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THE APPEAL EDITORIAL STAFF

J. A. WAYLAND FRED D. WARREN

EUGENE V. DEBS CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER

FRED D. WARREN'S GREAT SPEECH BEFORE THE FEDERAL COURT AT FORT SCOTT, KANSAS

Dramatic and Sensational Indictment of Capitalism and its Despotic Institutions.- Eloquent Plea for a Free Press and Free Speech---Epoch-making as Patrick Henry's Immortal Oration

THE SENTENCE.

Warren was sentenced to pay a line of \$1,500.00, the cost of the

half of justice for the defendant had been made by his attorneys. Bone West, of the prosecution, had declined to reply to Darrow- and Judge Pollock had just delivered his decision overfuling the motions for an arrest of judgment and a new trial. Everything that could be said and everything that could be done to reverse the processes of the court and snatch victory from defeat had been said and done. A sfillness such as often occurs between engage ments on a battle field overspread the crowded court room, and the eyes of every person present were riveted on the prisoner at the bar-

Unconquered Client.

Tense were the feelings of the spec tators as Warren faced the court. Instinctively it was realized that something was about to happen, but just what it would be no one could think or say. The benign face of Clarence the celebrated lawyer who in a hundred courts, had championed labor's cause and whose voice from a thousand platforms had been lifted his associate attorneys, when it became evident that their defeated but clared. unconquered client was about to initiate action in his own behalf. government's agents and attorneys looked as if a red flag had been unexpectedly unfolded, or a bomb was about to be hurled, and they cringed speechless in their chairs. Judge Pollock himself, his eyes fastened on the figure before him, his countenance plainly revealing the conflicting emotions of his mind, sat as if stricken

should not be pronounced."

With his hands on the table bepectedness of the proceeding, and in the penitentiary and a \$5,000 fine—Warren's boldness of utterance as be inflicted. tounded Judge Pollock. Once or The Court in Doubt-But Pronounces undoubtedly be done again. twice Prosecuting Attorney Bone looked appealingly at the court as if close on the speaker's remarks, but plainly denoting the confused condithe court was too preoccupied with judge and in the presence of an audience whose very breathing could neither be felt nor heard, capitalism's most prominent victim and labor's promising champion proceeded with the uncovering of the causes that had led to his conviction. Briefly he illustrated the class struggle that has split society in twain since the in stitution of private property and on this basis he built up an argument that illuminated with the clearest analysis the operations of capitalist industry and the processes of capitalist courts. Never in his life had Judge Pollock listened to a speech like this; never in the history of jurisprudence was there a speech like this made in a federal court.

Situation Dramatic Beyond Words. Warren represented in the concrete the agony and woe, the blood and tears of the working class of the world. He typified the issue between the ruling class and those who are fight ing the age-long war for human emancipation. Through him was voiced Through him was voiced men and children who, in the fields, factories and mines do the work of the world and who in some way ld protest against the methods by and blood and outraged sentiments, a personage than Justice McKenna of United States, and yet in not a single of the slave master in his right of Warren, already convicted and about the supreme court of the United instance has any effort been made ownership of men, women and chiltor receive sentence, faced without States used this term in dissenting by the government to rid the mails dren. The man who dared raise his hesitation and without a tremor the from the opinion of his associates, of this objectionable matter and pro-voice in protest against the exploita-

him to do his worst.

H. Crider, one of the most prominent republicans in Fort Scott and probably in secret society circles the most citizen on this important matter influential man in Kansas, who had listened to Warren's address, came But the supreme court declared othforward and volunteered to sign his erwise and refused to grant the relief bond. The offer was accepted Down asked for by these workingmen and stairs after adjournment of court a group of men, democrats and republicans, united in open endorsement every consideration of fair play and of the speech and unqualifiedly ex- | justice. pressed their admiration for the man

"If ever that man runs for presi dent he will get my vote," declared of Miners and the wealthy Mine Own one of those who participated in the ers' association of the west that I condiscussion

"And mine, too," responded another of the group.

Tribute From a Juror.

"Darrow's argument and Warren's speech put this case in a different light," said R. J. Finley, one of the jurors who voted to convict, and who sat through the proceedings of the "There is no question as to Warren's ability and sincerity. I am not a Socialist, but as far as I am in behalf of the poor and oppressed, showed concern, as did the faces of is as honest and free from criminal intent as can be found," Finley de-

It is difficult to interpret the impression that was made on the mind the Appea would induce any man to of the court. Ordinarily convicted undertake the abduction of Mr. Tayprisoners accept sentence in silence; Warren's course petrified with aston ishment the court to whom his re marks were addressed. An age seemed to have elapsed before Pollock recovered sufficiently to proceed. It was very evident that he did not know what to say. Undoubtedly he had made up his mind as to the severity Yes, your honor, there are some plans. Now he vibrated between reasons why sentence of the court doubt and despair. Warren, possibly of the supreme court. I felt that if with a note of defiance, had announced that he did not ask or expect clem- ing of poor and defenseless workingfore him and his eyes looking straight ency or mercy, that he was not guilty and fearlessly into those of the court's, and was not conscious of having com-Warren's voice rang like a clarion as mitted an offense. The United States ple a wave of protest would sweep he began a speech as remarkable as district attorney had demanded that the country and force the supreme it is without a parallel. The unex- the full penalty of the law-five years court to recede from its position as

Sentence.

With halting tones and in a manner

une Warren's impassioned address card which I offer for the inspection made a most profound impression.

he had given the case weeks and in large letters, figures and characters weeks of deliberation and had hardly the following language: "B. B. Bond, known what to do, shows that Warclaim that the government had sanctioned kidnaping. The speech Mr. Bank, Nashville, Tenn., for his arrest Warren delivered will be kept as a and delivery to Nashville authorities." " declared The Tribune. in this case. The speech, published entire in the Fort Scott paper, and which is destined to become immortal in revo lutionary literature, is as follows:

Warren's Great Speech

of these workingmen was acquiesced acter of B. B. Bond,

tlesh and blood embodiment of capi- Justice McKenna, after reviewing the tect those of its citizens who are talism's mighty power and challenged facts laid before the supreme court fugitives from justice.

Warren was sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,500.00, the cost of the prosecution and serve six months in the Ft. Scott Jail.

BY GEORGE H. SHOAF.

Fort Scott, Kan., July 1, 1900.—No court in the history of jurisprudence ever presented a scene more replete with dramatic interest than that with feestal building at Fort Scott Thursday afternoon when in response to Judge Pollock's invitation to show cause why sentence should not be pronounced Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, arose and began to speak. The last bit of uncontradicted evidence disclosing the bias and prejudice of the jurors who convicted Warren had been in treduced. The last argument in between the last argument in the doubt argument and the prisoner was a doubt argument and the prisoner was a doubt argument in between the last argument in the conscience of the most prominent.

It was a situation dramatic beyond the constitution dramatic beyond the confinition of years of the said tention of the last their of described the confinition of years of the last stingle processed of a constitutional right. The their officers a

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law abiding On the other hand we find a relatively guaranteed to them by the constitu tion of the United States and by

To Test the Supreme Court

It was during the heaf of this struggle between the Western Federation ceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, pro tected from the service of requisition by, the governor of Indiana whose position was endorsed by Governor prominent republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

its opinion that kidnaping was not crime if the victim was a member of the republican party and a represent ative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 offered by lor, as for seven years the state o \$100,000 for the capture of the mur derers of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin county grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of of the sentence, but this speech from this reward in the manner and with this decision, sanctioning the kidnapmen by rich and powerful capitalists had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will

through the mails in a manner in daily use by banks, private detective tion of his mind Pollock began the agencies, Anti-Horse Thief associapronouncement of the sentence with tions, sheriffs and marshals. I have here an apology in part, and an attempt at three postal cards mailed by national argument in reply to Warren's the arrest of men whom these banks According to The Fort Scott Trib. allege to have committed crime. The "The fact that Judge Pollock stated upon the back or outside of the card produce dealer, wanted for issuing ren may have had some merit in his forged Bills of Lading. \$250 reward

First Instance on Record.

It will be observed that this lanthe outgrowth of the kidnaping of them." It can further be said, fol-three workmen by the agents of the lowing the court's line of reasoning. The slave master built up a civil

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

The Reason Not Hasd to Find.

