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J.A. WAYLAND
FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

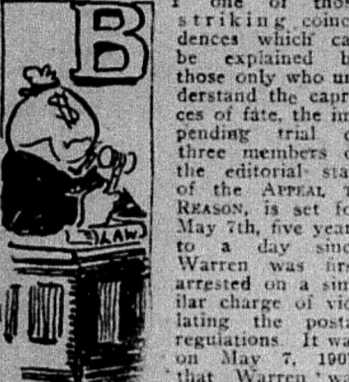
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TRIAL OF APPEAL EDITORS AT FT. SCOTT, MAY 7th

THE FEDERAL COURT vs. APPEAL TO REASON

"It was a stormy session that resulted in the indictment of Warren and his fellow publishers. The indictment followed the Girard man's recent conviction in the federal courts and the subsequent pardon at the hands of the president. Before the grand jury was called, Bone was summoned to Washington, where he discussed the Warren charges with George W. Wickersham, attorney general. Then Bone came to Kansas City and went to work."—Topeka Journal.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS



One of those striking coincidences which can be explained by those only who understand the caprices of fate, the impending trial of three members of the editorial staff of the APPEAL TO REASON, is set for May 7th, five years to a day since Warren was first arrested on a similar charge of violating the postal regulations. It was on May 7, 1907, that Warren was arrested on an indictment charging him with having transgressed the postal laws by mailing a reward for the capture of Taylor, the fugitive from Kentucky, and on May 7, 1912, exactly five years later, he will be tried in the same court room on another indictment charging him with breach of the postal laws by having mailed a report of the disclosures made at the Leavenworth prison.

In the first case Warren alone was indicted; in the second case now approaching trial not only Warren, but Wayland and Phifer of the editorial staff are also named in the indictment and all are, according to Prosecutor Bone who has the case in charge, booked for the federal prison at hard labor.

The First Trial.

The first trial dragged over a period of almost four years in spite of the fact that the defendant did everything in his power to have his case speedily tried as guaranteed under the constitution. Arraigned May 7, 1907, Warren was unable to secure a trial for two years, or until May 3, 1909. Each time the case was called the government pleaded for a postponement until the sum of twelve thousand dollars in the shape of fees and costs had been assessed against the APPEAL as one of the means which had been put upon by the prosecution to put it out of business. When the case was finally called after two years of hedging and subterfuge, Warren was tried by a packed jury and found guilty according to the cut and dried program which had been agreed upon before the indictment was returned.

July 1, 1909, two months after he was found guilty, Judge Pollock pronounced sentence. Appeal was taken to the circuit court of appeals and here the case was allowed to hang fire almost another year or until May 9, 1910, when the case was finally heard. Nearly six months more passed before the court of appeals, on November 21, 1910, announced its decision in the affirmation of the decision of the lower court. Warren reported for jail, but no certified copy of the decision of the circuit court had been received and again the case hung in suspense until February 1st of the following year, 1911, when President Taft, without solicitation and with an unexpected turn on his part that created a sensation, issued a pardon to Warren and ordered the penalty assessed against him reduced to a fine of one hundred dollars, collectible by civil process only.

"Speedy Trial."

WARREN spurned the pardon, returning the copy received by him to Taft and declaring that he would not pay a cent of the fine. That fine imposed by President Taft upon Warren and the APPEAL has not been paid and the government has made no attempt to collect it by either civil or other process. All of which goes to show how speedily an undesirable citizen charged with an offense is granted trial in accordance with his constitutional guarantee, and how the federal authorities, the official lackeys of ruling capitalism, get out of the hole when they cannot get away with it.

Swearing Vengeance.

LET us now give attention to the salient points in the case approaching trial. It was on April 29, 1911, that the APPEAL made its expose of the shocking conditions which prevailed behind the walls of the Leavenworth prison. The nature of these conditions need not for the present be discussed. Suffice it here to say that the APPEAL's report created a profound sensation. A government investigation speedily followed. Notwithstanding previous investigations had proved a fiasco on account of the powerful political influences of the gang in control of the prison, the wide publicity given to the facts by the APPEAL made it impossible to suppress them and as a result the accused deputy warden, the chief offender, was removed from office by forced resignation. This left the prison politicians and their moochers and hangers-on in a perfect rage against the APPEAL. They swore vengeance and they lost no time in plotting to get the APPEAL's scalp.

These prison officials and court dignitaries soon found a way to act. It was not wrong in their eyes to commit the most revolting

outrages against the wards of the state in their charge, but it was a most heinous crime to break the news of such outrages to the unsuspecting people. In this paragraph we have the theory of the present case in a nutshell.

The expose of the Leavenworth prison was the expose of the prison officials and the court officials who were accessories to and beneficiaries of the crimes perpetrated in that prison. That was the APPEAL's mortal offense. That is why its editors were indicted and why they are now threatened with sentence to the very prison their exposure has made eternally infamous.

Now bear the dates in mind, as these are important to a clear understanding of this case which, unless all signs fail, will be one of the most celebrated ever tried in this country. April 29, 1911, the APPEAL made its exposure; September 21st the deputy warden was driven to resign; November 14th, less than sixty days later, the APPEAL editors were indicted by a federal grand jury, the same jury that Prosecutor Harry Bone declared he was "running."

The APPEAL would have been ready for trial within a week, but for reasons of its own the prosecution set the trial for May 7th, six months following the indictment.

With his characteristic persistency Warren contrived to break into the grand jury room before the indictment was returned. Prosecutor Bone squirmed, but there was no help for it. Warren ventured a polite suggestion in connection with his appearance before the grand jury when Bone turned upon him in a violent rage and roared: "I am running this grand jury and I want you to distinctly know it."

In his brutal rage he blurted out the naked truth.

It was his own private grand jury with which to sandbag the APPEAL TO REASON.

We ask the two million or more readers of this paper to make a mental note of the words above quoted from Prosecutor Bone for the purpose of connecting them later with some other words of the same sinister import, to show that there is a judicial conspiracy against this paper and that those who are masquerading as the guardians of the law are in fact in connivance with criminals and that they are perverting the law to defeat justice and to attain their own disreputable ends.

Warren's brief appeal to the jurors, in spite of the restrictions placed upon him, came near upsetting Bone's plans and turning enough jurors against him to defeat his indictment. Bone exploded with rage the second time and again the truth came out: "I have received my instructions from Washington."

This was letting the cat out of the bag with a vengeance. But there was no help for it. Warren and the APPEAL had to be indicted and desperate cases require desperate means.

Clinching the Case.

TO clinch the case with the grand jury and to counteract the effect of Warren's speech, Bone harangued the jurors in tones that rang with threat and intimidation, the burden of his plea being that he had been called to Washington, that the law had been laid down to him, and that the grand jury would be in contempt of the department of justice if it failed to bring an indictment.

Within twenty minutes after Warren withdrew the indictment was returned by the foreman of the jury, in typewritten form. Bone had seen to that. The indictment was ready to announce before Warren was heard.

It is necessary here to show the connecting link between the prison officials at Leavenworth and the administrative officials at Washington. This link appears in the person of Honorable D. R. Anthony, Jr., congressman of the First Kansas district, in which the Leavenworth prison is located. In a previous issue it was fully shown what connection Anthony had with said prison and what part he had in the appointment of its officials and the control of its affairs.

Anthony, the congressman, with the Leavenworth prison as one of his district perquisites; Anthony, the editor of the Leavenworth Times, and Anthony, the vice president of the Union Overall company, a prison-sweating concern—being one and the same—constituting the exploiter's trinity of law-maker, prison-sweater, and sentiment-molder, is the connecting link between Washington and Leavenworth in the manipulation of the national and district judicial machinery to send the APPEAL editors to prison and put a quietus on their paper.

