts his waking dreams, follows him to Africa and will be here when he return, bigger and more belligerent than ever.

Just for the Asking

Free Speech Under Socialism.

If Socialism was in operation would free speech and a press that criticised it be tolerated? If so, would there not be danger that it would be overthrown?—Ohio.

If free speech and a free press were not tolerated under Socialism, then the writer would be among the first to criticise Socialism. But when Socialism is established these things will be in its interest instead of against it. You must not suppose, as many do, that Socialism is a cut and dried system, which must be just so or fail to exist. Rather it is industrial democracy. This popular rule of industry could not be maintained in any other way than by the utmost freedom of speech and press. If someone was to see some point that could be improved, and begin to agitate for its adoption, so far from this destroying Socialism, it would be its salvation. It would enable the people to always adopt new and better methods. When Socialism comes all will be Socialists, just as now all are supporters of the United States while living in the United States, yet there will doubtless be advanced souls who will make new discoveries and think new thoughts, and these people, given full chance to bring their new ideas and better methods forward so the people may adopt them, will make Socialism a thing that will grow naturally and always meet the human need.

Importance of Free Speech.

Why do you make so much of free speech and a free press? Do you not think that a free press often becomes corrupt, and under free speech there is much nonsense uttered?—New York.

Granted that with full liberty of speech and press much nonsense is uttered and a great deal of trifling matter printed, still full liberty of the press and speech are the very bulwark of all freedom. If you suppress the ballot you merely suppress free opinion one day in the year, but if you censor the press and the tongue, you destroy liberty the year round. Jefferson was right when he said that he would rather trust the people without a government and with full expression of opinion, than, having a censor, to give them all the government possible. Experience has amply proven the disaster that comes of suppressing freedom of expression. Absoluteism and ultimate slavery always succeed. That is what is the matter with Mexico now. If they had liberty of press and speech in Mexico, the dictatorship of Diaz would not last a week. If press and speech were thoroughly shacked here, dictatorship might come in a year.

Criticising the Government.

Does not criticism of the government injure it, and is it not justified in suppressing undue criticism?—Missouri.

If the government is the servant of the people, then criticism can only help it in showing how the people view things. Criticism can injure the government only when it is seeking to betray the people, the criticism tending to spoil the scheme. Men whose idea of government is to make it an aid for grafting doubtless think any interference with their criminal tendency is bad and ought to be suppressed; but under real democracy, or popular government, the people will necessarily and forever interfere with the government. If you do not believe in the people expressing their views relative to government you cannot believe in the people ruling.

The Ballot Box

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DARWIN'S DESCENT OF MAN.

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APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KANSAS

THE CRUSHING OF A FREE PRESS BEGUN. MEANING OF THE WARREN CONVICTION.

THE Warren case has become a national issue. It is not because it is the Appeal that is attacked; it is not because the case is within itself a strong one; but, from the very fact that it, while so weak as to be puerile, has been made the means of convicting an editor under a criminal indictment for that which at best can be nothing but a matter for a civil suit, it has become the center around which is being fought a battle for freedom of press and speech.

If it be possible to convict a Socialist editor for doing what a capitalist editor can do with impunity; if it be possible to convict a man of crime because he suggests the kidnaping of a republican fugitive from justice, and at the same time the supreme court says the kidnaping of a labor leader is no crime; if it be possible to convict, on a criminal charge, a Socialist editor who for alleged libel of a man who makes no claim that he was libeled; if it be possible to hold an indictment over a man for two years and then suspend sentence for six months longer as a sort of hostage to silence him from criticizing capitalism and the party of capitalism, then liberty is gone. It will be easy to silence you as a speaker, to suppress free speech as effectively as it is done in Mexico, and to make it criminal to advocate the election of any but republicans or to criticise the powers that be, however venile may be their conduct.

Inception of the Case.

Readers of the Appeal are familiar with the circumstances out of which the case grew. During the progress of the Moyer-Haywood trial, when it looked like it would be impossible to save these champions of the workers' cause from the gallows, and soon after the supreme court of the United States had decided that the kidnaping of these men was legal, the Appeal, in order to test whether the supreme court would decide the same in case a republican and an advocate of the capitalist system should be kidnaped, offered a reward of $1,000 to anyone who would kidnap ex-Governor Taylor and return him to the Kentucky authorities.

The publication of the offer created a profound sensation over the United States and called attention to the unlawful means that had been adopted to procure the conviction of the federation officials, in a way that was so striking as to provoke comment from even the capitalist press. It was one of the factors that helped to arouse public sentiment and save the accused comrades from the gallows.

The Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone cases were fought to a finish, and in every instance, despite the conspiracy against their lives, that involved, not only mine owners, but also governors, a venile press and even the president of the United States, the accused were acquitted. It was a royal battle of the class struggle, such as had never been fought before, and called forth the assistance of every Socialist and labor editor in the country, enlisting also the interest and aid of many speakers and writers in England, in continental Europe and in Australia. It was a battle that resulted in a complete victory for labor, the first time in which capital was ever thwarted in wreaking its will upon intended victims. The victory for labor has been complete, except for one thing: **That is the Warren case.**

Conspiracy Against Freedom.

The case grew up as a conspiracy which involved the entire machinery of the federal government. A law was apparently enacted for the sole purpose of catching the Appeal. This appears from the following, which was printed in the Washington Daily News of March 13, 1907:

The Peprose bill makes eight printed lines, but, like dynamite, it was potential in small quantities. It proposed to vest the postmaster general with absolute power of censorship. Of course, it was not intended that this absolute power should be used in an absolute way. The introduction of the bill was occasioned by the lurid utterances of a Socialist organ in a western state, and while it was to be a general law it was INTENDED ONLY FOR PARTICULAR APPLICATION.

Yet, though a law was made, as was claimed by capitalist papers, for the express purpose of "getting" the Appeal it appears that **the administration was unable to find a violation of the provision of that special law.** It was eager, however, to do something, and it found a statute under which it was able to prosecute the Appeal editor, yet only then by doing an unheard-of thing.

A Civil Issue a Criminal Charge.

The eagerness of the powers, which had been defeated in their efforts to murder the Federation officials, to get at the Appeal, is illustrated by the fact that they made their criminal prosecution on a charge that at best should have been nothing more than a civil action for damages. What could it matter to Uncle Sam whether or not the Appeal had said anything calculated to reflect on ex-Governor Taylor? Would it have brought suit against an editor who reflected on some workingman? Rather did it bring suit against Roosevelt when he referred to Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone as undesirable citizens? Why this discrimination? Was it, indeed, any business of the government to see that this particular individual or any particular individual was not slandered? If Taylor himself had thought himself slandered, there might have been some grounds for a civil suit in order to test the matter in the courts, since the right to sue belongs to all. But Taylor brought no action against the Appeal. He is not even the complainant in the action brought by the government.

The government is therefore under the peculiar situation of claiming an injury done to a man when he himself does not claim an injury was done to him.

Ex-Governor Taylor was placed on the stand and made no complaint that he was injured or maligned. Even the prosecuting attorney, Judge J. S. West, made no claim that the language used in any way injured Taylor. If it did not injure Taylor, whom could it injure?

Object of the Statute.

The object of the statute under which this action against Warren was brought is stated as follows in re Barber, 75 Rep., 980:

This provision relates to the external appearance, and is a prosecution against delineations or words which will convey or imply insult, threat or harm to the person addressed, operating either directly in injuring his feelings, or indirectly by attracting the notice of other persons, and raising injurious inferences.