There must be some reason why I alone, of the thousands of men who, according to the rule of this court and the opinion of the district attorney and his assistant, have committed substantially the same act, should be singled out and marked for prosecu-

The reason is not hard to find. Society today is divided into two classes. On the one side we find the work people-men, women and children, who have no means of obtaining a livelihood but by their hard labor. small group of men who own the land and the tools which these people must have access to if they are to live. It is the primary if not the sole purpose of the men who own this productive property to obtain as large profits as possible, while on the other hand the work people strive constantly to increase their wages This creates a class conflict.

The Conflict Began With Civilization. This conflict began with civilizaion and has come down under varying forms to this day and will con tinue with increasing intensity so long as a small group of rich men are permitted to lay upon the masses, to quote from Pope Leo, "A yoke

PILATE AND POLLOCK.

"I find no fault in this man." And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as THEY required. — Luke xxiii, 24.

was in doubt when this matter was first brought to my attention. I am still in doubt whether there has been a viola-tion of law."—Pollock.

And Pollock gave sentence that it should be as THEY required. *******************

little better than slavery." Discuss ing the ever present problem of labor and its compensation John Adams in 776 observed:

It is of no consequence by what name rou call your people—whether by that of free men or slaves. It some countries the laboring poor men were called free men; in others slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at first hand?

Coming down to the civil war illegally period we find that the Charlestown ducted. Baptist association in presenting a memorial to the Georgia legislature in 1835, discussing this 'ever-with-us problem of labor, gave expression to

as in this state, or whether they shall come hirelings and their labor only come property, as in some other states.

Slavery of the Working Class.

It will be seen from these two motations; clearly reflecting opinion of the revolutionary and civil in the eyes of thousands of men and war periods, that the master class recognized no difference between the chattle slave and the wage hireling In 1865 Karl Mark, the founder of in large letters, figures and characters Scientific Socialism, summed up the following language: "B. B. Bond, labor problem in the following striking sentence:

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his iord, or whether he works in the factory or work shop six hours daily for himself and six hours daily for his employer, it comes to the same thing.

This surplus value over and above that which is required by the slave, guage, to quote this court's decision the serf and the wage worker to main on our demurrer to the indictment, tain his physical existence is the por-"is calculated to impress the readers tion which the master, the feudal of the language with the thought that lord, and the capitalist have taken Bond was guilty of the commission by force of arms in the first case, by Mr. Warren said:

of some crime for which he would ownership of land in the second and I wish to call the attention of the be prosecuted by the Tennessee and by ownership of tools and cunningly court to the fact that this case is thorities if captured and returned to devised laws and court decisions in

great mining corporations, with the this language was obviously in-connivance of the state officials of tended by the First National Bank Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping to reflect injuriously upon the charand from its produced. One does not have to go in by the president and sanctioned by terms, the manner and style in which very far back in the history of this the supreme court of the United it was displayed on the postal card is country to find confirmation of this would protest against the methods by which the wealth their work creates is taken from them and given to those who labor not. Here in this federal these workingmen were taken from language and display. This is charthese workingmen were taken from their strongest bulwark of the strongest bulwark of the system that is responsible for the agony and blood and outraged sentiments, a personage than Justice McKenna of United it was displayed on the postal card is country to find confirmation of this calculated to have that effect.

The other cards contain similar these workingmen were taken from language and display. This is charthese enacted by congress and by most of language and display. This is charthese enacted by congress and by most of the several states, backed by the decisions of federal and state courts, and blood and outraged sentiments.

Warren already convicted and about the supreme court of the United

as a traifor to his country; if he at-tempted to speak he was thrown in was no ground for action against me. One T' jail; and if he attempted to print a of my attorneys journeyed to Wash stress as today more real power over newspaper voicing his sentiments his ington and laid before the department to ople than is vested in any monpress, was destroyed and he was thousands of reward cards, similar to of the old world. mobbed or murdered.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., July 10, 1909

What was true in the two revoluionary periods which marked the disappearance of a political system based on kingcraft and a political system based on chattel slavery is true today.

Marked for Persecution.

have espoused the cause of men, wo- the Appeal. men and children who work in the fields, factories and mines of this na- articles in the Appeal indicated that this tion are marked for persecution as paper is pretty closely read by high gov were the revolutionary and abolition editors before them. For ten years ficial shrugged his shoulders in reply to as editor of the Appeal to Reason I have been in constant conflict with the ruling class, and the men who hope to pick up the crumbs which drop from the tables of the great captains of industry, on whose will employment depends not alone in the industries but in the government and municipal service.

Postoffice and Courts vs. Appeal The postoffice department was first employed to hamper and harass the to us. As plainly stated by the govern-Appeal to Reason in its work of ment official to whom our attorney education and enlightenment. The talked while in Washington it is most absurd rules and regulations dent that secret service agents of the were specially formulated to apply, as Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden wired to the Girard years. postmaster, "to the Appeal to Rea-In every instance where our right to the mails was questioned the Appeal won a signal victory, because we strictly obeyed the spirit and the

letter of the law. Then the aid of the courts was invoked to accomplish what the postoffice department had failed to The courts today, as prior to 1860, are with the owning and ruling class. Daily this fact is becoming more apparent. One has only refer to the long list of decisions in which the interests of labor and capital are opposed to verify this statement. The black-list has been legalized and the boycott outlawed. The injunction has been used with telling effect in labor controversies to terrorize and crush the men who work while it has proven ineffective and of no avail when directed against great capitalist interests, as President Roosevelt pointed out when he was engaged in his battle with the great packing industries.

The people of Missouri in their capacity as sovereign voters recently elected a governor and legislature or a platform demanding relief from railroad extortion. A two-cent fare bill was enacted into law. This law was upheld by the state supreme court. The railroads went to the federal courts, who, with the stroke of a pen, nullified the will of three millions of people. So closely allied has be come the federal judiciary of this country to the great corporations that even now there is pending in congress a resolution demanding an investigation of the acts and conduct of the federal judges who have prosti tuted their high office to the of these corporations, three-fourths of which, according to a statement made by Governor Hadley, are either illegally organized or unlawfully con-

Fighting Industrial Despotism.

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and inamous Dred Scott decision, and will the following conclusion:

a fight against the oppressive and introductedly be done again.

It amounts in effect to this whether the tolerable industrial and political conceptances of a country shall be bought ditions which confront this country, and sold and themselves become property. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court today a convicted felon women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the department of justice at the instance of the president of the United States had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, But am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prose-cution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the attorney gen-eral's office in Washington. When the Pierson envelope,

which this action is based, was sent to the postoffice inspector of this district from Los Angeles, that gentle man turned it over to the district at-The district attorney retorney. The district attorney reinspector with the opinion that there was no ground for action. The inspector in making report to the partment at Washington marked the case "closed." He later explained to me that this meant that so far as the district of Kansas was concerned no further action would be taken. But soon thereafter word was received from Washington, so the assistant district attorney announced in the presence of this court, that there had been a violation of the law and that the case must be re-opened and vig orously prosecuted. "We Are After the Appeal."

The district attorney's office at To-

aper voicing his sentiments his ington and laid before the department of the old world.

was destroyed and he was thousands of reward cards, similar to of the old world. She late Senator Hanna boasted that the Taylor reward, which had been be courts are maintained to buttress. mailed from nearly every city in the courts are maintained to buttress union. When my attorney inquired we properly rights. Ex-President Roosethe Appeal was singled out for prosthe senders of these other cards who were equally culpable were not molested, the representative of the government opened a drawer in his desk and pro-The men and the newspapers that duced an armload of marked copies of

> Blue pencil marks designating certain Darrow's question and remarked,

This case has dragged its weary way brough this court for over two years, stance of the government. I submit cuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my cal opinions and my work in behalf, of the working class of this nation.

government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for lo, these many

that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ter years of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry al leged violation? Personally I feel proud of this rec

ord. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are

Submitted Copy to Postmaster.

The government's witnesses testified here on the stand that I submitted to them copy of the matter I expected to asked whether in the postmaster's judgment it constituted a violation of the federal law. That official after looking the matter up said it did not, and I want to say here that frequent occassion to consult with the postmaster at Girard on matters relating to the postal laws and in no in-He assured me that in his judgment the matter I proposed mailing was identical in character with the thousands of postal cards mailed at his office by the sheriff, the marshal and the officers of

the Anti-Horse Thief association. In submitting to this court these postal cards mailed by bankers it is not my intention that the government the evidence furnished by me. I know these gentlemen are immune from prosecution because they represent dominant class in society today. The rewards which they offer are for men who have committed crimes against property and in the prevailing social system the property of the rich is of vastly more consequence than the life and liberty of the poor.

Is Criticism a Crime?