The indictment against the APPEAL editors now follows:

In the said division of said district and within the jurisdiction of the said court at the city of Girard, in the county of Crawford, State of Kansas, there and to be believed, did then and there, wilfully, unlawfully, knowingly and feloniously, conspire, combine and deliver in the postoffice of the United States at the city of Girard, Kansas, on the 20th day of April, A. D. 1911, and having on it the name of J. A. Wayland and the name of Fred D. Warren, managing editor, which said publication or newspaper contained certain indecent, obscene, lewd and lascivious printed matter, the said printed matter purporting to be the copy of an affidavit made by a woman whose name was not given, and who was at the time of executing said alleged affidavit the wife of a citizen of Leavenworth, Kan., of newspaper, entitled APPEAL TO REASON, published at the city of April, 1911, was enclosed in a paper wrapped and addressed to one, L. C. Chance, United States Marshal at Fort Scott, Kansas, and said division of said district, and there knowing that said publication and newspaper contained said indecent, obscene, lewd and lascivious printed matter and of the character above alleged.

The APPEAL freely admits what the attorney general says about "the most extreme and sensational form" in which its charges appeared. That was the only possible form in which they could appear. We can scarcely conceive of anything that could be more sensational than the bare truth of what occurred in and about the Leavenworth prison during Lemon's deputy wardenship. The mildest possible statement of the actual facts would appear as "extreme and sensational" for the simple reason that the facts are of that nature and can be expressed in no other terms, nor received with any other sensations.

The reader will also take note that Attorney Wickersham is particular not to quote the report of the prison examiners for the education of his correspondent. He has written a long letter to Mr. Ransdell, but there was no space in it for even the smallest part of the report he had on file. The reason for this is that any quotation from that report would have given the lie to his letter. Instead of writing what he had to say in his letter, he very discreetly asked that Mr. Ransdell call at his office that he might verbally inform him of what he did not dare to reduce to paper.

Note particularly these words: "I think it would be incompatible with the public interest to publish it, or any part of it, but I should be very glad to talk with you about the case if you will stop and see me some time when you are passing, and I think I can readily satisfy you, etc."

PROSECUTOR FEARS PUBLICITY. WICKERSHAM, for reasons obvious enough, does not dare to take the public in his confidence. He presents here a striking contrast to the APPEAL TO REASON, whose acts are all done in the open light of day.

The whole issue is epitomized in this contrast: Wickersham wants secrecy and darkness; the APPEAL insists upon publicity and light. If there is anything in this affair that the people have not a right to know it is because it is rotten and if the figure is permissible, here is the milk in the can. Wickersham gives his whole case away when he denies the people the right to know about the conduct of their own servants. Wickersham

and then there intending the same to be transmitted and delivered by the postoffice establishment of the United States to said address, L. C. Chance, at Fort Scott, Kansas, said division of said district, and there knowing that said publication and newspaper contained said indecent, obscene, lewd and lascivious printed matter, the said printed matter purporting to be the copy of an affidavit made by a woman whose name was not given, and who was at the time of executing said alleged affidavit the wife of a citizen of Leavenworth, Kan., of newspaper, entitled APPEAL TO REASON, published at the city of April, 1911, was enclosed in a paper wrapped and addressed to one, L. C. Chance, United States Marshal at Fort Scott, Kansas, and said division of said district, and there knowing that said publication and newspaper contained said indecent, obscene, lewd and lascivious printed matter and of the character above alleged.

United States Attorney, MORTON ALBRIGHT, Clerk.

Warren Alone Responsible.

PRIOR to the finding of the indictment L. C. Chance, government inspector for the benefit of the APPEAL in particular, called at the APPEAL office to interrogate Warren. The latter took the precaution to have a stenographer report what passed between them. Chance asked Warren if he assumed entire responsibility for the publication of the objectionable matter. Warren answered explicitly that he accepted absolute and sole responsibility.

Wayland was away from Girard at the time the matter in question was published and it was a matter entirely outside of Phifer's jurisdiction. Warren explicitly stated that he was solely responsible and yet both Wayland and Phifer were included in the indictment for reasons which will appear later.

Instructions from Washington.

WE now call attention to a letter written by Attorney General George W. Wickersham, in answer to a letter addressed to him by Congressman J. E. Ransdell of Louisiana, at the request of T. E. Hinton, a friend of the APPEAL and an enemy of judicial corruption, who has taken an active part in securing a square deal for the APPEAL in the present fight. Wickersham's letter follows:

Wickersham Shows His Hand.

Hon. Jos. E. Ransdell, House of Representatives, U. S. My Dear Mr. Ransdell:—I have your favor of the 15th inst. regarding a petition signed by a number of people of your district, urging you to ask a congressional investigation of the management of the Leavenworth prison, and intimating that murder, and other horrible crimes had been committed there also, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Ransdell, who forwarded the petition to you, you.

I think the petition was originated by the publisher of the Appeal to Reason, a publication in Kansas which you probably know something about; but aside from that I have just had a very thorough investigation made by members of this department into the management of that penitentiary and concerning the accuracy of such general statements as are referred to in the caption to this petition. As a result of that investigation, while there was no testimony sustaining any of the charges of immorality, while there is a character that would have been received in any court, and while no evidence was forthcoming sustaining the charge of murder, or of other revolting crimes, I found that the deputy warden had lost his usefulness, and I therefore accepted his resignation, and have appointed as successor, one Mr. Mackey, who has been United States Marshal in Kansas for nine years past and is regarded as a highly competent man. I have made certain other changes in the penitentiary as a result of the investigation which I find will tend to remove any foundation for the charges which have been made, and which in the most extreme and sensational form, have appeared in the APPEAL TO REASON and other sensational newspapers. The investigation made by members of this department, and I think it would be incompatible with the public interest to publish it, or any part of it, but I should be very glad to talk with you about the case if you will stop and see me some time when you are passing, and I think I can readily satisfy you, by reference to portions of the report which shall feel at liberty to show you, that no such action as the petitioners suggest need be taken in the public interest. I return the petition to you, and I am, respectfully yours, GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, Attorney General.

This adroit letter by Wickersham, the Wall Street attorney general, the former attorney of the steel trust and the sugar trust and other trusts, and one of the legal advisers of Morgan,

Guggenheim, Carnegie and Co., will bear careful reading. Does it not strike one as strange, to say the least, that Wickersham would not charge against Deputy Warden Lemon unsuspended and yet remove him from office?

If the proof had not been positive and convincing, and yet that official had been removed in disgrace, the attorney general would have been guilty of nothing less than a crime. The very removal of this recreant keeper is prima facie evidence that the APPEAL'S charges against him were sustained.

"Extreme and Sensational."

It is also to be noted that upon the strength of the APPEAL'S charges, the attorney general admits having made "certain other changes in the penitentiary as a result of the investigation," besides filling the vacancy of the deposed deputy warden with "a highly competent man."

The APPEAL freely admits what the attorney general says about "the most extreme and sensational form" in which its charges appeared. That was the only possible form in which they could appear. We can scarcely conceive of anything that could be more sensational than the bare truth of what occurred in and about the Leavenworth prison during Lemon's deputy wardenship. The mildest possible statement of the actual facts would appear as "extreme and sensational" for the simple reason that the facts are of that nature and can be expressed in no other terms, nor received with any other sensations.