This clearly makes the statute to apply only to personal suits by the aggrieved party. The government was not the person addressed, neither was the prosecuting witness, the attorney or the judge who hears the case, injured personally or alleged to be injured. It is a suit for someone else, who makes no claim to being injured. It is obviously illegal for any one other than Taylor himself to prosecute in this case. If Taylor had first brought civil action and had obtained damages, then the evidence that gave him damages might, and might not, have been sufficient to warrant the government in prosecuting the case. But Taylor has made no complaint whatever. The Appeal contends that the publication did not reflect on him in such a way as to injure his character, but it is not bound to prove this, for the reason that he has brought no complaint against the Appeal. It would be as logical for John Doe to bring suit against Richard Roe for injury alleged to have been done to Samuel Smith, when Samuel Smith himself claimed no injury, as for the government to prosecute Warren for injury done to Taylor when Taylor makes no claim that injury was done to him.

Even Kidnaping no Crime.

The Appeal was not guilty of kidnaping. But even if it had been, even if the advertisement had led to an attempt to kidnap ex-Governor Taylor, kidnaping is no crime. The supreme court of the United States said so in its decision in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone cases. Here is its attitude in the matter.

Looking first at what was alleged to have occurred in Colorado touching the arrest of the petitioner and his deportation from that state, we do not perceive that anything done there, however hastily or inconsiderately done, can be adjudged to be in violation of the constitution or laws of the United States. Even if it be true that the arrest and deportation of Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood from Colorado was by fraud and connivance, to which the governor of Colorado was a party, this does not make out a case of the violation of the rights of the appellants under the constitution and laws of the United States.

Yet the prosecution of the Appeal editor hinges on this very matter which the supreme court had already passed on. Warren's effort was solely to find out if capitalist courts would accord to laborers and Socialists the same rights which they claimed for capitalists, and this prosecution fully established the fact that they would not, without affording the least foundation on which they could stand.

Mailing Reward Offers.

Then the matter of mailing rewards for the arrest of men under indictment or only suspected is so common as to make prosecution for the offense something that would stop all legal procedure.

The Appeal submitted to the district attorney a number of cards that were mailed in the third district, and that were well within the statute of limitations, among them being the appended postal card which, as you will note, comes within the pergiew of the law under the interpretation placed thereon by the assistant district attorney:

> **$25.00 Reward**
>
> For one Elijah Nicholas and team of mares. The mares are nine and ten years old. Signs his name B. Nichols. He is sandy complexioned, about 28 years old, medium sized, weighs about 160 pounds. Came from near Hunter, Kan. Arrest and notify.
>
> FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
> Lucas, Kan.

The assistant district attorney's excuses for not bringing an action against the sender of this card comes to naught as it is quite evident from the signature who is responsible for its mailing; also the date of the postmark shows that it was mailed within the three-year limit and within the jurisdiction of the Kansas district. Other cards accused men for whom the reward was offered of horse stealing, some of burglary, some of rape. These men had not been tried or proven guilty at the time the cards were mailed. Therefore, these charges not only "reflected injuriously upon the character and conduct of another," but made specific charges that had not been sustained. Names were attached to the offers of reward, as no name was attached to the reward offered by the Appeal. Some of the men for whom rewards had been offered had not even been indicted by the grand jury, but ex-Governor Taylor had been indicted by the grand jury. These cards were sent back without comment by the district attorney, Harry J. Bone, who declared that in his opinion "congress did not intend the law should apply to officials in the performance of their official duty." Under this interpretation the law becomes class legislation and therefore, unconstitutional, which position was maintained by Judge Pollock in the November, 1907, hearing, while at the same time the admission implies a similarity between the Warren indictment and a possible indictment of these officers who offered rewards for the arrest of suspects. Attorney West, when arguing at Fort Scott eighteen months ago against the dismissal of the Warren case, was asked by the presiding judge if these reward cards came within the meaning of this statute, and he ventured the opinion that they did. Then why did he not present them to the federal grand jury?

—Chicago Socialist.

As a matter of fact, every district attorney to whom has been submitted postal cards bearing reward offers has turned down any attempt at prosecuting the parties who mailed them. Attorney Darrow personally appeared before the department of justice in Washington and laid before the attorney general of the postoffice department several hundred postal cards of the character described above, but no action has been taken against any of the alleged offenders. Every government official to whose attention these cases have been called has refused to take any action except in the case of the editor of the Appeal!

Weakness of the Case.

The state has been unable to prove that the particular letter for the mailing of which suit was brought was mailed from the Appeal office. There is something peculiar about the letter. A search of the Appeal mailing list failed to show that the name of Pierson, to whom the letter was addressed, was on its list. Indeed there has been no effort made to prove that there is such a man, or that the letter ever reached him. It was not sent to the dead letter office. The Appeal admits that it mailed many letters similar to this one, but the particular one under which the indictment is brought shows evidence of a trap laid for the Appeal if not an illegal tampering with the mails in order to secure it. It shows that the federal authorities were eager to get some pretext for attacking the Appeal. Again, it is declared in the indictment that the words, figures and characters on the envelope were and are of "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening character." The statute under which the case is brought provides for proving the words to be of a scurrilous, defamatory or threatening character, but the indictment uses the word **and**, hence, to convict, the state is bound to prove all the charges. It is stated in the indictment that the words printed on the envelope in question were "intended" to reflect, etc., but no effort whatever has been made by the state to show intent.

That the government itself recognized that the case against Warren was very weak is proven by the fact that it repeatedly sought to compromise with a small fine. The proposition was made by the prosecuting attorney no later than at the last trial. It was always declined by Warren, not but that it would have been the cheapest way of settling the case, but because if it had been settled in this manner, it would have left a precedent that might have been fateful to a free press later on. Even after ex-Governor Taylor had been pardoned so that he might be brought into the case, his testimony was shown to be of little importance. Even after a republican jury that was certain to bring in a verdict of guilty, whatever the evidence, had been secured, and a conviction was made a matter of record, the case was so plainly weak that Judge Pollock suspended sentence for two weeks. Later he postponed it for six months. It is so rank that the district attorney wanted a plea of guilty in order that he might let go of it. It is so manifestly unjust that the trial judge, after a conviction secured through questionable methods, hesitates to pass sentence.

The Whole Case Unfair.

In the name of heaven, in view of these things, why is not the case dismissed? Why is it not thrown out of court? Does anyone believe that action would have been brought on such flimsy grounds against a republican paper? Does any one believe that if the grand jury had found an indictment against a capitalist editor on such charges that the prosecuting attorney would not have quashed the indictment? Does anyone believe that if the accused had been a republican politician Judge Pollock would not have thrown the case out of court with a rebuke to the grand jury? Does any one suppose that a purely republican jury was not prejudiced? If so, why did they not empanel a purely Socialist jury and then expect a fair trial? Why do they hold this indictment over Warren for over two years? And why, after they have secured a conviction through questionable means, do they not at once pass sentence and let an appeal be taken? Why prolong the case after prosecutor and presiding judge have both declared it was weak? Are you there for the purpose of doing justice or of prosecuting Socialists and suppressing free speech?

There is a section of the constitution which says:

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a SPEEDY and public trial by an IMPARTIAL JURY.

Warren did not have a speedy trial, nor a speedy sentence after trial, nor an impartial jury. If this is not persecution rather than prosecution, what is it? If this not in violation of the constitution which says: Congress shall make no law.

Abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

What is it? Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, 6th ed. 618; Am. & Eng. Ency. of Laws, Vol 18, 1125 thus defines the meaning of the constitutional provision:

The liberty of the press consists in the right to publish with impunity the truth, with good motives, whether it respects governments or individuals.

It is not denied that freedom of the press involves the right to suit for libel. But inasmuch as a government cannot be libeled and only an individual can be libeled, it follows that the proper action is a civil suit. Men at the head of a government, it is true, may be libeled and sue as individuals, but the government itself, like the corporation, is intangible, and, therefore, all interference of the impersonal government with the press becomes an abridgement of the liberties of the press. The distinction ought to be clear, and it is the only distinction that can be made with absolute fairness to all concerned. The president, as an individual, might.

Comments on Warren Case

Capitalist Misrepresentation.