On the other hand the editor who has espoused the cause of the wage slave today, has, in the eyes of the existing institutions for daring to offer a reward for the apprehension of an influential member of the dominant political party. I have also dared to criticize a de-

cision of the highest judicial tribunal in the United States. Judge West, the assistant district attorney who assisted in my prosecution, in his argument a ing his reasons why the demurrer in this action should be overruled, closed his argument in a burst of passion with the statement that, "As a matter of fact this literature was sent out for and discredit the supreme court of the United States." Is criticism a crime? And is it for this I am being prosecuted?

Our Colonist Forefathers

Smarting under the victous attempt of the English king to prevent the circulation of revolutionary newspapers during the period preceding the sign-ing of the Declaration of Independence, the first amendment to the new Constitution was made to provide for a free press and free speech, always and everywhere recognized as the sustaining pillars of free institutions.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideals embodied in their immortal declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings; and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the supreme court with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the union.

fact the reigning monarch of the outcome of this world-wide structure and people. No measure of reigning is not in doubt. Freedom will nation, enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the president, may become operative ness, and humanity, diseathralled, without their judicial sanction. At the command of the Lords of Privi- versal brotherhood. the command of the Lords of Privi-

tion of the black man was branded peka, however, revised its decision, af lege any obnoxious law is promtply s unconstitutional.

T' Sapreme court of the United

velt denounced a federal judge for his interpretation of the law in the govern-President Taft in his Hot Springs, Va., upon the same question in referring to pressions like these from men of promido you wonder that there is a growing distrust on the part of the poor people of this nation that the ourts are against them?

The Courts Ruled by Property. In the western district of New York

of thirty cases decided in favor of njured employes, twenty-eight were reversed in favor of the master class the higher courts. United States District Attorney Sims of Chicago was waging a vigorous fight against the white slave drivers and when victory was almost in his grasp, his hand was paralyzed by a decision of the supreme court, which virtually put an end to the prosecution of that unspeakable infamy. There are property interests involved in the wholesale debauchery of young girls and these property interests must be safeguarded at whatever cost. As for the girls they are the daughters of the working class and in point of value are not to be com-

Our modern system of jurisprudence is a survival of medieval times when judges presided by right of ownership of lands and castles and it will require another political revolution similar to that of 1776 and that of 1860 to abolish this bulwark of special privilege and capitalist exploitation.

Convicted by Jury of Republicans. I was convicted by a jury composed

of partisan republicans. It was shown by competent evidence introduced in this court today that two of the jurors had expressed hostile and prejudicial sentiments against me. Affidavits here-with filed show that one of the jurors, Mr. Nelson, became deathly sick in the jury room and he affirms that it was because of this sickness and his fear of death unless medical attention could with the Appeal to Reason I have had be secured that he was forced into voting for a conviction. Again it is shown by competent evidence introduced at this hearing that the principal witness for the government, ex-Governor Tay-los, made statements which were un-He stated that at the time the reward which I offered was circulated through the mails he was not a fugitive from justice nor was there any charge pending against him of a criminal nature in Kentucky. Affidavits, state records and letters signed by Taylor himself, all on file in this court, show that Taylor had been indicted and that for seven years prior to the of-fer of our reward he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head. It is the common practice in all courts that where the defendant can show that a juror in qualifying per-jures himself a new trial is granted. Perjured testimony on the part of the prosecuting witness is also ground for a new trial in ordinary cases. Of course I understand that this is not an ordinary case. The whole history of proceedings shows conclusively that it is not an attempt to secure the ends of justice, but an effort to punish me

because of my political views. No Mercy or Leniency Asked.

In conclusion permit me to say that crime and there is festering in my con-science no accusation of guilt, but is my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain-

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the runing class. Why should they not punish

offenders against that class? In feudal slavery the courts sus-tained the feudal lords, in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protests for the sake of instice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persocuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history Charles Sum-ner, tracing the march of the centuries. ner, tracing the march of the pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race had

by the so-called courts of justice.

Truth Will Triumph in the End. This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses emancipation. Slowly, painfully, pro-ceeds the struggle of man against the ederal arms reaching out into all the power of mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown, but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle outcome of this world-wide struggle.

WASHINGTON Versus WARREN

History of the Capitalist Conspiracy Under the Cloak of Law to Crush the Appeal to Reason and Suppress Free Speech.

BY GEORGE H. SHOAF. Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

with reasons why he was selected for a finally convicted by I jury of prejuby the court.

Famous Kidnaping Decision.

ing methods used by the authorities the latter to the former state were Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason; conceived the idea of calling the attention of the civilized world to the infamous plutocratic decision by publicly offering a reward the kidnaping of ex-Governor 5. Taylor and his return to Kentucky, where he was wanted in connection with the murder of Governor In offering the reward War-

decision says: "LOGKING WHAT WAS ALLEGED TO CURRED IN COLORADO THE ARREST OF THE PEAND HIS DEPORTATION I STATE WE DO NOT PERTAIN TO STATE WE DO NOT PERTAIN TO STATE WE DO NOT PERTAIN OF THE ASTILY OR INCONSIDER NE CAN BE ADJUDGED TO THE TANDER OF THE CONSTRU

hastily or inconsiderately this a be done, it will not be a violatio considerational rights of Taylor. and republican. The supreme hack the Addmapers and protect the ded it holds to its recent decision. he the case so prominent and it will rivet the attention of cilized world.

My arrest and conviction is the first in tunes on record where a man was prosented for attempting to bring to the bar-of rifee an indicted fugitive charged with a crime of murder. There must be some sons why I, of the chousands of mensons why I, of the chousand Kentucky authorities." An order for

This declaration of Warren's made printing of the envelopes Warren boldly to the court, he illuminated went to the postoffice and submitted y he was selected for a pencil copy of the reward offer of an alleged crime which he intended to print on the which others daily commit with im outside cover of the envelope and punity. Those reasons are found in asked the opinion of the postmaster the master speech he delivered at the time sentence was pronounced and mailing privilege. After consulting are printed entire on the first page of the rules and regulations the person this paper. In this article it shall be in charge of the office declared to After consulting the statute the purpose to trace the beginnings of Warren that he could find nothing prosecution, stating the facts against matter of the character as they developed, carrying it offered and that it was mailable. In through repeated postponements to taking this step Warren, at least, sig-the culmination, where Warren was nified his intention of getting right on the proposition he contemplated diced political enemies and on evi-dence, perjured in part, and which tended to commit a crime, as the vershould have been entertained diet of the Fort Scott jury would have the world believe, certainly he would not have apprised the post-Following the famous kidnaping master of his intention in advance, decision of the supreme court of the and if the Girard postmaster thought United States in which the law-break. that a crime had been committed when the 12,000 envelopes were deposited Idaho and Colorado to deport in the postottice for transmission cer-Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from tainly he would have taken action at once, either by notifying the proper en highest judicial sanction, Fred officials, or by aequainting Warren with the fact, or both.

Reward Has Expected Effect.

The offer of the reward had the expected effect. Newspapers all over the United States reprinted it with comment. The explanation as to why was offered was set forth in hundreds of thousands of copies of the Appeal to Reason and widely distrib-The supreme court of the United States, has held that hidraging is a perfectly legal method of taking an accused man from one state to abolice. This decision was repetered in the now famous Moyer-lingwood age. in which the defendants were Social sta and working men. Will the caprement our of the United States hold to this plation if the defendant is a republican and a capitalist.

To give the supreme court the opportunity pass on a case, the court of the court of the court of the United States hold to this plation if the defendant is a republican and a capitalists. against every person regardless of his wealth of social station this is a plu tocratic government of, the foulest

ing where the victim is a republican ingron officialdom could not afford. United States into ridicule and constitution and a personal friend of the land of the same of the United States. It will be ambreved that Taylor and Goobel were appublican and democratic candidates where the pass unnoticed this terrific in tempt." Failing apparently to excite according to the same of Kentucky. Taylor held the amount of the court who quietly attempts to enmesh the Appeal to remarked that the Washington tribunal Reason in the snares of the law had the was not an issue in the case. West the state and a warrent was issued for arrest. Two republican governors of the law had taken care that the detailed in the court of the law had the case was not an issue in the case. West failed, as Warren had taken care that Reason in the snares of the law had was not an issue in the case, West district judge, after investigating the cuted by the enemies of the working class, should be obeyed. Driven to desperation by this last expose of the cording to the Kansas City Journal, prosecuted." a rabid republican corporation sheet, "The United States department of DONE CAN BE ANDEDGED TO VIOLATION OF THE CONSTILL Ustice, acting at the suggestion of the President, has instituted proceedings against a Socialist sheef of IONE. MOYER AND HAYWOOD COLUMN AND HAYWOOD COLUMN AS BY FRAID AND Girard, Kansas, It is to be regretted VANCE. TO WHICH THE GOV. OF COLUMN WAS A PARTY OF COLUMN OF THE RIGHTS OF THE LANTS LEADER LANTS LEADER LANTS LEADER LANTS LEADER LANTS LEADER LANTS LEADER. the president, has instituted proceed. a crime and that he must be punished crime had been committed, failed to ings against a Socialist sheef of If there was no case it was ordered, institute grand jury proceedings Girard, Kansas. It is to be regretted one must be made.