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himself is but a servant of the people and yet he dares to treat his masters with contempt.

The report of the examiners of the Leavenworth prison, although certainly not colored to favor the APPEAL, would condemn Wickersham and his chief, Taft; it would condemn Anthony, the prison's representative in congress, Pollock, its representative on the bench, and Bone, its representative in the grand jury room, just as it has condemned Lemon, the deputy warden, and sent him into private life with the infamy of his foul deeds upon his head.

Challenge to Wickersham.

THE APPEAL TO REASON challenges Attorney General Wickersham to give that report to the American people. They have a right to it and if it is denied them they will know the reason why.

That report was prepared by the APPEAL'S enemies and yet that report will vindicate the APPEAL.

Is this strange? Not at all. The facts are so well established, the proofs so overwhelming that there is no way around them and the examiners simply had to report as they did and Wickersham was compelled to act as he did in removing the deputy warden and making the other changes he admits having made to correct the horrible abuses exposed by this paper.

In what the attorney general has written in this letter to an inquiring congressman it is clearly evident that

the nature of the report he is suppressing is such that he does not dare to even quote it on paper, but can only venture to do so in a personal conversation of which there is no danger that it may leak out and prove "incompatible with the public interest."

In all the federal court proceedings against the APPEAL from the very start everything has been done under the cloak of secrecy. The star chamber sessions in the grand jury room would furnish interesting reading to the general public. The honest men on both juries could find no reason for indicting Warren and the APPEAL and some of them did not hesitate to say so. In fact, it was only after prolonged sessions, continued from time to time, and after heated discussion that true bills were found and indictments returned, and this only after the federal procurator, Pollock's man Friday, had used

the prestige of his office and all the powerful backing behind him to browbeat and bully the jury into making a case against the APPEAL staff.

Stormy Grand Jury Sessions.

THE sessions of the grand jury which returned the second indictment, the one now approaching trial, were especially stormy and indicated beyond doubt that the honest jurors protested to the last against the indictment of men against whom there was no case. The Fort Scott Tribune in its report said: "There were some lively sessions of the federal grand jury in Fort Scott last week. It appears that the covering of the town with the copies of the APPEAL TO REASON on the day the grand jury met here in which issue it was demanded that Warren be given a hearing before the jury, had its effect, for the jury, after standing out for three days and refusing to indict Warren, finally succeeded in having the district attorney consent to giving him an opportunity to be heard. This was unprecedented. The jury for two days had been in charge of a deputy district attorney who presented the case against Warren. It is said an indictment was persistently refused by the jury and Mr. Bone was hurriedly called here to take charge of things. He finally consented to give Warren a hearing, but refused to permit him to introduce any other witnesses or to be represented before the jury by his attorney."

The correspondent of the Topeka Journal sent in an extended report from which we quote the following: Warren and Bone before Grand Jury.

It was a stormy session that resulted in the indictment of Warren and his fellow publishers. The indictment followed the Girard man's recent conviction in the federal courts and the subsequent pardon at the hands of the president. Before the grand jury was called, Bone was summoned to Washington, where he discussed the Warren charges with George W. Wickersham, attorney general. Then Bone came back to Kansas and went to work.

An agreement had been reached by the federal officers that an indictment would be asked on the publication of one of Warren's recent articles in which he told many unpleasant facts about the management of the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. Before the meeting of the grand jury Warren received a bunch that he was to be indicted on the day following.

The week before the hearing, Warren devoted the entire first page of the Socialist publication in a review of the probable action of the jury. He said the entire would be in the hands of the district attorney and defied Bone to give him a hearing.

After Bone had closed his statement before the grand jury he produced a copy of the APPEAL TO REASON in which Warren made his attack. He read the entire article to the jury and told them they could take such action as they desired. After a conference the jury sent for Warren.

At the hotel that day Bone, Wickersham and Attorney Sheppard of the action. The editor and his lawyers wanted to bring witnesses and attorneys before the grand jury. When they were informed that the jury asked for only Warren, there was a wordy conflict between the lawyers that is said to have resulted in Bone passing the fighting word to Sheppard.

Bone's Animus Revealed.

It was in this "wordy conflict" that Bone roared: "I am running this grand jury and I want you distinctly to know it." He would not have said this in a normal state of mind. He would gladly have recalled it five minutes later. But it was too late. It is now of record. We ask our readers not to fail to get the full import of these words.

What Bone meant—and he could have meant nothing else—was that it was his jury and that it must do his bidding. This is important to have of record by Bone himself. Of course we would have known without this that Bone had a grand jury that he was running for his own purpose, but it is better to have Bone's own word for it. The question now is settled by Bone himself that the indictment of the APPEAL is his indictment, Pollock's indictment, Anthony's indict-

ment, Lemon's indictment, Wickersham's indictment, and Taft's indictment.

It is of importance to the APPEAL that the bringing of this indictment, the persons by whom it was brought, and the object it is intended to accomplish, shall be clearly understood.

The federal grand jury of itself would never have indicted the APPEAL editors on the evidence brought before them on their own account. That much is beyond dispute. For three days a deputy prosecutor harangued away at the jurors in a vain attempt to force an indictment and failed. Finally, as a last resort, Bone himself was hurriedly sent for and it was then that he personally compelled the indictment by the pressure he was able to bring to bear upon the jury which an adroit, and unscrupulous politician, like Bone, knows so well how to employ. It was to clinch his browbeating and bullying of the jury that he snorted:

Orders from Washington.

I RECEIVED MY ORDERS IN WASHINGTON SIX WEEKS AGO."

This was the climax and the turning point. It was the command of the national administration at Washington, as Bone explained, that the APPEAL TO REASON be indicted and the editors sent to prison. He had been called there especially to be given his positive orders and it remained for the jury to see that these were carried out. Bone gave the jurors to understand that the indictment was ordered by the department of justice at Washington and that the grand jury was bound to obey it.

In the meantime—and long before Warren was permitted to appear—the indictment had already been prepared and only awaited formal announcement.

The twelve members of the grand jury that had agreed to vote for the indictment, had only, like so many demagogues, to nod the sanction of the command of the court and give it legal force.

Technicalities Barred.

THERE will be no sparring over technicalities in the coming trial. That species of judicial humbuggery which involves post-humbers interminable and rotes to correspond, will be dispensed with in this case. It will be a different kind of a trial than has ever been held before and for obvious reasons it will be a trial of national interest.

Nine-tenths of the average court proceedings are pure and unadulterated fraud to hoodwink and fleec the credulous and helpless victims. In this case the APPEAL proposes to face the main issue squarely, and its editors will insist that the prosecution shall do the same. If by resorting to technicalities the editors could secure their immediate release they would scorn it.

Wayland, Warren and Phifer will on May 7th be ready to answer for themselves and for the APPEAL TO REASON before Judge Pollock.

They have committed no offense. They have simply performed a public duty in clearing out a hell-hole of capitalism in which society's unfortunate wards were debauched to satisfy the brutal lust and swell the private profits of the political hyenas who are behind this prosecution.

Guilty If Truth Is Crime.

THE editors of the APPEAL TO REASON plead guilty to having uncovered the foul and stinking black hole of Leavenworth, the reaches of which sickened and shocked the community, and if this be crime under a Christian civilization and a just God they stand ready to atone for it without a murmur of complaint.

The truth is sometimes garbed in repulsive forms that make conventional purists hold up their lily-white hands in horror. They are themselves all unconsciously so perverted and their consciences so dead that the truth sends a thrill of horror through their sensitive nerves.