New York Evening Call:

Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, has been convicted on a charge of sending defamatory matter through the mails, in violation of Federal law.

Those who read only the dispatches published in the old party papers will naturally suppose that Warren has been found guilty of using the mails to disseminate obscene and scandalous publications. The real nature of his offense will not be made clear by these moulders of public opinion, because to make it clear would be to convince fair-minded men that the prosecution of Warren was really a persecution.

The facts are these:

Three labor leaders were kidnaped at night in Denver, were taken aboard a train under armed guard and hurried away into Idaho without being given time to communicate with counsel or even with their families. All the ordinary processes of extradition were violated, all the rights legally accorded to common criminals were denied these men.

When they appealed to the courts the courts ruled that while they had been unlawfully arrested and deported, yet their trial should go on under circumstances unfavorable to themselves and favorable to the prosecuting authorities, who had sworn that they should never leave Idaho alive.

To call attention to this outrage, the Appeal to Reason offered a reward to anyone who should sieze former Governor Taylor, the republican politician of Kentucky, who had been indicted for the murder of the democratic governor—Goebel—had taken refuge in Indiana, and was being shielded by the republican governor of that state.

The announcement of this offer was "defamatory" only in the sense that it recited the facts brought out before the jury that indicted Taylor.

Taylor was not kidnaped. But the publication helped to focus public attention on the western case, which was the effect desired. It helped to rouse the workers of the nation to that gigantic defensive movement which saved Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from the mine owners' conspiracy.

If Taylor had been siezed and delivered over to the officers of justice in Kentucky, the capitalists of the country would not have cared a snap provided the labor leaders were hanged according to program. It was the triumph for the Western Federation of Miners that exasperated them.

That is why Warren has been prosecuted and his conviction secured—not because he volunteered to promote the arrest of Taylor, but because he helped to prevent the judicial murder of Moyr, Haywood and Pettibone.

The administration and the capitalists have gained a formal victory. But it will not be a lasting nor a valuable one. It will help to strengthen the Appeal to Reason and the Socialist and labor movement, for which the Appeal to Reason has served in this and other matters.

Of Political Significance.

Cleveland, Ohio, Citizen.

It turns out that ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, who was indicted for complicity of murder after the assassination of Governor Goebel and fled to Indiana, was pardoned a few days ago by the reigning monarch of the Blue Grass state, and was given his liberty through the influence of, and is being used by, the United States government prosecution of Fred Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, who is on trial at Fort Scott, Kansas, for alleged "violation of the postal laws." Warren's "crime," the offering of a reward for the arrest of Taylor and returning him to Kentucky to stand trial after the abduction of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from Colorado, was declared legal by the United States supreme court. The Warren case bids fair to become celebrated. It is of more political significance than were the famous Idaho cases. If Warren goes to jail it will be of immense advantage to the Socialist party. It is a big political game the "reds" can't lose, even if Warren is compelled to serve time. The agitation feature of the case will be worth a great deal to the Socialist movement, which the fat man at Washington doesn't appear to appreciate. But if Warren goes to jail, watch the fire works.

Contemptible Courts.

Chicago Daily Socialist:

One more step has been taken in rendering the courts contemptible. This time it was the federal court at Fort Scott, Kansas, that showed its subserviency to the worst elements in present society.

When Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone were kidnaped in Colorado, with the connivance of the railroads and the mine owners' association; and when in defiance of every form of law they were carried by special train fo Idaho in pursuit of a conspiracy to judicially lynch them, the supreme court declared that this action was legal. These men had been convicted of no crime. They had not been legally indicted by any official body.

In order to call attention to the outrageous class character of the procedure in Colorado, Warren prepared circulars calling for similar action in regard to ex-Governor Taylor. Taylor was openly a fugitive from law. He was living in Indiana and his extradition had been refused by the governor of that state. The circulars which Warren mailed were almost identical in wording with those sent out regularly by sheriffs, United States marshals and private detective agencies.

The only possible distinction between Warren's action and that which has been officially indorsed over and over again by the United States government is that he was not seeking to do any injury to Taylor, but was seeking to expose the contemptible class character of the courts.

He has accomplished this far better than he expected. All that he hoped for in the beginning was to call attention to the fact that a republican politician is treated differently from a trade union official. He showed this by his circulars.

Then the United States government came to his assistance, and by his arrest and conviction showed that there is a special process of law for those who dare to criticise the contemptible courts of capitalism.

Warren accused those courts of being class institutions. His conviction furnishes the proof of the truth of his accusation. It is not Warren but the court that has been convicted.

A Foregone Conclusion.

Fort Scott, Kansas, Tribune.

The government isn't afraid that the Fred Warren case will ever be reversed if it goes to a higher court, which it will do should Judge Pollock refuse to grant a new trial. There is no way of telling how the judge will act on the motion for a new trial, but it is the common belief here that no new trial order will be issued by Judge Pollock when he hears the motion for the same argued. The government attorneys made a pretty hard fight, and think that Warren will finally have to meet the punishment the court gives him. Warren may be given a jail sentence, along with the fine, and then the court might assess a dollar and costs fine and let it go at that. The cost will amount to quite a pile to say the least.

Subscription Rates.

One year	50c
Six months	25c
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The Old Fight for Freedom

INDICTMENT AGAINST GREELEY.

Virginia Sct.
In the Circuit Court of Harrison County.

The grand jurors for said county, on their oaths, present, that heretofore, towit: on the fifth day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, and from that day to the finding this presentment, Horace Greeley did write, print and publish, and caused to be written, printed and published weekly in the City of New York and State of of New York, a book and writing, towit: a newspaper and public journal styled and entitled "New York Tribune," the object and purpose of which said "New York Tribune" was to advise and incite negroes in this state to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the rights of property of masters in their slaves in the State of Virginia.

And the jurors do further present that said Horace Greeley afterwards, towit, on the day of July, in the year 1856, did knowingly, wilfully and feloniously transmit to and circulate in and cause and procure to be transmitted to and circulated in the said county of Harrison, the said book and writing, towit: the said "New York Tribune," with the intent to aid the purposes thereof, against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth.

And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present that said Horace Greeley on the day of July, in the year 1856, did knowingly, unlawfully and feloniously, circulate and cause and procure to be circulated in said county of Harrison a writing, towit, a newspaper and public journal, which said writing, newspaper and public journal was on the fifth day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, published, written and printed in the City of New York and State of New York, and was styled and entitled "New York Tribune," with intent in him, the said Greeley, then and there to advise and incite negroes in the State of Virginia aforesaid to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the rights of property of masters in their slaves; against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth.

Upon the information of Amaziah Hill and Seymour Johnson, witnesses sworn in open court and sent to the grand jury to testify at the request of the grand jury who had the "New York Tribune" in the above presentment referred to, before them and examined the same.

B. WILSON,
Attorney for the Commonwealth.

State of West Virginia, Harrison County—ss.

I, Homer W. Williams, clerk of the circuit court of Harrison county, West Virginia, certify that the foregoing is a true and complete copy of the indictment presented against Horace Greeley by the grand jurors of said court at its regular term in 1856.

Given under my hand and official seal this, the 16th day of November, 1908.

(Seal) HOMER W. WILLIAMS, Clerk.

Times change and men change with them! In 1856 J. J. Warren, father of the editor of the Appeal to Reason, lived in Virginia. He was then a supporter of the existing order of negro slavery, and when Horace Greeley, the abolitionist, was indicted, approved the prosecution. Later, the changing times and his changing views led him to vote for Abraham Lincoln, in 1860, the only man in his county to do so.

Years after, his son, Fred D. Warren, became a republican editor in Missouri. He thought republicanism was right. But changing times and changing views led him to investigate Socialism and he became an ardent advocate of industrial freedom, when, as in his father's day, few stood by him. Later, when the class struggle grew fiercer, he was indicted, as Greeley had been indicted before him, by friends of the exploiting order. It was then that his father, J. J. Warren, remembered the indictment that had been brought against Greeley, and the son sought it out and for the first time it was printed.