District Attorney Dismisses Case. It is significant in this connection to know that when the envelope on which time for study and to consult the aumailable, that the sender thereof had was printed Warren's reward offer was thorities. Prosecuting Attorney Bone, violated the law, and quoted legal aufirst submitted to the United States too, who at first thought no law had, thorities in support of his contention district attorney at Topeka, Kan, that been violated, it appears, was granted It is significant to observe that with gentleman, after due consideration, time in which to investigate the matstated that in his opinion no law had been violated, and he so reported to sion. Thus, two years after refurn of the postoffice inspector who had called the original indictment, on July 1, last fused to use it in prosecution of the his attention to the matter. When the past. Bone, West and Pollock got to- offender, who happened to be a banker postoffice inspector notified his supe- gether in agreement with the jury of

to pledge himself to secure one subscriber a week from now until cution prepared and ready. A repubsion of the United States circuit court Moran and Iola that Thorne was dislating thereto, are matters he has not weeken.

Many have already enrolled themselves as "Warren Defenders." They was selected, ex-Governor of appeals at St. Paul. It was before charged from the railroad service for made public. He simply swears he followed the law. Morton's oath in this

Many have aircady enfolied themselves as "Warren Defenders." They have taken their stand and shown their colors. They propose to prove their loyalty to the Apoeal and to the cause by doing their part to save the one and sustain the other.

Just one subscriber a week!

You can easily secure that subscriber. You have but to make up your mind to do it. You will feel the better for it. The very mental resolve will stall a secure that subscriber is the very mental resolve will stall a secure that subscriber is the very mental resolve will stall a secure that subscriber is the very mental resolve will stall a secure that subscriber is the very mental resolve will secure the very mental resolve will be a secure the very mental resolve will secure the very mental resolve will secure the very mental resolve will be very men

Fall in line, comrade, and enroll your name among the "Warren Del with the jury's verdict and hear argu- average reader will have no difficulty

One Subscription Per Week Pledge To the Little Old Appeal:

Count me in as one of the "Warren Defenders." I agree to send to the Appeal one subscriber each week until November. Herewith (find my first name on this pledge. I also agree to enlist other comrades in this work.

Still in Doubt, But-

Judge Pollock, in his summary of Editor Warrer's case, before passing sentence, made use of the following language:

"When this case was first presented I was in doubt as to whether there had been a violation of the law. . . . "I am still in doubt

"It is the sentence of this court that you pay a fine of \$1,500.00 and serve six months in the Fort Scott jail."

The theory of the law under capitalism is that a man is innocent until proven guilty beyond all reasonable doubt—except a Socialist editor.

Darrow and Doyle.

attention of United States District Attorney Van Valkenburg, of Kansas

City, Mo., he at once declared that in

interviewed have expressed similar opinions, and that without regard to politics. John Madden, chief coun-

sel for the M. K. & T. Railroad com-

pany, who certainly cannot be called

a Socialist, in conversation with the

writer said that he did not consider that the law had been violated when

Warren sent his reward offer through

where or how the statute could be stretched to cover the issue. William

Erie, Kan, and a recent candidate for

law stated that if he had been prose-

Attorney William J. Gregg, of Okla-homa, had his attention called by the

have

cuting attorney he could never

not in keeping within the meaning of the indictment with having on January for the editor of the Appeal to Reason,

Judge Pollock's Retort.

At the November term of court in 1907, responding to Assistant United States District Attorney West's reply to the defendant's motion to quash the indictment, Judge Pollock asked West if he thought the authorities he had quoted were good law. "I do," answered the prosecuting attorney. "I don't," retorted the judge from the bench, a distinct rebuke to the statements of the government's representative. At this same term of court, and following the rebuke administered to West, Judge Pollock put a series of hypothetical questions to the prosecuting attorney. "Suppose," said he, "the Darrow and Doyle. hypothetical questions to the prosecuting attorney. "Suppose," said he, "the authorities of the state of Kentucky had offered their reward of \$100,000 to analyze this indictment or to discuss for the apprehension and return of ex-Governor Taylor and had circulated the Darrow and L. C. Boyle, attorneys for printed offer through the mails in the the defense, in able arguments to the same manner in which this envelope court literally tore the indictment to was circulated, would that have been a pieces and exposed its faulty character.

Darrow's argument will be printed in

"Suppose again," continued the judge, the next issue of this paper. It is a "the sheriff of a county were to offer masterly analysis of the indictment and of crime, though not tried or con-victed, and printed said offer on a the prosecution.

When the matter of mailing the the mails, would that be a violation Pierson envelope was called to the

Here Judge Pollock interjected a few vigorous observations to the effect that while the inscription on the Appeal his opinion no law had been violated envelope was in his opinion inadvisa- Scores of attorneys who have been ble and open to objection, he could see in it no violation of the law.

Directed From Washington.

Thrown from his calculations by the statements of the court the prosecuting attorney grew confused and fairly frothed at the mouth in his efforts to make himself clear. At last he declared that the "intent of this publication was to bring the supreme court of the from the attorney general of the postoffice department at Washington stating that the offense charged in this case is clearly in violation of the law and authorizing it to be vigorously

That let the cat out of the bag! The acting at the suggestion of that the Socialist editor had committed If there was no case it was ordered, one must be made. Warren's conviction must be secured at any cost. If Judge Pollock considered that no indictant transmitted the card to the district attorney to investigate these letters and institute properly could be returned would change his mind if given ample with the card was untimorities. Prosecuting Attorney Bone, too, who at first thought no law had time ina-which to investigate it may be not a first thought no law had time ina-which to investigate it may be not an arrive at a different conclustion. Thus, two years after return of the original indictment, on July 1, last the sender the card, and in Fort Scott Judge Pollock instructed the district attorney to investigate the district attorney to investigate the district attorney to investigate the sender during against the sender of the card, and in Fort Scott Judge Pollock instructed the district attorney to investigate the district attorney to investigate the sender of the card to the district attorney to investigate the sender of the card to the district attorney to investigate the sender of the card to the district attorney to investigate the sender of the card to the district attorney to investigate the sender of the district attorney to investing the sender of

to any person who kidnaps ex-covered to be pursue.

In pronouncing sentence the judge sar, where he demanded an immediate trial. Being denied a trial. Warren gave bond, and at the November term of court the government again.

To secure one subscriber a week at the low subscription rate of the subscription where the subscription rate of the subscription rate of the subscription subscription sentence the judge subscription sate than the subscription subscription subscription sate than the subscription subscript but the least effort while the sum total aggregates thousands and may determine the very fate of the paper.

Sinclair called for volunteers to stand by the Appeal during its fight.

He gave these volunteers the name of "Warren Defenders." Each of these November.

Sinclair called for secure one subscriber a week from now until November.

Sinclair called for secure one subscriber a week from now until November.

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Sinclair called for secure one subscriber a week from now until November of court and before departing from for Secure one subscriber a week from now until November.

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Sinclair called for volunteers to stand by the Appeal during Taylor, who had been pardoned for the his trip to St. Paul that he doubted cause; this Thorne denies. In Selma, lowed the law. Morton's oath in this occasion, was present in Fart Scott with the wisdom and justice of the indictperjured testimony, and May 5 a verment: on his return from the higher habitants, to which Thorne went after per that contained it, and among those
dict of guilty was returned. Immedifederal associations he changed his quitting the railroad, his wife conwho know him it is regarded as a dict of guilty was returned. Immediately the defense moved for a new mind, it appears, and decided that the ducted a grocery store—the only joke.

Trial Judge Pollock announced that indictment was founded on good law. rival of the store owned by R. E. How Jury Was Packed. he would pass sentence in accordance The inference here is plain and the Camp, a well-known and highly re-

for a new trial and arrest of judgment ren indictment and were inclined to were overruled and the defendant sentenced.

Specifically Warren was charged in had been violated, how was it possible post ticket agent of the M. K. & T.

This matter of selecting jurors for lighter than the possible post ticket agent of the M. K. & T.