If the APPEAL is guilty of crime for circulating the report of the rottenness of a federal prison then the expositors of every iniquity in history have been criminals.

The Leavenworth prison is not the only prison that has ever been tested, but the APPEAL TO REASON is the only paper ever indicted for making the exposure.

If the same exposure had been made in exactly the same words by a capitalist paper Harry Bone, Judge Pollock and the crowd behind them would never have dreamed of indicting it.

"... I have just had a very thorough investigation made by examiners of this department into the management of that (Leavenworth) penitentiary. I found that the deputy warden had lost his usefulness, and I therefore accepted his resignation. ... I have made certain other changes in the penitentiary as a result of the investigation. ... The report of the examiners deals with a large number of matters. ... I think it would be incompatible with the public interest to publish it, or any part of it."—Attorney General Wickersham to Congressman J. E. Ransdell.

the same law to mail an ordinary dictionary. All the words found in the APPEAL report are also found in the dictionary, and the words in the APPEAL were chosen with particular care to have the report appear in the most proper and least offensive words possible in describing a condition of moral filth, putridity and crime, the very thought of which makes a strong man shudder.

Our readers must bear in mind—and this is indeed remarkable—that the APPEAL editors are not indicted because the APPEAL report was false—but because it was true.

What a commentary upon our judicial system, and upon our public morality!

Not an attempt has been made to show that the APPEAL has been guilty of falsehood or misrepresentation. On the contrary the truth of what it printed is admitted by every one. The indictment itself bears evidence of this and the prosecution dare not deny it.

To boil it all down and sum it up in a paragraph the APPEAL editors are haled into Pollock's court to be sentenced to Leavenworth for uncovering a festering ulcer on the body social and printing the simple truth, in proper language, about a hidden crime against society.

Should the APPEAL have remained silent and suffered the iniquities of Leavenworth to continue indefinitely? If it had done that then indeed would its editors deserve to go to penitentiary for the rest of their lives.

But the APPEAL editors pursued the opposite course. They proclaimed the truth without fear or favor and of this they are guilty and proud that they are guilty. They would not be innocent of such a charge and guilty of the far more serious charge of moral cowardice and social crime.

The World Seething with Revolt.

THE world today is seething with revolt against these very crimes of the ruling class, the powers of which are conspiring to suppress this revolt by strangling its voice.

The strike at Lawrence and the brutality of the authorities in the treatment of the half-starved victims of the slave-pens in that "poor" house city; the threatened strike of three-quarters of a million coal miners who have been reduced to rags and crusts; the uprising of the British workers and their families who have been forced into the very jaws of starvation; the millions of the millions of Mexican peons who have been subjected to the most heinous outrages by the lords of capitalist misrule; the hundreds of thousands of women that are slaving in our mills and factories for a pittance; the increasing numbers of young girls who are being driven under the lash of hunger into lives of shame; the countless little children who are being literally deformed alive in our privately owned industrial slave pens, all these are involved and at issue in the trial to take place at Fort Scott on May 7th, when the APPEAL TO REASON is to be bound and gagged and its editors buried in penitentiary cells for voicing the revolt of the slaves and releasing them to the call of the revolution to rise in their might and overthrow the brutal system that is crushing out their lives and emancipate themselves and their loved ones from the horrors of slavery and starvation.

Publicity All the Appeal Asks.

ALL the APPEAL asks in this case can be expressed in a single word, publicity!

The light of truth will defeat the judicial sandbaggers and put all the scoundrels behind them to flight. They need secrecy, silence. They dread the awakening of the sleeping people. Well do they know that the success of their conspiracy depends upon secrecy. They can succeed only under the cloak of darkness.

In striking contrast to these gumshoe politicians and dark-lantern court hirelings the APPEAL insists upon having the case tried before the people, the whole people. It has nothing to fear except in not being able to turn on the light.

The very hour the truth is known the case is won for the APPEAL and its editors are vindicated.

What Shall the Verdict Be?

THERE never was a time when the APPEAL was needed as much as it is now. We are rapidly verging on a crisis. Capitalism is breaking down at a thousand points.

This movement of the masses would be plunged into chaos without its press to light the way to orderly advancement. The APPEAL calls upon all the people who have the simple intelligence to understand this plain issue and who are on the side of the masses against the plutocratic few who are sapping their life and reducing them to penance and rags, to place their neighbors and to spread it as far as in their power lies, for upon the awakening of the people depends the outcome of the approaching trial which will determine not only the fate of the APPEAL editors but also the question of life or death for the APPEAL TO REASON.

SINCE the army exists chiefly to defend the rich, and enlistments are halting, let us initiate a law compelling every man who possesses property in excess of \$100,000 to serve in the army, as a private, for five years.

"Clothed all in Steel"

The APPEAL Army is "always butting in." Just at the time when the Kansas City Star was getting excited over the nomination of Roosevelt for the presidency, one of the army wrote to the editor and asked him about the Alton deal. The reply was that Roosevelt had nothing to do with it. Then the editor began to really hear from the Army. It was too much and he surrendered. He appeared in a half-column editorial in which he admitted that Roosevelt did sign the bill that made the Alton deal possible. But he says there was no real steal about it. To quote from the Star:

Several inquiries have come to the Star regarding charges made by the APPEAL Army in its Socialist newspaper, that Mr. Roosevelt, as governor of New York, was implicated in the Chicago & Alton scandal of 1900.

The particular charge made is that Mr. Roosevelt helped Harriman unload millions of fraudulent Chicago & Alton bonds and received for his services a handsome fee, by signing a bill when he was governor of New York, authorizing savings banks to invest in these bonds.

The facts in the case are that MR. ROOSEVELT DID SIGN SUCH A BILL.



Comrade Style Schmolle & Mueller Piano. BUY THIS Comrade Style Schmolle & Mueller Piano. You'll get in this instrument the best value for anywhere near the money compared with the price you would have to pay for a piano of the same direct from factory to home plan of selling you a piano on terms.

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Terms of 16 2/3 c a Day. Longer time to pay for one of these superb instruments than for any other piano. You can have a month's use of your Comrade & Mueller Piano while you wait for the money to come.

STUDY SOCIALISM. Every day people write us asking "What books would you suggest that I read in order to understand Socialism thoroughly?" To meet this demand we have prepared this study course below.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO. 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago. Enclosed find \$1.00 for which please mail us one of our beautiful Combinations of Socialist Literature.

SOCIALISTS YOU MUST CONQUER. By Avoiding the Mistakes of the Past. DEPOINTS THE WAY. The theory of Socialism is the theory of administrative style and organization.

THIS SUPERB WORLD'S HISTORY SHIPPED TO YOUR HOME FREE. 15 Big Volumes. 75 Pounds Weight. 700 Illustrations and 5,000 Pages.

LIBRARY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY. Here is the greatest opportunity ever offered. Appeal to Reason readers: an opportunity to have shipped to you the Library of Universal History.

FREE-If you write at once. Send this Free Coupon and we will mail you a full, complete and comprehensive map and profile of the United States.

"Little Story From Life"

This is the story of L. K. Sherman, railroad mail clerk on the Lake Shore; how he saved for twenty-one long years in a mail car a little book called "The Appeal to Reason" and how he finally got it.

Number 57 rattled out of the yards, but Sherman had quit. He had been forced to leave the mail car, but he had not given up. He had hidden the book in his trunk, and he had worked till the letters dropped from their hands and they died.

The life of Mail-Clerk Sherman is the life of the 17,000 others in the postal service who are working for their bread and butter. He had a wife and daughter but they were poor.