But times still change, and men change with them! Chattel slavery was destroyed. Now, there are none who will argue for it. But a new form of exploitation took its place. Horace Greeley saw it coming, and protested against it. In doing this he antagonized many who had worked with him in opposing chattel slavery, but had not advanced with him beyond that. It seems that the south, which had never known the dominance of capitalism, was the only section that opposed the new order, and it followed that Greeley became the candidate of the south for president, opposed to the dominance of capital. **Twelve years after Greeley was indicted in Virginia he received the vote of Virginia for president.** The indictment was not quashed; it remained in force until Greeley's death; but the changing times made it inoperative.

There are many points of resemblance between the Greeley indictment and the Warren indictment. The one is merely the complement and the completion of the other. Greeley fought his fight on slavery through and won. He began the fight against the wages system, and Warren took up his work where he lay it down. Warren is passing along the same path to success which Greeley followed in his day.

As to points of resemblance, the "wilfully, knowingly and feloniously transmit" of the Greeley indictment is wonderfully like the "wilfully, knowingly and unlawfully deposit" of the Warren indictment. The "intent to advise and incite" in the Greeley indictment resembles the "obviously intended to reflect" in the Warren document. A further resemblance between the two indictments lies in the fact that **the complaint came concerning the use of the mails, and in either case was an effort to limit the liberty of the press.** In this day we would think it an improper thing for the press to speak against the "rights of property of masters in their slaves" yet it was for the questioning such property rights that Greeley was indicted. It is evident that in the Warren case the "property rights" of the capitalist in the workingman is the real point at issue, even though public opinion has so advanced that it does not dare be stated so bluntly. Some day the indictment against Warren will appear as ridiculous as the indictment of Greeley does now.

But there is this difference noticeable between the two instruments. The one is a state indictment, the other a federal indictment. This is not without significance. It merely calls attention to the fact that **the masters of the blacks were circumscribed as to territory, while the modern masters swing the entire nation.** A federal indictment of Greeley would have been impossible; and a state indictment of Warren would have been equally ridiculous. The point of jurisdiction covered carries with it another very important fact; **Greeley could not have been punished under his indictment except in one state, and by avoiding that state he rendered it, to all purposes, null. But a federal indictment, such as was brought against Warren could reach out to the state in which he resided and touch him without fail.** It all illustrates how much more perfect and complete the modern method of exploitation is than was the slave system, and suggests, what Greeley found out afterward, that the slave system was superceded because the new method was more far reaching, and certain of enforcement.

And the Greeley indictment was a strong and just instrument compared with the Warren indictment. It charges an effort on Greeley's part to "advise and incite negroes to rebel and make insurrection." If this charge could have been maintained, it revealed a PUBLIC danger which gave ground for bringing the indictment; in other words, while the indictment was really an effort of the few masters (one in ten of the people of the south) to stop agitation against their property claims, the reason cited was a public one; and there can be do doubt that **if the negroes had rebelled and made insurrection all the white people of the south would have been affected by it.** But the Warren indictment makes no charge of public danger. What it does say is that Warren's alleged act was calculated to "reflect injuriously upon ANOTHER"—that is, **it is an indictment for an offense against ONE PERSON**—and under all jurisprudence the injury of the one, unless that injury has been done and involves loss of life, of limb or liberty, **is no concern of the public, but only of that individual.** The Warren indictment is all the more weak because the individual concerned makes no complaint of injury, the government pressing an individual suit when the individual does not care to do it himself. It shows that the modern capitalist is far more jealous of his "rights" in property, than was the old slave holder, and has a far stronger hold on the federal government than the old slave holder had on the slave states.

Yet it is the old fight which freedom has ever had to wage against special privilege—advancing ever and always nearer the final goal of full liberty, yet always a fight where the truth is accused and belittled and betrayed, and also triumphant in the end, ever and always.—C. L. P.

THE CASE OF ELIJAH LOVEJOY

Elijah Lovejoy, a Presbyterian preacher, started a paper called The Observer, at St. Louis, in 1833. He chiefly discussed religious themes, but occasionally spoke against slavery. When two negroes were taken in Illinois and given 200 lashes, he freely criticised the act. A public meeting was held to denounce his criticism, and the meeting resolved that slavery was sanctioned by the scriptures; that the course pursued by the abolitionists, if persisted in, would break up the union; and that the constitutional guarantee of free speech and free press did not imply the moral right of the abolitionists to freely discuss the question of slavery, either orally or through the press.

Alarmed at this attack, Lovejoy removed his paper to Alton, Ill. But in his first issue after removal he criticised a judge who had exonerated a mob for burning a negro to death. For this article his office was wrecked. The paper was revived and permitted to go unmolested for nearly a year. But at last Lovejoy approved the effort to banish slavery from the District of Columbia, and for this his office was again wrecked. A third press was ordered, and this was promptly broken. A fourth press was ordered. An attack was made on the building where the press was stored, and Lovejoy and a printer defended it with guns. Lovejoy was shot five times, and died in a few minutes.

The Missouri Republican, now the St. Louis Republic, said of the killing of Lovejoy: "We condemn mob violence, but when we see a man wantonly, recklessly and mischievously persist in a course which others are sure to regard as an outrage on their feelings, which is sure to inflame the popular mind and lead to violence, we have but little sympathy with his sufferings. He who willfully excites the tempest should be the first to feel its violence."

But the death of Lovejoy led to the banishment of slavery from the District of Columbia and gave a tremendous impetus to the agitation for freedom. A magnificant monument was erected to his memory by the grand children of the men who murdered him.

This is a story of the past. You wonder at it. Yet you see practically the same things being repeated now, though in not nearly so harsh a form. That is encouraging. It is the old fight for liberty, on an advanced ground. Each generation has its own battles, but the best men are ever at the front, fighting for human liberty, always opposed but always certain of victory.

PUT your finger down anywhere in present society and it will rest upon a festering heap of muck—but don't blame the muck-rakers; blame the muck-makers.

"How Often, Oh, How Often"

you wished you could recall a certain ment or certain facts to combat some old ite—but the elusive data got away from Well, you need no longer be caught in predicament. The "Appeal's Arsenal of " supplies you the information on a ses- nation. You carry it in your vest pocket. ntains every important fact you need in ght.

is little book will be printed on thin but paper. It will be bound in fine morocco , flexible covers. It will just fit the vest t. It will be indexed. It is intended to by means of statistics from official and le sources every important phase of the mic and industrial question. It's the book have been looking for.

WARREN DAY.

am going to ask every one of to choose your day and call it ren day and celebrate his convic- by sending in a list of subscrib- Warren's conviction was meant rush the Appeal, but I say it be the making of the Appeal. slump now would be a sign of tion and the capitalist cohorts d rightly conclude that Social- are cowards and that when one em is arrested and convicted the take to the woods.

the other hand if the capital- e that Socialists fight when e attacked and stand by the o are convicted for serving ey will hesitate long before ke another such attack.

vement has been started since 's conviction to add A HUN- THOUSAND NEW SUB- BERS TO THE APPEAL as wer of the Army to the fed- art.

first fifty have been sent by h from the local at Montrose, o. How many others will fol- t?

many individual workers will day off and celebrate Warren sending in a bunch of sub- to attest fealty of the rank to the convicted editor and the volume of protest against amous assault upon a free

s show the hirelings of the d corporations who are now things that the conviction of ist editor means a stronger movement and that the at- strangle a Socialist paper hundred thousand more cir-

now is the time! Show your You can make the convic- Warren the rallying cry and ver of freedom, every be- a free press, whether he ocialist or not, will join in up the paper the plutocratic as attempted to destroy. achment is necessary at this cts alone speak and now is to act. In the next thirty will know who the veterans true comrades who never d who always toe the mark crisis. heir fruits we shall know

J. A. WAYLAND.

Circulation by States.