AGENTS New part derived averythe down to Clerk white, of the federal court at Fort short and in the packing of another affidavit by R. D. Long, details in the packing of the federal court at Fort short and in the packing of another affidavit by R. D. Long, details in the packing of the federal court at Fort short and the federal court at Fort sho

committing a crime when he publicly offered a reward for the capture and return to the authorities of a man who my paper from the postoffice." was under indictment for murder? Especially when it is remembered that Warren took care to consult the local postmaster at Girard before transmitting the offer through the

The fact is, this whole question is a question of law to be decided by a competent judicial tribunal. It should never have been submitted to a jury. The law points involved were too it tricate to be grasped by the average juror; according to well-informed persons who attended the trial the Warren jury, which was below the No attempt will be made at this time average in intelligence and representative citizenship, did not regard the the legal points involved. Clarence S. law in making up a verdict, but con-

Jury Solidly Republican.

sulted prejudice and political pas-

Cline, a very prominent lawyer at could this defendant expect a verdict

recommended an indictment of Warren. When United States District packed with republicans selected to Appeal to Reason to a postal card set aside and that unusual methods containing a reward offer similar to were employed in this instance. After Washington government had decided that sent out by Warren, he, evidently the trial, it is claimed, members of entertaining the popular idea that no the jury received threatening and crime had been committed, failed to abusive letters from "Socialists" and "Anarchists." At his recent sitting

Eric, Neosho county; J. E. Decker,

Of course, Morton Albaugh, the
Lafointaine, Wilson county; Geo. W. United States clerk at Topeka, swears

Mathews, Oswego, Labette county; he is guided by the law in the manner

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years dabbled in republican politics, at the hands of high Washington politirailroaded in Kansas, working alter- he secured the names of the Warren ju-d nately for the Frisco and M. K. & T. rors the same way he secures all federal become separated from his job. It is trict is composed. How he secured claimed by persons at Kincaid, Salma, those names, and the correspondence re-Moran and Iola that Thorne was dis- lating thereto, are matters he has not spected citizen of Selma. According immediately following the conviction of

boarded with the Thornes at Selma, that reason it is seen full particulars in respect to the fire detail as far as possil are set forth. Shortly after the fire ods used. It has been impossible to get Thorne and his wife moved to Kin- information direct, as the authorities caid, where they now reside.

Postmaster Against the Appeal.

fluential in republican politics in ring were selected and contrasting those circles. In an affidavit by J. D. methods with those recently adopted for Canady, a blacksmith and a republi- the Warren case, and let the reading can, residing at Selma, it is declared: public draw their own conclusions. As "I am well acquainted with A. G. nearly as anything can be learned and Henry, postmaster of Selma. I have known in this world it is morally ceroften heard said Heury say that no tain that Bone, West, Albaugh, Mac-such newspaper as the Appeal to key, White and their political hench-Reason printed. The period during which trict consciously/co-operated in arrang-I have heard said Henry thus refer ing a situation whereby only jurors to the Appeal to Reason extends back who were known to be hostile to the from this date about eight months cause Warren represented should be or possibly twelve months. I am a sent to Fort Scott for jury service, republican in politics, but did sub- There is no doubt that A. G. Henry who is no lawyer, to know he was scribe to the Appeal to Reason during one year. He made the expression referred to often when I took

How Jurors are Chosen.

The law by which federal jurors are selected is based on the state laws covering the subject. Sec. 3796. Sec. 2, Chap. 54-General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, read as follows:

Kansas, 1901, read as follows:

JURORS.—Selected.—They shall select those assessed on the assessment roll of the preceding year sulfable persons having the qualifications of electors, and in making such selection they shall choose only those who are not exempt from serving on juries, and who are possessed of fair character and approved integrity, and in possession of their natural faculties, and not lafirm or decrepit, and who are well informed and received the selection of their natural faculties, and not lafirm or decrepit, and who are well informed and free from legal exceptions. Provided, that no person shall be selected as juror who either in person or by any other means shall solicit his selection as such; and the trust and the selection as such; and the trust tee of each township and the mayor of each city shall select at least one such person for each fifty inhabitants therein.

Based on this Kansas statute is the Based on this Kansas statute is the

law of the revised statutes of the United States which reads:

Every member of the jury was a republican.

Every member of the jury was a republican.

Many of them were Grand Army veterans drawing pensions from the United States government which was the plaintiff in the case. All of them were prejudiced against Socialism and the trial. To these hide-bound, mossiback, rock-ribbed, anti-progressive worshipers at the feet of the corporation bosses who dominate and control republican machine politics in this country. Socialism is a movement from hell, the Appeal to Reason is a printed incitement to revolt against the government from which they draw their-pensions, and Fred D. Warren is the anarchist-in-ohief of the damnable crew of wild-eyed, flannel-mouthed, free-lovers who would upper the court of the composition of the compos

The Law Ignored.

ren enclosed the foregoing offer of reward, as printed matter, in an envelope, on the upper left-hand corner of which, in large red letters, were the words, \$1,000 reward will be paid to any person who kidnaps ex-Governor Taylor and returns him to Warren he regarded it as faulty and the regarded it as fau Thorne the paper he edits. Albaugh states that

How Jury Was Packed.

In the issue of the Appeal to Reason ments on the motion for a new trial in two weeks. Three days later the judge stated that he would defer passing sentence until the Novem'er term of court, 1000. June 10, 1000. Warren country, 1000. June 10, 1000. Warren cereived a letter from Assistant United States at Mashing of Madden's Opinion.

March I. 1005, the store and dwelling of R. E. Camp, located across the street from Thorse's place and dwelling of R. E. Camp, located across the street from Thorse's place across the street from Thorse's place across the street from Thorse's place across the united States marshal alone is responsible for the situation. More certain is it that every man connected with the prosecution of Warren, Debs stated that the jury was packed to convict by the United States marshal. In this statement, as far as has been ascertained, Debs was slightly the error. The jury was packed with republicans, all right, and they were selected to convict, but is doubtful if the United States marshal alone is responsible for the situation. More certain is it that every man connected with the prosecution of Warren, Debs stated that the jury was packed to convict by the United States marshal. In this statement, as far as has been ascertained, Debs was slightly the error. The jury was packed with republicans, all right, and they were selected to convict by the United States marshal. In this statement, as far as has been ascertained, Debs was slightly the error. The jury was packed to convict by the United States marshal. In this statement, as far as has been ascertained, Debs was slightly the erro

detail as far as possible just the methinvolved have been secretive and pretend that the strict letter of the has been observed. The best that can A. G. Henry, postmaster at Selma, be done is to set forth the situation, Thorne's father-in-law, and is in-showing how jurors in previous cases should be allowed to be men and associates in the third dischose Thorne to act as a federal juror and that when Thorne went to Fort Scott he went determined to "stick it to Warren good and proper" if called to sit in judgment on the case.

To Be Convicted, Innocent or Guilty.

Tending to show the bias and prejudice of Thorne the following excerpt from the affidavit sworn to by J. A. Porter and J. C. Woollery, reputable

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Fort Scott, that S. A. Thorne had been allowed to sit as a juror in the case, we test then, and freely expressed our opinions among our neighbors and acquaintances in Kincald, that unless the other members of the jury were cuttrely different kind of men from Thorne, that Warren would be convicted, whether innocent or guilty. The convicted, whether innocent or grulty. The almost universal sentiment in this community is that Warren did not have a fair rial, and this, by reason of the fact that was allowed and prejudiced a man as Thorns allowed to sit as a juror.

Against A. P. Warren

attorneys for the defense brought out some startling evidence showing his hias and prejudice. In fact. Witt was proved a perjurer, in that on cross-examination, before being accepted as a juror, he distinctly denied knowing ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, when ner it developed that he had declared pefore the trial he did know the Kehtucky governor personally and believed him to be a good man who should have retained the governorship. S. T. Herman, of Chetopa, testined in Judge Pollock's court at the conclusion of Darrow's argument on the motion for a new trial, that in Fort Scott just be fore the Warren trial in May he heard Witt say, "My folks told me that Taylor was innocent of the murder of Goe-bel and should have served out his I. N. Worrell, also of Chetopa, stated that on the train from Parsons to Fort Scott in May he heard Witt say that his folks knew Taylor in Kentucky, that Taylor was innocent and should have served out his time. George Mathews, of Oswego, who served on the Warren jury and voted to convict, testified that at the Knox House in Fort Scott, where most of the petit jurors stayed, before the trial, Witt did considerable talking about the Warren case, and that he cautioned Witt not to talk, as he was a petit juror and very likely would be called to sit on the Warren jury. Later, testified Mathews, Witt declared that the things he told Herman were true. After the Warren and after Mathews and Witt reached Parsons, and while Mathews was in a coach at the depot waiting to go on to his Oswego home, the witness said that Witt came into the coach "Do you think they will have me

"I said what for?" "Do you think they will have me arrested?"