When his daughter died they asked him to make affidavit to the fact. He had to make up a letter books until exhausted. He had to work till the letters dropped from their hands and they died.

AN APPEAL FABLE

Story of the Stink. It happened once that there was a carcass in the road from which arose an offensive odor.

It happened once that there was a carcass in the road from which arose an offensive odor. All who passed held their noses, but no one made an effort to remove or bury the putrid annoyance.

Throttling the Press

From Denver Express. BIG BUSINESS has again reached out its mailed fist. Now, through the government at Washington, it seeks to throttle the freedom of the press.

Two years ago Fred Warren, editor of the APPEAL TO REASON, a weekly paper devoted to the furtherance of Socialism, and having a weekly circulation of half a million copies, was sentenced to the federal jail for offering a reward of \$1,000 to anyone who would kidnap and return to Kentucky for trial Ex-Governor Taylor, under indictment in connection with the Goebel murder.

Warren deliberately sacrificed himself to prove that there is one law for the rich and powerful and another for the poor and helpless.

He proved it. For advocating an act for which the supreme court said, in the case of the Colorado miners, their employers could not be punished, he was indicted, fined \$1,000, and sentenced to prison.

Alarmed by an aroused public sentiment, President Taft, unasked, pardoned Warren. The attempt to crush the APPEAL failed.

A year later inmates of the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth reported conditions of brutality and immorality on the part of prison officials which were unbelievable.

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AN APPEAL ARMY STORY

The Awakening. At one time the playlets enacted in wagons at the side of the road became a thing of the past.

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mining that. As for the remuneration of teachers and others, where the product is not so easily determined, it is probable that the returns would be fully equal to the average of the other workers.

How are you going to create men without incentive to create wealth under Socialism? We are not going to do it, or try to do it. We want men to create wealth, a great deal more than they do now, and purpose to give the creators of wealth the incentive of retaining all the wealth they create, instead of dividing up with the non-producers as they do today.

How will the industries be organized under Socialism? For instance if I am working in a shop, will the workers in that shop have full control of the shop or will society as a whole control it? Adjustment of these matters will necessarily be left to the workers themselves and the final outcome will be the better.

If a man should be poor he is jailed on suspicion, and he loathes all that he hath; but if he is rich he's in better condition, and gets an immunity bath. If poor, he's kidnaped and held without trial; and if published from A to Z, and if rich, to subpoena him makes his jail, and get an immunity bath.

Next week will see Charles Edward Russell pitching his tent at Washington for the rest of the session. It is from now on that he will concentrate his attention on the doings at the capital.

There are many excellent Socialist writers but Russell's style, so terse, so scholarly and so brilliant, is his own and puts him in a class by himself.

Whether Socialist or not, the weekly letter from Washington by Charles Edward Russell is well worth reading and those who want to keep up with his writings can do so by remitting \$1.00 to the Coming Nation, Girard Kan, for a year's subscription.

Trying to Suppress a Free Press. From Tom Hickey's Rebel. Some democratic newspapers of Texas have pretended to believe the APPEAL TO REASON, when it accused the United States postoffice department of trying to destroy it by arbitrary rulings.

What is the difference between government ownership and collective ownership? They may be precisely the same, and they may not be. Where the government is purely democratic and titles are vested in the government, it means collective ownership.

The bosses were alarmed. Here was a publication carrying the truth week by week—neither advertising nor offices could divert it from its course. Something must be done to stop it.

How will the industries be organized under Socialism? For instance if I am working in a shop, will the workers in that shop have full control of the shop or will society as a whole control it?

Let the old parties steal our thunder. It will make the noise all the greater.

SOCIALISTS ON THE JOB

The Rochester Times announces that Prof. Kendrick P. Shedd, professor of German at the University of Rochester, has been assigned to the position of lecturer in the department of the college year in June.

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The city election held last November resulted in the election of three city councilmen and the mayor and within seven votes of electing another councilman.

No liberty-loving Englishman can study Germany without being profoundly impressed by the patience, persistence, devotion and courage of the Socialist party.

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And You Keep This Great Engine

We will ship you Schmidt's Chilled Cylinder Gasoline Engine on your simple request without an order or any promise from you. You use the engine for your own pleasure and profit.

Send For FREE Catalogue. Write to us promptly for particulars and we will send you a copy of our new book "How to Use Power." We will also send you a copy of our new book "How to Use Power."

Home Woolen Mills Co. Established 1858. No. 7 River Street Chambersburg, Pa.

FREE Suits. This well-known company makes the startling announcement. To advertise our high-class, made-to-order suits, we are giving away a suit to every customer who orders a suit from us.

We Mean Exactly What We Say. We will award this big handsome gift to you and send it to your name at once. This wonderful offer is absolutely on the square.

Send 70 Samples To Pick From. We have a large stock of samples of our high-class suits. We will send you 70 samples to pick from.

Johnson Has a Book All Ready To Mail To You. Why not send postcard to Johnson, the inventor of the Johnson Reel, and get a copy of his new book "The Johnson Reel" free of charge.

Special Disco Harrow Bargain. Two Levers, Oscillating Steel Spring Scrapers, Steel Weight Boxes, 4-horse Evers complete.

Make \$20 a Day. operating our wonderful CHASSIS CUTTER (patented in 30 countries) in your home.

YOU CAN MAKE FROM \$3 TO \$12 A DAY. We need no experience because we teach you everything and help you to get started.

VETERINARY COURSE AT HOME. \$1200 year and upwards. Complete course in all the latest and most advanced methods of treating all the diseases of all the domestic animals.

AMERICAN MINUTE PHOTO CO. 226 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Every one of the most rigid kind has made the APPEAL possible. As an instance: The dropping of the first figure on your expiration number that appears before your name on the little yellow address label saves 500,000 motions in the course of a year by our linotype operators. By observing this and similar economies, it is possible to print the APPEAL and mail it for forty weeks for twenty-five cents. As prices continue to advance we are forced to observe more economies. For instance, we have been answering all letters that reach the office—or at least attempting to do so. After the subscription for extra copies entered and the order for extra copies filled, the letter is passed on to the editorial room where the pleasant and agreeable task of reading the news from the printing line is taken up. From these letters is made up the Army columns and much of the splendid news on the third page. Answering inquiries is then taken up. And it is here that we are stumped. It is simply impossible to reply to all with a personal letter, so some must be slighted and the ones slighted are usually the oldest and truest friends but they need no words of cheer from us. The new recruit does. Therefore, if your letter of inquiry is not promptly answered, remember it is because we can't reach you all.

Lawrence and Slavery.

The strike at Lawrence is immeasurably more than a strike. It bears all the indications of actual class warfare. The length to which the capitalists have gone to enslave the workers would have been unbelievable had it not actually occurred. But in this instance they have overleaped themselves and their policy of subjugation by brute power has produced a reaction that threatens to have results which they little dreamed. It is not necessary we should go into details about the brutalities inflicted upon the workers, even to the little children, for these have appeared in detail in the capitalist papers, thanks to the fact that labor is now well enough organized to command something of a public hearing in such an emergency.

There was a time when such outrages could be perpetrated upon helpless workers and the general public never hear of it, for the newspapers were in no position to demand a hearing and their masters, owned by the capitalists did not go out of their way to give such news to the people. But it is different now and when the capitalist class undertake to practice such cruelties upon workers as the mill owners of Lawrence have been guilty of the workers of the whole country are aroused and a protest goes forth which the master class are too wise to ignore.