	Off.	On.	Total.
...	493	700	20,889
...	467	705	20,342
...	465	668	18,826
...	471	558	17,650
...	386	743	16,936
...	457	522	13,976
...	362	168	12,800
...	385	806	12,644
...	321	415	12,502
...	226	350	9,294
...	270	343	9,065
...	302	331	9,304
...	198	219	9,109
...	207	311	8,885
...	213	115	7,797
...	139	212	6,711
...	178	210	5,130
...	130	166	5,073
...etts	123	187	4,807
...inia	111	128	4,601
	139	182	4,504
...kota	76	171	3,896
	161	94	3,773
	164	85	3,731
	95	130	3,615
	82	98	3,357
...kota	134	111	3,048
	118	119	2,924
	75	99	2,923
...ry	91	76	2,811
	85	82	2,731
...ico	82	100	2,601
...rolina	95	79	2,501
	48	87	2,390
	47	78	2,358
	94	110	1,669
	13	62	1,853
	55	33	1,774
	52	83	1,484
	68	41	1,479
	72	16	1,448
	10	35	1,441
...ut	53	23	1,427
...l	57	33	1,215
	27	46	1,117
...mpshire	11	13	981
...rolina	18	8	680
	24	19	612
...land	36	19	526
	6	17	254
...of Columbia	40	15	230
...	8,020	9,745	293,525
... for week ending May 8			9,745
...subs for week ending May 8			8,029
...r week			1,716
			293,525

GLOOMY "OUTLOOK."

has been convicted, but is still at the ghost of the Altos will not down.

PURITY OF THE MAILS.

During the late trial of the Appeal and its editor at Fort Scott, the point was emphasized that the government could not too rigidly enforce the laws against the mailing of improper matter since nothing was more important in connection with our postal system than to preserve the purity of the mails. The point is conceded and if the prosecution against the Appeal had had this end in view it would have been commendable indeed and no reasonable person could have objected. Moreover, if the publishers of the Appeal were guilty of polluting the mails they deserve punishment and their mailing privilege should have been promptly revoked.

But the prosecution against the Appeal was inspired by no such honest motive and had no such praiseworthy end in view. This can be very easily demonstrated.

For instance, there are scores of prurient publications containing vile and lascivious stories, nude pictures and suggestive immoral illustrations which circulate freely through the mails and are on display at news stands all over the country. They are vile, obscene and demoralizing, and well calculated to pollute the mails as well as the minds and morals of those who see and read them, but they are not excluded to maintain the "purity of the mails."

Again, if the prosecution of the Appeal is attempted to be justified on the ground that it mailed scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter in the offer of a reward for the return of ex-Governor Taylor to the state where he was under indictment, we ask why it is that similar proceedings are not entered against the bankers, detective agencies, sheriffs and private individuals who mail offers of reward daily for the apprehension and return of fugitives from justice?

Scores of such postal cards, containing in addition to the offer of reward the photograph of the fugitive, have been filed with Prosecuting Attorney Bone at his office at Topeka, but he has not felt moved to institute proceedings against any of the senders. They have not violated the "purity of the mails" although they have mailed the same matter for which Editor Warren has been prosecuted and convicted.

The reason and the only reason is that they are bankers, business men, office holders and capitalist politicians; **in a word they are republicans and democrats and are judged by that fact and not by what they send through the mails. On the other hand Warren is a Socialist and the editor of a Socialist paper and is judged by what he is and not by what he sends through the mails.** The difference lies just here.

Republicans and democrats may mail what they please without violating the purity of the mails, but when the same matter is mailed by a Socialist he is seized in the iron grip of the federal power and his property confiscated in fees, fines and costs. Thus is the liberty of the press destroyed, as pointed out by Judge Pollock himself, and the government of capitalist tyranny flourishes by stifling every aspiration for freedom and throttling every demand for justice under pretense of maintaining the "purity of the mails."

When capitalist despotism which rests upon robbery and flourishes in iniquity becomes interested in purity there is something rotten in Denmark and the people will do well to make an investigation.

Subscription Rates.

One year 50c
Six months 25c
In clubs of four or over (40 weeks).....25c

CAPITALIST "REGULATION."

We hear much about "regulating" this and that trust and this and that combine. It is all bosh. In all such cases the government is to be the regulator when in fact the government itself needs regulating. The case is neatly put by the Montana Lookout as follows:

"Let Mr. Harriman regulate the government, and he cares not how much the government regulates the railways."

That describes the present situation. Harriman and other trust magnates put up the campaign fund for the party in power and now of course they have a right to control its policy. President Taft is a prime favorite of the capitalist class. His nomination was literally bought for him and the big capitalists all vied with each other in contributing to his campaign fund.

The party in power is the party of the capitalists. They are the government and when it comes to regulating the trusts, that is to say themselves, they will do the regulating. The people who expect the capitalist government to interfere with the capitalist trusts are very innocent and have much to learn.

It is an axiom that political power springs from economic power. The dominant economic class is the ruling class and controls the government.

All the talk about regulating the trusts is mere buncombe and is only intended to fool the people.

What trust has ever been regulated? What magnate has ever been imprisoned?

As a matter of fact the trusts are more powerful than ever before and growing more powerful every day. They do practically as they please. The cases against the beef trust about which there was such a hue and cry have been dismissed by the attorney general with due apology to the trust.

There is but one intelligent way to deal with the trusts and that is to take them over and operate them for the benefit of the whole people.

Until the foolish people, who complain about the trusts and then vote the democratic and republican tickets to have the trusts privately owned, learn this obvious lesson they will clamor in vain for relief. As long as they can be satisfied with "regulation" dope they will be the easy marks of the trusts and their parties and politicians.

TILLMAN TAMED.

When Ben Tillman entered the United States senate he was feared by corporations, criminal combinations, rich malefactors, thieves and scoundrels who wax fat on special privileges and public graft. Tillman then had conviction and courage and he flayed without mercy the plunderers of the people.

The people believed in Tillman; looked upon him as champion; as the Moses of the masses. They felt that at last they had a voice in the nation's deliberations; and when Tillman spoke they gave attentive ear.

But alas, that was a long time before Tillman tried to secretly establish a ground floor connection with Oregon land.

Wonderful changes have taken place since Tillman's advent to the senate. He is no longer feared. The burning shafts which made the guilty tremble have been extinguished; the stinging satire quenched; the vitrolic tongue silenced. The rough old pitchfork of the sturdy farmer has been turned into the watch-charm of the smug plutocrat. There is nothing left of the former Tillman but his name.

The Tillman of today is as little feared by plutocracy as Aldrich—or the dead Depew. This change is the work of capitalism. Washington society and capitalist politics deaden the conscience and destroy the sensiblities.

Tillman is now "eminently respectable." The capitalist press no longer treats him with scorn and contempt. He is a welcome caller at the white house, the honored guest at President Taft's table, a man closer to predatory wealth than any who ever occupied the presidential chair, with the possible exception of Theodore Roosevelt. He is no longer the roaring lion, but the domesticated sheep. As Tillman yielded to the blandishments of capitalist influence and practice he became a "desirable" citizen—desirable to the plutocracy.

The once turbulent Tillman has been tamed.

INCENTIVE UNDER SOCIALISM

One of the most frequent and at the same time most superficial objections to Socialism is that it will destroy incentive to action. This objection is based upon the false assumption that the human being acts only from mercenary motives and that if he can no longer rob his fellow man he will have no incentive to develop his talents and be of service to society.

As a matter of fact the average man has no incentive to do anything except his worst under capitalism. If he is a worker he is exploited of all he produces except enough to afford him a bare and barren living. If he is a man of intellect and culture he may traffic in his talents and become a prostituted editor or retainer in some form of the ruling class. Only when in the enjoyment of economic freedom has man the incentive to do his best, and that he will do in Socialism.