"I said you had better go home."

George S. Anderson, a well-known citizen of Parsons, testified that at Knox House he heard Witt state that he knew ex-Governor Taylor personally, that Taylor-was a good man should have served out his time. J. M. Hartman, well known in Parsons as a contractor and builder, said he heard Witt declare he knew Taylor in Kentucky and that the prosecution of the Kentucky authorities was uniustifiable.

In and about Parsens, where Witt has lived many years he is regarded as a harmless old fellow of small mentality, and exceedingly prejudiced against the Socialist movement. At presa ent he is connected in a political way with the street cleaning department of city, but on the directory he is listed as a laborer. He has a reputa tion for garrulity and will talk readily with any one on any subject. According to those who claim to know best he talked most on those topics about which he knows least. N. P. arsen, a prominent tailor and clothier in Parsons, to the writer stated that a very influential but honest republican declared that the selection of Witt as a federal juror was suspicious to say the least. Heretofore this honest republican said, men of ability and av-

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the Appeal Army, has written a new book entitled Industrial Problems. It ten, clear, revolutionary and scientific, yet simple in style and written a way as not to offend the prejudices of possible converts fair and impartial trial!

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erage citizenship had been sent to Fort also being a member of the grand jury. Scott from Parsons,

Belong to Same Gang. Thomas Dawson, of Yates Center, and Sam C. Gustin, of Toronto, Wafren jurors from Woodson county, will be considered together, as it is said by many that these men were selected for federal jury service by H. S. blood, a Yates Center merchant and prominent machine republican politician. Trueblood and Albaugh, United States district clerk, are not merely political bed-fellows, but are close personal friends, both having moved Kansas from Indiana. They belong to a politics and the same gang in republic are obligated to each other politically and personally, it is said. Dawson and Gussin are farmers who would not be averse to holding political office were it thrust upon them. In fact, Dawson has repeatedly sought office, and only last election was defeated in the primary for probate judge. long to the Trueblood-Albaugh gang It is said in Woodson county that when Trueblood feels conscience-stricken Dawson and Gustin are unable to go to sleep. Gustin is a shrewd old fellow, and it not known that he ever definitely declared himself against the Appeal to Reason, as it is said he has been too preoccupied with the labor of getting himself elected to some inconsequential office on the republican ticke to waste time with Socialism. Dawson once was census enumerator in Lib erty township, in Woodson county, and, as an illustration of his intellectual capacity, according to Charles Howard, now a citizen of Yates Center, he appraised the value of a \$1,000 farm at \$16,000. It is said that this example of business judgment is a official record at Washington on very ordinary court cases, according to persons in Woodson county, the se lection of Gustin and Dawson as jurors would be a matter of doubtful judg In the Warren case, where ment. teachnical question of law was the prin cipal issue to be balanced and decided clearly bitter partisan republican politicians, such as these two men are said in rebuttal Attorney Lardner said he to be, should not have been chosen. As evidence of Gustin's prejudice against

tion to the paper. The point to the Dawson-Gustin recital is this: Trueblood, it is said, selected these two republican farmers for the Warren jury. This selection was made, it is declared, at the instance of Albaugh, who desired to accommodate his friend Bone, who was working tooth and toe-nail to execute Washing ton orders in the matter of securing jury that would convict the editor of the Appeal to Reason.

Warren and the 'Appeal to Reason the

Toronto juror, when he read a para

graph of comment in The Yates Center

Advocate favorable to the defendant,

immediately discontinued his subscrip

Notoriously Hostile to Socialism.

W. A. Conner, foreman of the War ren jury, lives near Fort Scott, and his hostility to the Socialist movemen He has never so far as is notorious. known, achieved more than local re Just how h nown in this particular. came to be selected as a juror has no been determined, though it is asserted in certain quarters that he was recom mended as a "good" man by Clerk White. On the day of the final dispo sition of the Warren case at Fort Scot Conner was observed to enter the fed eral building staggeringly drunk. How or where he obtained his liquor ar questions local Socialists were unable o solve: it is suggested that his friend Watrous, deputy revenue from the town of Burlington misst be able to throw light on

Matter were he properly approached.

Old man John Nafus, for forty years a resident of Erie a government sioner to the extent of \$10 a month, is so prejudiced against the Appeal that he actually thinks it a crime that the paper should be hauled through the streets of his town from the Santa Fe to the Katy depot. Either volume mailed on receipt of I am not prejudiced against the Appeal price, or for \$6.00 we will send the to Reason," said Nafus, and yet he full set in a strong paper box by ex- admits that he will not open the copy fit that is being sent to him weekly, but via the flambeaux club just before slip for \$2.40 for which will be relication. There is no question as to keeper for a bowling alley and resort the honesty of Nafus, according to in Columbus operated by a company the honesty of Nafus, according to his neighbors. He is a red-hot republicans among whom was Al Williams, the certificate and a set of CAPITAL, prepaid.)

Richardson's New Book.

N. A. Richardson, of California, whose pamphlets are familiar to all Richardson's New Book.

Richardson, of California,
Reason reader, handed Nafus a copy likes the App

Reason reader, handed Nafus a copy likes the App

movement it never been by read a certain marked paragraph. In never been bitter in his antagonism the presence of witnesses Nafus handed to Socialism or Socialists. In Columis a book of over 200 pages, the best the paper back to Isenhour with the all-round propaganda book yet written, clear, revolutionary and scientific, ten, clear, revolutionary and scientific, sheet as the Appeal to Reason. And, Rip Van Winkle of old, jolly and sheet as the Appeal to Reason. sheet as the Appeal to Reason. Annue generous, having never acquired they could and would give Warren a fame as a devotee of the strenuous they could and would give Warren a

Rabid Anti-Socialist.

About J. E. Decker, of Lafontaine, little is known save that he, too, is a rabid anti-Socialist who long ago ex-Appeal to Reason communicated the from his study table. He is a red ren jury is believed to have been publican who imagines he would inthrough the district clerk, of Cocalumny on the body of John Brown, it is said to be an honest Parable of the Water Tank. Edward lessent. The Folly of Being "Good" Charles H. Socialism and the Hone May Walder Countries of the Conscienceless of the Hone May Walder Countries of the Countries of the John Markey and Morton All the abelitionist, were he to vote any baugh's. He could not have been ticket other than that led and maniput to or useful to seize it. The study course which Joseph E. Cohe has been conducting in the Internationa Montan All the special series in socialism.

A Study Course which Joseph E. Cohe has been conducting in the Internationa Montan All the special series in socialism.

The study course which lose socialism.

The study

Stany quarantine case tried in the federal court at Fort Scott, Kan, about derstood the question at issue until briefly, this evidence consisted of one-half lie, one whole lie and a faulty indictment based on a statute that was George W. Mathews, of Oswego, Kan, Four affidavits by as many reput-

That in a heated argument in the jury room between himself and Mathews, Mathews denounced democrats as ene mies of the government, and that he would not give them any consideration. That later in the National Hotel, in Fort Scott, in another discussion, Mathews declared that Socialists were worse than democrats, that the Appeal to Reason was an anarchist sheet and that the owners and publishers of that paper ought to be run out of the

Comment is Superfluous

Surely comment here is superfluous But even this not all. F. M. Jones an old resident of Oswego and a Grand Army veteran, in an affidavit, says: "I am well, acquainted with George W. Mathews, of Oswego, Kan., who served as a member of the jury in the Warren case. I have had some business able citizens of Paola testify to the dealings with the said Mathews, and bias and prejudice of h. Murlin, of as we are both old soldiers, we have that town, been in the habit of talking together a of the law." Eli B. Long, of Garnett, is another

of the jurors, who, according to reputable citizens, definitely expressed himself against Warren and the Appeal to Reason before the trial. Long was placed upon the stand in Judge Pol lock's court last Thursday to deny the truth of the affidavits that had been made against him, but he succeeded only in convincing the spectators that the affidavits contained nothing but the truth. An affidavit by E. C. Simon, a real estate man of Garnett, disclosed that early on the morning of the Warversation with Attorney Hugh Lard-ner, of Fort Scott, and the deponent, declared that Fred Warren, of the Appeal to Reason, had been "horsing" for a trial and now he guessed he was going to get it. On taking the stand was not connected with the Warren defense. He further said that early on the morning of May 5, on the day Warren was tried, he met Mr. Simon, of Garnett, and Eli Long, of the same place, on the street. the conversation, Lardner said, Long student, and an admirer of liberal referred to the Warren case saying that Warren had been "horsing" for a trial and now he guessed he was going to get it. Long also denounced Appeal to Reason, testified Lardner, by calling it a "villainous" sheet. When remonstrated with as to the character of his talk Long replied that he was too far down on the list and that he would not be called to sit on the Warren jury. Later, testified Lardner, Long was accepted and acted as a juror and voted to find Warren guilty.