Every such strike as that at Lawrence teaches lessons of great value and ought to be productive of good results. It is certain that if there were no economic and political organization the strike would have been lost before now and the mill operatives would be back in the slave pen under conditions that enslave them again. Whatever of power has been asserted in behalf of the workers at Lawrence has been due solely to organization, without which workers are always helpless and an easy prey to their exploiters.

The power of industrial organization, the unity of all the workers regardless of their particular trade or occupation, crude and imperfect as it is, has certainly made itself felt in the Lawrence strike, while upon the other hand the advantage of a representative in congress has also been demonstrated beyond any question of doubt.

Haywood as the industrial representative in the field at Lawrence, and Berger as the political representative in congress at Washington, clapping hands and multiplying each other in the interest of the workers, is an inspiring spectacle and has a wholesome effect upon the whole working class.

Let no worker hereafter scorn political action. Capitalist politics and working class politics are as different as capitalism and Socialism.

The corruption of capitalist politics is no more an argument against the development of political power by the working class as a means of fighting its battles in the class struggle than the corruption of capitalism is an argument against Socialism.

Berger's influence as a Socialist representative in congress has been of immeasurable benefit to the strikers and to the working class in general, just as Ertor's and Haywood's appearance on the field as the representatives of industrial unity has been of untold benefit to the strikers at Lawrence and elsewhere.

The supreme lesson of the Lawrence strike, as of every other strike, is industrial and political solidarity; the unification of all the workers in one union for economic action and in one party for political action.

Had there been no Socialist representative in congress there would have been no congressional investigation of the situation at Lawrence. It was Berger who called at the white house and virtually compelled the president to demand an investigation by the department of justice of the outrages perpetrated upon the children whose parents were sending them to kind friends in surrounding cities to escape suffering and hunger pangs. It was also Berger who introduced the bill and pushed it through congress demanding a congressional investigation of the working conditions at Lawrence, and the wide publicity which has been given to the industrial slavery that prevails there has been a revelation to the people and the good that will result cannot be overestimated.

The magnificent solidarity of the working class in the United States has been demonstrated in this Lawrence strike as never before. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf, have come expressions of sympathy and support, of protest and indignation.

Slowly but surely the workers are being hammered and mauled into fighting unity in the class struggle.

der such aid as we can, moral and financial, to back up the strikers, and enable them to hold out, and bring the victory from the brutal bosses who have hitherto been in undisputed control of the situation.

All hail to the strikers of Lawrence who have fought so valiantly to uphold the banner of the working class! May they win the day for themselves, their wives and children and their cause, and may we all support them staunchly until the end!

THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION.

George D. Herron is one of the keenest thinkers and one of the clearest and most forceful writers the Socialist movement has produced. We have recently been looking over what was said by him in one of his pamphlets on the subject at the head of this article and we found the following which ought to be written on the heart of every human being:

No man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for his undoing, and for his own brutalization. The possession of power and money is laboriously destructive—both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. And the great man of the past, is he who will seek to create power in the future, and not gain power over his fellow men. He is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether give himself to the life of humanity. All that any man can do for a people, all that any man can do for another man, is to set the man or the people free. Our work is to open to men the gates of life—to lift up the heavenly doors of opportunity to give men opportunity and opportunity will give you men.

These are great thoughts expressed in great words by a great thinker and humanitarian. Herron lives up to what he preaches and in this he is as exceptional as he is in his intellectual capacity. He literally gave himself to humanity. Had he been otherwise, for instance like some of his critics, he could have occupied the highest seat in the temple, been honored as the greatest preacher in America and had wealth and luxury and privileges lavished upon him accordingly. But he preserved his mental and spiritual integrity. He was true to his own great soul and he paid the price in crucifixion, and died the master twenty centuries ago.

For several years Herron has been in Italy seeking to recover some measure of his shattered health. His many friends and comrades will rejoice to know that slowly but surely he is gathering strength and coming into possession of his physical power and energy which were so sadly wasted in his herculean labor years ago when it required real heroism to speak as he spoke and to tell the truth to his own congregation and to a gainsaying world.

Herron's greatest work is still reserved for him and it is most earnestly hoped that his recuperation may now be speedy and complete and that he may have the part in the world movement which is waiting for him and which no one can fill but himself.

EXCHANGING COMPLIMENTS.

The Roosevelt and Taft campaign managers are telling the truth about each other and about their candidates. For instance, Mr. McKinley, Taft's manager, says: "The farmers of the middle west are demanding that Geo. W. Perkins and Medill McCormick, related to prominent officials of the Harvester trust, separate themselves from Mr. Roosevelt and his campaign. In this demand they are only indicating their ignorance of the fact that Mr. Perkins would probably have lost his job long ago had it not been for his intimate friendship with Roosevelt, while still remaining a director of the United States steel corporation and of the International Harvester company. Mr. Perkins has recently severed himself from many of his business connections and is now devoting much of his time to solving the problems of the times."

The first great work along this line to which Mr. Perkins is now directing his undivided attention and his pocketbook works for another is a servant in the eyes of the law. How do you like it? Hear him further when he tells you what your duties are. "The relation of master and servant, being shown to exist, the law is quite clear that no person has a right to entice away another's servant. The right of the master to have his servant to continue in his employ without molestation or enticement of any third party is a PROPERTY RIGHT so recognized by the law." Here you have the decision of the judge that you are the property of your master. You know now why Taft appointed him to the supreme court.

Just what is behind the agitation for advance in newspaper postage is shown by a circular being sent out by the Stevens Arms company to business houses over the country in which it is said: "The National One Cent Letter Postage company, with headquarters at 506 Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, is strictly an association of business men for the sole purpose of securing a reduction in letter postage from two cents to one cent with as little delay as possible. The recipient is asked to sign a petition for an increase in newspaper postage to admit of a decrease in letter postage. 'Strictly business men' are wanting to deprive the poor man of reading in order that they may have more graft in advertising salvage."

FLABBY MILLIONAIRES.

William C. Muldoon, the famous trainer and conditioner of men, who has had statesmen, cabinet members, society swells and plutocrats without number brought to him for rehabilitation has just had something to say about the demoralizing effect of money upon those who have more than they know what to do with. Says Muldoon: "Money-hogs and money-madness are the twin causes of our decay. Take the millions who achieve wealth, the wealth of them, worn out, dissipated, erased by their perpetual struggle for money. They are burned out body and soul and their children are wretches. The more a nation loses its vitality, its ambition, its morals and its reputation, the more are we going to decay, and so good to any one else. And all this is the result of too much money."

These plutocratic wrecks are produced by too much money while in numbered other wrecks are caused by having none at all. The capitalist system is the source from which these two extremes flow and every sane man must realize that nothing less than the overthrow of this system will prevent such appalling degeneracy.

The flabby millionaire wreck at Muldoon's sanitarium is the counterpart of the thousands of other wrecks who are slithering in the Bowery breadline.

SOCIALISM isn't going to "do" anything for you. It will merely enable you to do something for yourself.

This issue between the old parties is, which is the more corrupt, and which can hide most and promise most.

The argument of the capitalist is that you ought to save your earnings so that after a while you may become a robber yourself.

JUDG GROSSCUP says we want fewer ideas. Ideas in the people's heads knock out such fellows as Grosscup, and he doesn't like it.

PARAPHRASING from Browning, "The play is the thing, and the flag is the symbol; my hat's in the ring, all's well with the world."

"Direct action," so called, is merely the kick of a few wage workers, and it is something at which the army can play a winning hand.

THE APPEAL hesitates to print Congressman Anthony's comments on last week's paper, because it already has a case in court for printing "forbidden" things.