No great deed, no grand achievement was ever inspired by a mercenary motive. This point is well made by Prof. David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, who says:

Real literature has never been paid for. It has never asked the gold nor the plaudits of the multitude. Job and Hamlet and Faust and Lear were never written to fill the pages of a Sunday newspaper. John Milton and John Bunyan were not publishers' hacks; nor were John Hampden, John Bright, or for that matter, Abraham Lincoln or Theodore Roosevelt under pay as walking delegates of reform.

No man was hired to find out that the world was round, or that men and lower animals have a common origin, that living organisms fill the fading leaf, or that valleys are worn down by water, or that the stars are suns. No man was ever paid to burn at the stake or die on the cross that other men might be free to live. The sane, strong, heroic souls of all ages were the men who, in the natural order of things, have lived above all considerations of pay or glory. They have served not as slaves taking reward, but as gods who would take no reward. Men could not reward Shakespeare, or Darwin, or Newton, or Helmholtz for their services any more than we could pay the Lord for the use of His sunshine.

This is sufficient answer on the question of incentive to those objections so frequently made to Socialism by those who seem to believe that when robbery of man by man ceases stagnation and degeneration will speedily follow. The exact opposite will prove true. When exploitation is ended and all men have equal opportunity to work and receive and enjoy the fruits of their labor they will have a higher incentive to do their best than they have ever known.

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

is best described in the realistic novels of Ivan Turgenieff. Eight of these are now within the reach of American readers. They are:

Annals of a Sportsman.
Dimitri Roudine.
Fathers and Sons.
Liza.
On the Eve.
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Handsomely bound in cloth, library style, 60 cents each, postpaid. For $4.00, if this advertisement is mentioned, we will send the full set of eight books by express, prepaid. This offer will not appear again and will not hold good after June 30, 1909. Address Charles H. Kerr & Co., 155 Kinzie st., Chicago.

A Farm For 3 Cents a Day

Think of it—$1.00 a month—THREE CENTS A DAY—buys a farm in Volusia County, Florida, that will yield you an income of $5,000 a year, or if you wish to stay at home and BUY FOR INVESTMENT, the opportunity for a big profit is just as great. Never again will you be offered an opportunity to equal this one. Farm lands at bed-rock price are becoming scarce. Don't let this chance slip away. Particulars free. Address E. C. HOWE 720 Hartford Building, Chicago, Ill.

The Appeal's Arsenal of Facts.

BY FRED D. WARREN
1909

is the title of a vest pocket book, printed on thin, tough paper and bound in fine morocco leather, with flexible covers. It will just fit the vest pocket. It is loaded from cover to cover with statistical dynamite that will paralyze any plute apologisth in the United States. No fact of importance that will help the agitator is overlooked. It is indexed for ready reference and no speaker or agitator should be without "The Arsenal."

YOU CAN'T BUY IT WITH MONEY. The only way to obtain a copy of this valuable booklet is to trot out right now and get twelve subscribers at 25 cents each or purchase 12 postal sub cards at 25 cents apiece, or join the bundle brigade for a bundle of 12 copies for a year at $3.00. Read this proposition: Use "The Arsenal" in your work of agitation for two week—and if you don't think it worth several times the effort and money expended, return it and get the $3.00—keeping the subs or papers as a free gift from the Appeal.

DEADLY EXPLOSIVE.

What is said to be the most powerful explosive known has been discovered by an 18-year-old Indiana boy. This new explosive is said to be forty times more powerful than dynamite. Three ounces, exploded in the river bottom, three miles from the city of Evansville, shook the town as if rocked by an earthquake and frightened the people half out of their wits.

With the aid of a wireless apparatus, his own invention, he exploded the charge which startled Evansville, from his woodshed, which he uses as a workshop in the city.

The explosive is known as "Williamsite" after the name of the inventor. Government agents have opened negotiations for the purchase of the secret.

It is claimed by military men that this invention will put an end to war by making it so deadly that nations will hesitate before letting slip the dogs of war.

It is our opinion, however, that the awful slaughter of human beings, through war, will only cease when the working class refuse to furnish the corpses; when they learn that the workers the world over are brothers; that their interests are identical; that all are the victims of exploitation; that war is a game of profit in which the capitalist class always wins, while the soldiers, who are of the working class, lose their lives and widow and orphan their wives and children.

When the workers learn this lesson, and they are being rapidly enlightened, there will be no need of peace conferences, for then the working classes of all nations will refuse to murder or be murdered in the interest of a capitalist class that stays at home and revels in the spoils of its slain victims.

Then, and not until then, will there be peace between nations.

SUGAR TRUST PROSECUTION.

Some time ago the Appeal told the story of how the sugar trust, known as the American Refining company, through false weights swindled the government out of millions of dollars in the importation of raw sugar. Following this disclosure the trust was indicted, found guilty and made to return the loot to the government. At the same time it was officially stated that criminal proceedings were to be instituted and the guilty punished.

This was indeed something new. People were amazed at the temerity of the government officials. Could it be that henceforth the rich robbers as well as the poor who thieve of necessity, were to be alike punished?

Yes, the guilty, high or low, who concocted and connived at this monumental robbery in which the government was bilked out of millions, were to be brought to the bar of justice.

The people anxiously awaited developments. Then they were disillusioned. It was just another case of fooling the foolish. When the indictments were made public it transpired that half a dozen fleas in the corporation hide, dock-weighers and checkers of the American Refining company were the culprits.

Think of these poor laborers conspiring and robbing the government of millions of dollars and putting the money in the pockets of the trust!

What a joke!

Can you think of anything more ridiculous?

The government in its criminal prosecuation of the American Refining company has demonstrated its ability to trail fleas while overlooking elephant tracks.

If justice were not blind she would drop dead in convulsions of laughter.

The Cost of a Rich Man.

At the smallest average for the making of a single rich man we make a thousand whose lifelong is one flood of misery. The charnel houses of poverty are in the shadow of the palace, and as one is splendid, so is the other dark, poisonous, degraded. How can a man grow rich except on the spoils of others' labors? His boasted prudence and economy, what is it but the most skillful availing himself of their necessities, most resolutely closing up his heart against their cries to him for help?—Froude.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Morris Hillquit. A complete exposition of Socialism in the United States, treating the circumstances of its origin, the manner of its growth, and the tendencies of its future development. Mr. Hillquit is a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party. Extra cloth, $1.50, postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 155 Kinzie st., Chicago.

Army Notes

Bundle Rates.

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8 copies to one address, one year..... 2.00
16 copies to one address, one year..... 4.00
25 copies to one address, one year..... 6.00

Subscription Rates.

One year 50c
Six months 25c
In clubs of four or over (40 weeks).....25c

Canadian Rates.

Single subscriptions, per year.....$1.00
Four copies in one wrapper to one individual 1.50
In clubs of four and over to the same post-office ..... .50

—Just received an order for 500 copies of No. 700 from Local St. John's, Ore.

—Comrade Waldo, Harrison, Idaho, is sending for 100 copies of the May Day issue.

—Two for the price of one—the Appeal and the Christian Socialist both for 50c. Get busy.

—As a May Day starter Comrade Dutulow, San Francisco, Cal., sends in a list of four.

—"A few more mavericks," wrote Comrade Downey Bayles, Cal., sending in four forty weekers.

—"Here's a few more and more coming," said Comrade Miller, Elida, N. M., as he threw down a list of four.

—"Never pull down the flag. I'll send more soon," wrote Comrade Hays, Columbia, S. D., sending in a list of six.

—Have just read Debs' reply to Roosevelt. It's a corker. I want fifty copies.—Comrade Bugbee, Corvallis, Ore.

—If you believe we shall win by working, get busy as did Comrade Werner, Branscomb, Cal., who sent in a list of four.