Had Denounced the Appeal.

Long is a native of Virginia, but has resided in Kansas since 1870, most of which time has been spent in Garnett. He is fifty-three years old and is a painter, though not a union man. admits being on very friendly relations with John Watrous, the deputy reve nue collector, of Burlington, but denies that he is a spotter for Watrous as is charged by many persons in Car It is said that Long possesse political ambitions, aspiring to the 'ap ointment of census enumerator in hi district, but it is known that he would distinctly repudiate the insinuation that he voted guilty in the Warren trial in order that his friend. John Watrous, Albaugh and Bone, might, through Mackey, climax his ambition with an appointment. Who else could or would have selected him as a Warren juros but John Watrous no one in Garnett

seems to know. The youngest and best-looking juror was R. J. Finley, of Columbus. He is thirty-one years old and was born in the town in which he now resides. Finley is a republican politician in a very small way, his political activities consisting generally in shouting for the grand old party never been bitter in his antagonism life, may yet arise to the opportuni ties about him and strike the happy combination that will set the world on fire.

Never Understood the Question.

Finley's open sesame to the War-

political party in this country.

Concerning George W. Mathews, the Grand Army veteran from Oswego, the following affidavit by Hon J. O. Smith, of Moran, is sufficient: "That in the Staily quaranting case tried in the federal court at Fort Scott, Kan, about derstood the question at issue until Briefly this gold and the good the glorious subscription Rates.

PILATE AND POLLOCK. + ing.

These affidavits are signed been in the habit of talking together a respectively by C. H. Senat, R. S. great deal. During the fall of 1908, Harris, W. C. Potts, and E. W. Winand while the political campaign was ner, and in substance declare that in progress, I heard the said Mathews Murlin is a member of the republican frequently say, that Fred Warren, the party, intense and bitter in his po-editor of the Appeal to Reason, ought litical beliefs, opposed to Socialism to be dealt with to the fullest extent and Socialists and extreme in his hatred of the Appeal to Reason. It is further declared in Winner's affidavit that Murlin once stated that the Appeal to Reason was an anarchist sheet and that "You have read that Appeal to Reason until you have become an anarchist." In all of the affidavits it is asserted that the deponents believed that Murlin was so prejudiced against the Appeal to Rea son that he could not possibly give Warren a fair and impartial trial

The squarest and best informed man on the jury, Charles Nelson, of Savonburg, became violently ill after the submission of the case. Nelson hung out for acquittal until noon of the following day, and, realizing that he could not re-enter the jury room and survive, he acquiesced in the majority verdict, believing, as he said, that the case would be appealed and the verdict set aside. Nelson fifty-six years old, the father twelve children and has lived in Kansas thirty-nine years, having removed to the Sunflower state from Illinois, where he was born. He is a republican in politics, but is a reader, a and reform writers. Nelson is a man with a big heart and a big brain, few moments' conversation with him soon convinces one that he is not thoughtless, blind follower of plutocratic politics as are the remaining members of the jury. Nelson loves to think, and independence is as dear to his soul as it was to our revolutionary fathers. Since trial he has begun to read the Appeal to Reason, and the more he reads. he says, the more does it appeal to his reason. To the writer his wife stated that not a day had passed since the Warren trial but that her hus band expressed deep regret at having been compelled to vote guilty.

A Sensational Affidavit. In an affidavit freely and gladly

nade Nelson deposes and says: madic Neison deposes and says:

That he was one of the petit jurors at the May term last past of the United States district court at Fort Scott Kansas. That he was accepted and served as a juror on the case of the People of the United States against Fred D. Warren. That the morning after he was accepted as a juror and about the time the trial began he was suffering with an attack of dysentery. That after the evidence was introduced and the jury instructed by the court, and jurors retired to their chambers for consultation about four orders in the of dysentery. That ntroduced and the ourt, and jurors re following morning. That he g during the night and was so r when the jury assembled ck in the morning, and that thereafter the disease became still more scrute. That he suffered hieraring upon the case, bursors were deliberating upon the case. That he was in great physical pain and mental agitation, and that from about eleven o'clock until half past tweive he was so exhausted physically and, mentally that he was unable to combat or argue with the jurors in reference to the case or unable to longer resnain in the jury from. That he did not know that his proper course would have been to have informed the court of his condition and asked to be dismissed from further consideration of the case, but that on account of his physical and mental condition. That he would not have consented to such a verdict excepting for his critical physical condition and his mental exhaustion, and that the verdict was agreed to by him purely as the result of his physical and mental condition.

Affiant further says that after the jury dence of the prosecution, and it was

that the verdict was agreed to by him purely as the result of his physical and mental condition.

Affiant further says that after the jury was disclarged he started for his home and reached the town of Parsons where he would change cars for his home, when his condition was such that he was unable to go any further, and he stayed at Parsons under care and treatment for a period of four days. While he was in Parsons he lived with his brother, Fred A. Nelson, and was treated by Dr. Frank Fitzgerald of that place. After four days he was able to go to his home, where he was able to go to his home, where he was still suffering, and that he did not recover for three weeks after the trial of the case.

Character of Jurors.

in blocks of five by the conscienceless row's argument on the motion for a occasion and thereby to the glorious demagogues who boss the dominant new tiral, and hearing Warren's immortality; instead they will be respectively political party in this country.

Sub one year political party in this country.

Sub one year provided in the political party in this country.

The Ft. Scott Indune says the government officials are much interested in what the Appealawill say about Mr. Pollock. The Appeal will say nothing about Mr. Pollock. Public opinion in the city of Ft. Scott, even among his own political friends, has put him in the pillory and anything the Appeal might say in this connection would sound tame compared to the exceriation he is now receiving at the hands of all men who believe in fair play and free names of Pilate and Pollock.

History will fink together the names of Pilate and Pollock. Principally the government sought to impress upon the minds of be done next week in the publication of Darrow's argument. It is, how ever, opportune that the word "kid

nap according to Webster, Kidnap, means to take by force a person from one place to another and there hold such person by force or otherwise for ransom. Legally, kidnaping is a crime, pure and simple. It is to hold an individual who has been abducted until such individual has been liber ated on the payment of money to the abductor.

Warren's Motive.

of proceeding when he offered a \$1,-2000 reward for the capture of Taylor? ing Taylor for ransom the \$1,000 was not to be paid to Taylor's abductors until the ex-governor was safely panded over to the duly constitute a man indicted for murder and to give him into the keeping of the executive officials of the people's gov ernment, where he could be tried for the crime charged against him, By refusing to go to Kentucky and stand trial Taylor was violating the law. By refusing to honor requisition papers from Kentucky's governor and authorizing Taylor's arrest the governor of Indiana was violating the When, as governor of York, Theodore Roosevelt refused to honor Kentucky requisition papers for Taylor, the biggest bluff who ever occupied the white house and the greatest joke ever perpetrated on a ong-suffering people also definitely placed his name in the catalogue of law-breakers. During these troublesome times, when Moyer, Haywood conspiracy, were languishing in an ldaho jail, while republican politi were daily violating the law, Warren, whose face is sternly set against the whole present system of jurisprud-ence and industry, was the only man to stand up for strict obedience to the law. And for wanting to see the laws enforced against all alike-capitalist politicians as well as labor leaders and workingmen-he was arrested on a faulty indictment and convicted on perjured evidence before a packed ury of his political enemies.

No wonder Judge Pollock delib erated weeks and weeks and lingered great and exceeding doubt as to what course to pursue. The entire prosecution of Warren was an outage and a violation of law, and Judge Pollock knew it, and it was not until the purpose of the Washington ad ministration had been made perfectly plain and apparent that he counten anced the indictment and allowed the court to grind.