POSSIBLY Roosevelt's present utterances will need "explaining" later, just as he now "explains" what he meant by saying he would not again be a candidate for president.

If you know you are a slave you are class conscious. No wonder the masters regard it as dangerous for it is the only thing that can lead to working class freedom.

THE democrats of the house have declared in favor of the income tax. Safe enough, seeing they know that when such a tax was passed the supreme court knocked it out.

THE independence of the judiciary is not half so important as the independence of all the people. If either must be limited by "checks and balances," let it be the judiciary and "let my people go free."

THEY have floated the Maine, but lest the people behold the evidence of Wall street's crime that precipitated the Spanish-American war, the vessel will be buried in deep sea, where the proof will be hidden.

MR. GOMPERS is mistaken when he says the Socialists want to rule the labor party. They merely are it. All who do not wish the worker to receive the inducements are only assistants to the capitalists, and no more so at any time than when they pose as belonging to a "labor party."

"In no city where I have ever been does bare-footed, diseased, half naked and half starved misery stalk so rampantly as in the capital of Mexico," says Mrs. E. D. T. Sarabia in this week's *Coming Nation*. She is now in the city of Mexico and in this article describes the hideous poverty that is causing the present revolt. A large number of photographs would tell the story even with out the text.

Now that the Modern Woodmen have arranged to raise rates to the point where members will have to pay according to their present age, in some cases doubling and trebling the dues, it is in good shape for hooding, and you may look for it and other "fraternal" organizations to be turned over to a corporation that is out after the dough. Wall street needs the twenty million dollars that flows annually into the coffers of the Woodmen. This is written by a Woodman.

WHENEVER the masters suggest "reform" it is merely another steal. They now want federal incorporation, which would make the government surety for profits, a legalizing of the Aldrich currency steal already perpetrated, and further "checks and balances" to the people. According to the mite government exists only for them; the government exists only for the rich, and the poor have no right to live except as slaves of the masters.

This new supreme judge appointed by Taft in a recent decision tells you what you are. He says, "Any person who works for another is a servant in the eyes of the law." How do you like it? Hear him further when he tells you what your duties are. "The relation of master and servant, being shown to exist, the law is quite clear that no person has a right to entice away another's servant. The right of the master to have his servant to continue in his employ without molestation or enticement of any third party is a PROPERTY RIGHT so recognized by the law." Here you have the decision of the judge that you are the property of your master. You know now why Taft appointed him to the supreme court.

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The Arsenal.

On pages 128 and 129 of the 1912 Arsenal of Facts is found a complete digest of the 1910 census report, showing the difference between wages and surplus value or rather the amount paid in wages for manufacturing a certain line of goods and the amount the ultimate consumer has to pay for the finished product. The difference between these represents the profit to capitalists of industry, out of which they pay themselves enormous salaries, interests on bonds held by themselves, and dividends in stock also held by themselves.

For instance, the workers in the tobacco industry received \$69,000,000 for manufacturing \$239,590,000 worth of finished tobacco. Do you know who received the difference? No. Never even thought of it did you?

The workers in the clothing industry received \$106,000,000 for making \$568,000,000 worth of clothing and shirts. Do you know who received the \$462,000,000? Well, it was not the poor devil now on strike in Lawrence, Mass.

Facts bring this out in big plain figures and ones that anyone can understand. That you should have a copy of the valuable little book goes without saying. Do not put it off any longer. Now is the time you really need it. And it is so easy to get.

Twelve 40-week saps.
Twelve 40-week sap cards.
Or an order for twelve copies sent to your address for one year.
And you get an Arsenal.



HERE is more power for the good of labor in a Socialist book than in a ton of dynamite.

MILLIONS are throwing off the yoke and the old party political collar.

ONLY by controlling the education of the people can capitalists or kings control a nation.

SOCIALISTS campaign all the time; others only a month or so before the election.

WE work to enlighten victims while the looters are feasting from the spoils taken from them.

CAPITALISTS dare not meet the Socialist in debate on the merit of things as they are.

CAR loads of Socialist literature are going to the people every week. As men read so are they.

BOYS who are studying economics and sociology today will be the leaders of the nation tomorrow.

THE old party politicians fear to meet the Socialist on the platform or in print. Why?

EVERY stratification of society is in a seething ferment. Uneasiness and fear are rampant. Do you think nothing will happen?

GIVE your son or daughter good understanding in history and economics and it will be more worth than a fortune in money without them.

CAPITALISTS are organizing the farm on the same correct economic principles that they have organized the steel, oil, sugar and other industries.

LABOR receives about two cents a pound for producing coffee and less for producing sugar. What do you other workers have to pay for the products of your brothers who are producing them? Why can't you get each other's products for what you receive for producing them?

WE HAVE TO SMILE.

The eagle eye of the postal authorities is never taken from the APPEAL to REASON. Excuse the slang, but it is a cold day that passes without some notice being served on the APPEAL that it is bumping into, or threatening to, some construction of some regulation of the department. Just now—and that is why we smile—a letter has been received from the Girard postmaster advising us that he is advised by the third assistant postmaster general, division of classification, that the postmaster at Pittsburg, Kansas, has reported an infraction of a postal rule. And thereby hangs the cause of our smile and we will let our readers in the secret of it.

Not long ago a certain postmaster, who happens to be a Socialist and a warm friend of the APPEAL, sent us a postal card he had received from the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, the paper owned by Charles P. Taft, brother of the president, advising him that five copies of the paper had been sent him as a means of introducing the paper and asking him to distribute them. The APPEAL promptly took the cue and proceeded in the same way to introduce the APPEAL, when the department promptly advised us that we had violated the rule of the department and calling on us to make full report as to the papers we had sent out free for distribution, as Charlie Taft's paper had done, that we might be punished accordingly.

And that is why we smile! We have not yet answered the citation, nor made any report, nor had punishment meted out to us. We are quietly awaiting further developments and when the third assistant postmaster general calls again we will send him a photograph of the postal card sent out by the Cincinnati *Star* showing it to have been doing exactly the same thing for which the APPEAL is now upon the green carpet.

When Charlie Taft is yanked up and gets what is coming to him for violating the postal rules, then the APPEAL is willing to take its medicine, but if any attempt is made to enforce this rule against the APPEAL without making it apply to the Cincinnati *Times-Star* also there will be a roar from the plains of Kansas that will be heard along the Potomac.

ALTHOUGH a purely political proposition, the recall is pretty direct action.

Does our friend LaFollette still think that "Roosevelt is the greatest man on earth"?

The trouble is—the workers have been doing the work, but let the other fellow collect the bill.

Every time there is a Socialist victory the new war scare is sprung. But somehow it doesn't scare any more.

Judging from the recent activity of the two concerns, the Standard Oil and Steel trust have been busy unbusted.

THEY ask about initiative under Socialism, and then grumble because Socialists demand the initiative, referendum and recall.

THE supreme court has nullified enough laws. When it learns that the people can fire it at pleasure, and will, it will become as tractable as it now compels the workers to be.

THE supreme court has said over and over again that employers may recall their workmen. Now the workers, who employ the supreme court, intend to apply the logic to them.

THE United Mine workers at their national convention in Indianapolis last week, declared for the public ownership of all industries. The workers are getting wise. This is a slap at Mitchell and Gompers.

THE supreme need of the hour is to put money into congressional campaigns over the country where there is a chance of electing Socialists to congress. This is even more important than the presidential campaign. We will hardly break into the white house this year, but we can elect congressmen and state officers in from six to twenty states.