—The four new names received from Comrade Archuleta, Albuquerque, N. M., will soon be the names of four good Socialists.

—In five minutes Comrade Sanders, Willow Branch, Cal., secured four new readers which was a minute and a quarter to each one.

—Comrade Miss Lottie Hildebrand, Portland, Ore., rustled around among her friends and neighbors and secured a list of five for the Appeal.

—Enclosed find money order for six subs which were found floating in the surf at this place May 1st.—Comrade Rockwell, Santa Barbara, Cal.

—Comrade Muhlberg, San Pedro, Cal., says this going down of the Appeals' list makes him fidgety and he got out and secured a list of five new subscribers.

—Comrade Detrick, Reuben, Ore., is loading up with literature. That's a good idea, comrade, as the supply is limited at the little old Appeal now.

—Comrade Dutton, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, writes that "The Appeal is making friends and Socialists fast" and sends in a list of six to prove his statement.

—We can't get the Co-operative Commonwealth without the aid of women. The Progressive Woman will make Socialists of them. With Appeal one year, 60c.

—Don't let the Socialist movement be a one-sex affair. We need the women. They need The Progressive Woman, the only Socialist paper for women. With Appeal one year, 60c.

—Comrade Rewer, Quartzburg, Idaho, handed us a lemon in the form of five subscriptions. The office boy said it was a lemon at least, but the others seemed to be real well pleased with the contents.

—Very little ever comes to the man who sits down and waits for it. At least that is not the way Comrade Runaquist, Glenburn, N. D., secured the list of four that is now being guarded by the Bull Dog.

—Instead of going slumming, Comrade Miller, Eugene, Ore., went subbing and came back with the names of four who promised to read the Appeal and see if they could discover the way out of their present dilemma.

—When Comrade Usher, of Houlton, Ore., arrived with a list of four he glanced down the long room where the young ladies are at work and decided he would trust the list to the care of some of the damsels rather than run the risk of walking down between the two rows of desks.

—When Comrade Lynch, Trail, Ore., arrived with a list of four the Office Boy could not be found and the list was turned over to the Bull Dog. The boy was later discovered holding an interesting conversation with a young lady and reprimanded severely by the Fairy, who discovered him.

—Comrade Letser, Inchot, Idaho, goes after the natives around him with some mighty convincing arguments and makes them think they want the Appeal whether they do or not, but it is not long after it gets to visiting their homes until they are sure they do want it. He sent in a list of four last week.

—A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR, by Josephine Conger-Kaneko, is a story from life. It gives you a vivid description of the struggles of working girls in the great cities, the methods of the white slavers, and the general lives of the poor. One of the best sellers of the year. Paper, 25c. The Progressive Woman Publishing Co., Girard, Kan.

—The Army Editor takes this opportunity to say that she wishes the comrades of the Appeal Army could come in and read the letters which we have been receiving from all parts of the United States and many foreign countries since the May Day issue went out and since the trial of Comrade Warren. It would surely be an inspiration that would last you a long time.

—Comrade J. J. Bryan, one of the oldest Socialists in California, will soon reach his 70th year. For years he has fought the battle of the working class in Vina, Cal., his untiring efforts commanding the respect of republicans and democrats alike and the great esteem of the wage earner. He was the first man to cast a Socialist vote in Tehama county, and from that small beginning the Socialist vote at the last national election amounted to over three hundred.

—The Office Boy is on the verge of a blow-up. He is so mad he can hardly contain himself. He says that he just knows that the comrades on the firing line are going to train all their guns on the Appeal and fire in subscriptions at a faster rate than ever known in the world's history, now that they know that Comrade Warren has been convicted, and he says he don't see what ever made the jury at Ft. Scott do it. Just as he finished his speech in walked Comrade Taylor, Elida, N. M., with a list of four and the boy felt that he was justified in all he had said and more.

—It would seem from reading the May Day issue that you have captured the big club that so many thought would smash the trusts. Who would have thought that he who handled it so daintily would have knocked off the varnish and splintered it up in this manner by throwing it at the rock of Socialism. But this often happens to a man on retreat. He throws away his weapon of warfare. He is now, probably, hunting an African club for the next campaign. Kindly pick up the splinters, glue them together and keep the club as a memento for what it hasn't done.—Comrade Nulton, San Diego, Cal.

—The following interesting letter comes from Comrade Tittel, Stockton, Cal.: "I am now fully two scores of years in the fight of the working class against their plutocratic enemies. I joined the Socialist movement early in the spring of 1869 in the capital of Hungary, Budapest. When the first central committee was formed (it was called editorial committee) I was elected one of those ten men. Later, but before the start of the Parisian commune, I joined the party started by Karl Marx, named the International Workingmen's association and the number of my diploma was 279. But the prosecution abroad drove me to this so-called free country and here I was soon declared an anarchist because I could not help but talk class struggle to my fellow workers—result, a black list not a whit better than in the old countries. I am one of the charter members of the local here—their first secretary."

PARTY NOTES.

Locals or organizations desiring addresses by Comrades Gaylord or Mills should address Carl D. Thompson, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Milwaukee county, Wisconsin, comrades are arranging for a course of 120 lectures to begin the first of September and close with the end of February. Twenty Socialist branches have arranged for six lectures each.

Comrade Winfield R. Gaylord, state senator of Wisconsin, has been engaged by the New York state committee to speak at the big picnic at Brooklyn on Saturday, June 12, and in New York City on Sunday, June 13. He will then give eight days to addresses in the state.

The Wisconsin assembly has turned down the Socialist resolution demanding the abrogation of the extradition treaty with Russia. This resolution, it will be remembered, passed the state senate with little opposition. The assembly seems to be disposed to let no Socialist measure pass at this session.

The state committee of Oklahoma is making great use of its opportunities. It is arranging from thirty to ninety dates for Socialist lectures at chautauquas in its state. It has engaged Comrade Walter Thomas Mills for these addresses. Comrade Mills has just finished a most successful lecture tour in the Dakotas and Indiana.

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TEN THOUSAND MORE.

On hand last report $2,374.57
Total received since last report..... 35.10
Amount on hand $2,429.67

The fund for sending the Appeal to ten thousand officers of trade unions has now been completed and their names have been added to the list and the Appeal will go to them from now on. The effect of thus reaching ten thousand officers of trade unions will no doubt be felt in many ways before the year is over. We appreciate this respons of our contributors and thank them one and all for having enabled us to send ten thousand copies of the Appeal for a year where they will do the greatest possible good. This is another job of propaganda finished. It is another factor in the education of the working class and another influence added to those already in operation making for emancipation. The last contributors to this fund are as follows:

Name.	State.	Am't.	Name.	State.	Am't.
S Dinkins,	Ala.	$1.00	C Ass,	Minn.	$1.00
D Long,	Ariz.	1.00	E Worgnone,	Nev.	2.00
H Colliom,	Cal.	1.00	A Erickson,	Nev.	1.50
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H Celler,	Ill.	.50	S Birdsall,	S D.	1.00
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J Haskins,	Ia.	1.00	J Hartle,	Wash.	.50
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Bundle Brigade.

Name.	State.	No.	Name.	State.	No.
W Jordan,	Colo.	5	G Hirschmann,	N J.	5
C Parrill,	Col.	4	Tyler,	Ok.	5
D Banks,	Col.	4	T Hankins,	Ore.	5
A Bohlender,	Ill.	4	M Breuer,	Ore.	10
H Smith,	Ill.	5	M Johnson,	Ore.	5
O Lander,	Ind.	4	R Klose,	Pa.	4
W Traub,	Ia.	4	J Colberson,	Tex.	5
I Ford,	Ky.	4	C Farnum,	Vt.	5
L Sladick,	Minn.	5	W Giles,	Wash.	5
J McGee,	Minn.	5	W Milburn,	Wis.	5
F Martin,	N. J.	5	M Pharmacy,	Wyo.	10
J Timmons,	N J.	10	J Everett,	Can.	4

European Notes

Comrade Zeretelly, deputy of the second Russian duma, has received news of the death of Comrade Arfall Djaparidje, a leader of the Social Democratic party who was arrested and sentenced to Siberia after his election to the duma by the people of Tiflis. He died in a train on the way to Sebastopol and it is feared that he was murdered.