In a story called, "Counterfeit Bills," by Allan Updegraf, in this week's *Coming Nation*, we get a sharp light on the way in which graft works in the cities. The mayor, who had always been famous for his honesty, died and left his widow a box of counterfeit bills. The story began when an innocent friend went to sell these bills as curiosities.

THE papers that are trying to make out that the supreme court favored the "peepul" in refusing to interfere with the referendum matter are reminded that in that decision it spit on the people and transcended its rightful authority when it passed on a matter that was not before it, forbidding the people to interfere with private profit.

W. L. HORN, campaign manager for Senator LaFollette, charges that Roosevelt induced LaFollette to run and simply used him as a cat's paw. The APPEAL said this very thing to LaFollette at the time his boom was launched and he emerged from the interview with Roosevelt declaring to the reporters, "Boys, he's the greatest man on earth." Is he, Bob?

WASHINGTON authorities have notified Cuba that it cannot enact laws placing the civil above the military authorities. And we freed Cuba! About as free as Russia. Our masters depend on the military to control, and as the sugar trust owns Cuba "our" government is used to defend its theft and robbery on the poor Cubans. We Americans stand for this!

Do our gentle readers remember that it was Roosevelt who sent Taft down to Oklahoma when they were making a constitution down there to urge them to exclude the initiative, referendum and recall as a deadly menace to our republic? Well, it is the same Roosevelt who now constitutes himself the champion of this deadly menace and insists that it is the salvation of the republic. It is easily explained. The issue is now popular. That's Roosevelt. He would side into office on anything.

THIRTY-two democratic members of congress, including all of the so-called labor members, signed a petition for a democratic caucus on the labor question. Under the rules twenty-seven names are enough to compel such a caucus, but when the leaders heard what was up they told these thirty-two that they were playing with fire and no caucus was held. This is one of the stories, left out of the capitalist press, that is told in full by the Washington correspondent of the *Coming Nation* this week.

A JEST TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

There are people with a keen sense of humor, and others who are utterly unable to recognize a jest when they see it. This is made plain by the reception tendered a paragraph, intended as a take-off on the Kansas City *Star's* one-sided poll as printed in the APPEAL February 10th. The APPEAL said: "The APPEAL has followed the example of the Kansas City *Star* and got a wireless poll on the presidential candidates, except that the APPEAL's vote is of the working class alone. It stands: Debs, 414,760; Bryan, 673; LaFollette, 609; Clark, 130; Taft, 111; Wilson, 13; Roosevelt, minus, 17."

The statement that this was a wireless poll and that Roosevelt had received an impossibility stamp, it is as a jest, a take-off on the *Star's* fake vote. Some of the newspaper boys saw it. A New York daily of wide circulation commented on its facetiously, and faked a vote purporting to have been taken by the APPEAL, but which was not. But inasmuch as this was in a kindly spirit and obviously (to one with a sense of humor) a jest, it was all right.

Yet this fake on a fake, as printed in the New York paper, is run in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* and various other metropolitan papers as a fact, with lurid comments. To show how the APPEAL's "wireless poll" has been warped from perpendicular, the following citation is made for comparison. According to the papers, trying to make capital out of it, the APPEAL's poll showed that Roosevelt got 41,348 votes; Haywood, 41,109; McNamara, 48,798; Gompers, 48,235; and Debs only 65,829.

Then the APPEAL is lectured because Socialists vote for a confessed dynamite who was never a Socialist and for Gompers who hates Socialism as he strongly loves power.

The modern Don Quixotes have made another charge on a wind mill of their own creation, and are downed by it.

CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

In an interview with the New York *World* Congressman S. W. McCall said: "In some respects the British house of lords is more truly representative of the British people than the senate of the American people; and the British house of commons both politically and socially, is more representative than the American house of representatives."

This statement the *World* sent out to a number of persons for comment with the following note attached:

This striking statement from Congressman McCall coming as it does from one who has served twenty years in congress, and who is known as a man of sober thought and conservative principles raises the question which is of outstanding interest to Americans, namely, does congress represent the people?

Among others Eugene V. Debs was asked to contribute his views to the proposed symposium by the *World* and in answer wired the following statement:

Congress does not now, never has and never intended to represent the people. The framers of the constitution held the people in contempt. That body was dominated by the millionaire class and the people were held in contempt. The strongest argument in their favor is that they succeeded in imposing upon the people the illusion that they were represented in congress.

Congress represents the ruling class and not the people. The senate especially represents industrial and financial corporations and not political constituencies. The very existence of that body is the denial of fundamental democracy. From the viewpoint of the people the control of congress by the people are "the mob," to which they refer with ill concealed contempt.

Congress is at heart aristocratic, not democratic. It represents capital, not labor; property interests and not the people. This is the basic reason for its widespread hatred and disgust. The people are getting their eyes open to the fact that congress and the whole machinery of government is in control of predatory interests.

From my point of view the working class are the people. Without them the whole social fabric would collapse. They have put their eyes open to the fact that they are building an economic anti-political movement that in the near future will sweep away the congress, the plutocracy and establish the congress of the people.

The forces that are now in operation, the evidences of which we behold on every hand, are making for industrial democracy and when that democracy is established the people will rule and for the first time in history congress will represent the people.

OUR INVESTIGATION.

In a recent issue, commenting on the indictment of fifty-four labor unionists for alleged connection with the so-called dynamiting conspiracy, we promised an investigation into certain facts and conditions concerning which the federal investigators were significantly silent.

We stated then that we were satisfied that a thorough investigation would disclose a state of affairs far different than the one supposed to be, and that it would be found that others than labor unionists were involved in the dynamiting campaign.

Since then we have succeeded in obtaining certain information, more or less definite, which serves to confirm our position, but not enough to warrant publication at this time. To retard the investigation a series of happenings have intervened to distract attention and in fact to place the dynamiting in the background at least for a time.

The great strike in Lawrence, with its attendant outrages, the strike at Patterson, the national strike in England involving almost two million workers and threatening to sweep over England, France and perhaps other countries, these later developments, all more or less startling, have occupied the boards during the past two or three weeks and have materially interfered with the plans we had made to investigate the dynamiting affair.

Causes leading up to it. This is a matter of the greatest importance to the labor movement and we shall do what lies in our power and as speedily as we may, to get at the bottom of it and give the people the essential truth in regard to it and place the responsibility where it properly belongs.

THE APPEAL has been advised that there is now a law making it a violation of the postal regulations for any one to put newspapers or advertising matter in rural route mail boxes that have been approved by the department.

We understand that some of our friends have been circulating the APPEAL in this way. We would advise the Army not to persist in this practice. The better plan is to make a list of all the rural route names and send them to us and we will mail sample copies from this office. The cost will be two cents for each name. We will mail to each name three copies, this being the limit under the law. At the end of the three weeks, make a canvass of all the names you have sent in for subscriptions. This plan never fails to work when properly pushed.

CHINA is being dismembered and looted by the great pirate nations of the earth. Twelve years ago the APPEAL warned the Chinese ambassador that this act would logically follow the policy of injustice which his country was pursuing toward its own people, by keeping them in ignorance and poverty. The ambassador did not like the suggestion and made some bitter comments on it. But I know that no nation can live in which injustice to a majority is done. China will be divided up and pass into alien bondage just as India and Egypt and other ignorantly ruled nations have. Only justice makes any nation strong. All nations are now in the transition stage. The old is passing away.

THEY say that Taft was really the president while Roosevelt was in the chair, because the latter was too drunk most of