Servians may transfer their capital from Belgrade to Nisch for fear of further trouble with Austria.

Comrade Andrea Costa, Socialist vice president in the Italian parliament, has refused to meet the king. "We are taking this stand," he said, "not out of enmity to a person, but to an institution." His act has been applauded by thousands.

In spite of bad business, "Humanite," published by Comrade Jaures in Paris, has now a circulation of 53,000 copies daily. This despite the fact that thousands of workers haven't the penny with which to buy a paper during these "hard times."

Rossel, a Socialist and authority of military questions in France, publicly asks all officers who are Socialists to come out openly and say so. He contends that if the man is a model officer it will do much good and no harm. Rossel favors a citizens' militia.

The International Woman's Suffrage convention is on in London. The meetings are being held in St. James hall with an American woman as chairwoman.

Comrade August Bebel, of Germany, received 3,000 marks for making one speech into a graphophone, and he will also receive royalty on all sales. His speeches are greatly in demand in Europe, hence the offer.

Turkey will now proceed into the her next step in normal development as a constitutional nation. The revolution is over, and the new social revolution is on in good force.

One of the richest peers in England, Honorable Charles Lister, son and heir of Lord Ribblesdale, has become a Socialist. In a speech introducing Victor Grayson in Rochdale he said: "I want to live to see the day when the aristocrats of England will parade through the streets with banners bearing the inscription, 'Curse Your Charity; We Want Work.'"

May Day this year was one of the biggest yet. In Paris the government had special ships and troops heavily armed ready to shoot at a moments notice. Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia and even in the larger Russian cities the day was one of rejoicing and parade.

Throughout Belgium the Socialists are making use of the moving picture tad now on throughout the world by giving daily exhibitions for a low price to the public. The profits are turned into the party fund, and the pictures are of an educational nature taken especially for them by companies under contract.

The Social Democratic Woman's Propaganda society of Holland held its first annual convention at Rotterdam with sixteen societies represented by delegates. The plan outlined to secure the ballot for all women will be the guiding star for the year.

Now that Turkey and Persia have taken revolutionary steps, the entire east seems to have awakened. A woman named Bibi Halima has started a revolutionary movement in Afghanistan with headquarters at Herat on the western coast.

To Local Secretaries.

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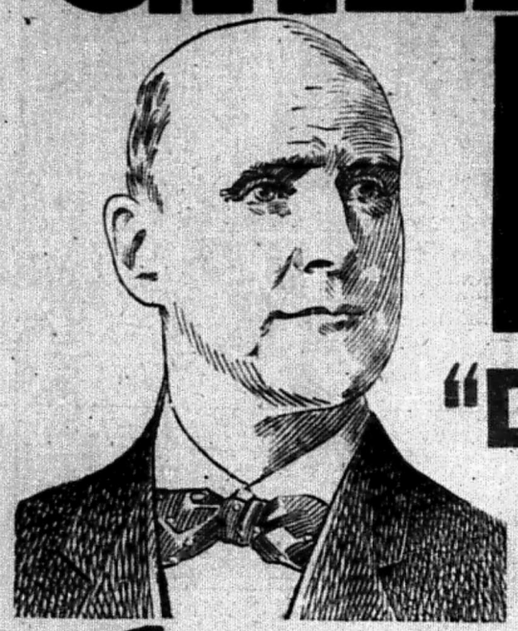

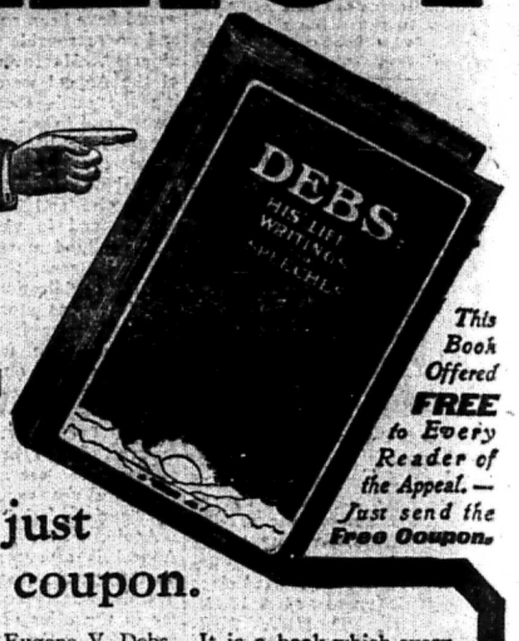

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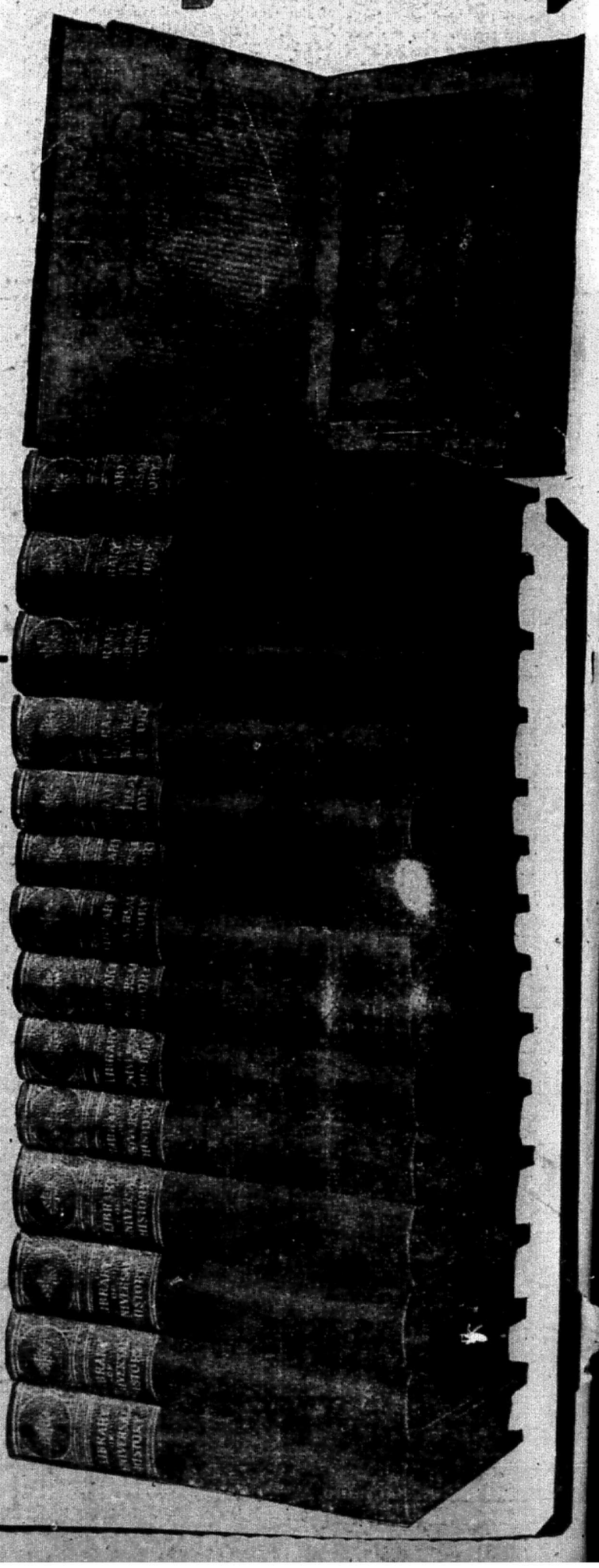

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