A Lying Postoffice Inspector. In his testimony L. C. Chance, postffice inspector, who was sent especially to Kansas to work up a case against the Appeal to Reason, swore that Warren told him that the mailing list of the Appeal had been de stroyed. The object of this testi mony was to have it appear that the mailing list had been destroyed so it could not be used as evidence in the trial. The postmaster, who was presdence of the prosecution, and it was contradicted by A. M. Wasser and W. E. Baker, the Girard postmaster and his assistant, also government witnesses who were placed upon the stand. These three persons, with ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, made up the list of state witnesses against

A Study Course in Socialism.

PERJURED TESTIMONY

The Government's Star Witness, in Order to Convict Warren, Swears to a Lie-The Proof.

overnor, recently pardoned that he wanted, and soon every federal hire-night safely proceed to Kansas to ling in the Sunflower state was busy governor, recently pardoned that he testify against Warren, entered Judge as a cat with seven kittens conspiring stand. Taylor had been an exile from tion of the outrage. Finally Kentucky's his native state more than seven refugee ex-governor was pardoned that years, and in Indiana was in hiding he, too, might contribute to the official with a murder indictment against him crime. and a \$100,000 reward outstanding In a letter to Robert B. Franklin. for his capture and return to the Frankfort, Ky., August 24, 1987, and Kentucky authorities. He was pard- which was made public at the time, oned by the government in order that Taylor, enumerating his reasons why he might testify against the man who he would not return to Kentucky for had violated no law and whose crime trial, among other things said: I would consisted in the fact that he tried to uphold the law. The co-incidence of to nothing less than a mock trial by Taylor's pardon and Warren's convicion in this connection is most illuminating.

"Taylor's testimony was brief, but in the few moments he occupied the stand he perjured himself by delivering a deliberate lie where it would known that from the very outset the to the most good for the government prosecution in these cases had a parinstrumental in securing his pardon tisan circuit judge and every officer of The question was asked:

Did Warren contemplate this kind YOU KIDNAPED, JANUARY 18, of proceeding when he offered a \$1, 1907, WAS THERE AN INDICT-MENT AGAINST YOU IN KEN-Clearly, he did not. Instead of hold TUCKY CHARGING YOU WITH with all these advantages, he knows MURDER?"

"NOT AT THAT TIME. SUB-INDICTMENT WAS RETURNED. authorities of Kentucky. Warren BUT IT WAS NOT MADE PUBLIC sought to take from his hiding place UNTIL THE FOLLOWING MAY." BUT IT WAS NOT MADE PUBLIC Here the United States district atorney, evidently wishing to impress the jury with the idea that Warren

> kidnaped, repeated the question: "YOU SAY THAT AT THE TIME WARREN SENT OUT THIS tegrity, and who are profoundly inter-ENVELOPE NO INDICTMENT HAD BEEN RETURNED AGAINST YOU?"

had tried to have an innocent man

Taylor's Testimony Effective.

"NO."

Taylor's testimony was short, but it was effective. By reason of this pointblank lie uttered by him the jury was given to understand that Taylor an innocent man, that in January of 1907 he was not in Indiana because of a desire to evade the laws of Kentucky. and that Warren, a Socialist-who in and Pettibone, victims of plutocratic the minds of the jurors must indeed be a terrible monster-had committed a crime by offering a reward of \$1,000 cians and malefactors of great wealth for the kidnaping of the innocent and persecuted ex-governor and his return to the Kentucky authorities.

Blasphemous Crime Against Warren. Due cognizance must be taken of this incident—this blasphemous crime

committed against Warren by Taylor with the acquiescence of the prosecuting attorney and his associates-if this is to be properly understood. Satished that Taylor had lied Warren's attorney at Fort Scott, J. I. Sheppard, sent to Frankfort, Ky., for the exact record of the indictment and proceedings that had been instituted against Taylor. A copy of the original indictment was secured, as well as a copy of the requisition papers issued the Kentucky governor and which were not honored by the governor of Indiana. An affidavit was also secuted from J. C. W. Beckham, former govof Kentucky, who issued ernor requisition papers and who repeatedly attempted to induce the Indiana governor to honor the papers by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Taylor.

According to the official indictmen the grand jury of Franklin Kentucky, April 19, 1900, and county. harged William S. Taylor with being accessory before the fact to the wilful murder of William Goebel. The indictment is signed by R. H. Suter, foreman of the grand jury, and was filed with T. B. Ford, clerk of the Franklin circuit court the same day it was re-

At the Warren trial Taylor testified that no indictment had been returned against him at the time Warren offered the reward for his capture, and that it was not until May, 1907, that the indictment was made public. He repeated this testimony at the instance of the prosecuting attorney, who wanted it to sink deep into the minds of the jury, whose ignorance of public matters, with one exception, was equaled only by the bias and prejudice of its members.

When Taylor gave that testimony he perjared himself by lying. The lie went direct to the minds and hearts of each individual juror, whose sympathies were all with the "persecuted" ex-governor, and they resented Warren's in itiative to have their political hounded into a hostile court and tried never committed. This lie, as much, if of more than anything else, served to inflame the passions of the jurors against the Socialist editor and beyond all question of doubt sealed his doom.

Roosevelt and His Vultures. The character and nature of Taylor's

testimony, however, is only a concrete illustration of the character and nature of the whole infamous prosecution against Fred D. Warren. Unable to meet his disclosures, and squirming un der the terrific hammering he was giv-ing their official acts through the Ap-peal to Reason, Roosevelt and his gang of vultures decided to jail Warren and suppress his paper. The machinery of the government was put in motion, and every element that entered into its compesition was used to encompass the de-struction of the marked victim. A special postoffice inspector was detailed to catch Warren on a technicality. The Kansas United States district attorney

With great eclat Kentucky's former was given the tip as to what was court and took the witness and making ready for the consumma

be arrested, denied bail and subjected a partisan court, before a packed partisan jury, with testimony extorted from witnesses who, were indicted for that purpose, and with a hundred thousand dollar corruption fund as a powerful incentive to conviction. It "AT THE TIME WARREN OF. take place. He knows that the prose-FERED A REWARD TO HAVE custion had partisan jury commissioners with power to stuff jury wheels. He knows these wheels were stuffed, and that juries were packed. Not satisfied further, that the prosecution provided itself with a one hundred thousand dol-SEQUENTLY AND LATER AN necessary testimony a pliant and partisan grand jury might not be able to extort by indictment. The enormities possible under this statute and these criminal practices have been fully illustrated. For me to hazard my liberty, and, perhaps, my life, upon the mere words of men who have heretofore shamelessly violated the sacred obligations of good citizenship and official inested in my destruction, would be to invited it."

Taylor Pardoned, Warren Convicted. Proceeding, Taylor says: "If he (Franklin) will in some way provide

an absolute guaranty-not merely a promise-a guaranty that will inspire confidence among sensible, level-headed honest men-a guaranty, the spirit of which may not be violated though the letter be observed-that I will be given a fair and impartial trial. I will gladly return to Kentucky and submit to trial In other words, if Mr. Franklin will cause what remains of the one hundred thousand dollar corruption fund to be returned to the treasury of Kentucky, no part of it to be used in these prose cutions, thus putting my case on the same footing as other criminal cases; will guarantee that all trial juries in my case shall be composed of six up-right democrats and a like number of upright republicans; and last, but by no means least, will in advance by mutual agreement, select an able, upright and impartial judge to try my case, I will return to Kentucky and submit myself to trial before a jury of my native state."

Class Character of Court.

In nearly every particular Warren was confronted with a situation such as Taylor described in his letter to Mr Franklin, and yet he was arrested, taken from him home, and, in a hostile court, tried and convicted by perjured testimony before a packed jury and in the presence of government who had the treasury of the United States government behind them to use in the prosecution. Taylor, the repubhe must have been guilty, or he could not have accepted pardonren, the Socialist and workingman, was convicted. Taylor, the refugee from justice, pardoned for the purpose, acted as a witness against Warren, who had never fled from the courts, against whom no suspicion of crime was ever entertained and who, in his own community, stands the peer in honor and uprightness of any citizen in it. was indicted for the crime of murder. Warren was indicted for offering a reward for the capture of the man intify against the other who was con-

If this record has not made good Warren's original contention relative to the class character of the courts, and their readiness to release a capitalist while convicting a working man, then language has failed its meaning and human action is a joke.







ON THE FIRING LINE

The comrades who are actively at work in the field gathering in the subscribers keep a watchful eye on this column, and naturally so. They like to feel that their efforts count for enough to keep the circulation rising. With them it is simply a prejudice. question of doing the work and getting the results, and if at times the circulation takes a tumble it is not their fault. They have done their

But there are others who could have done better and thus prevented

When there is a slump it has a dis couraging effect upon some while others have to work all the harder to make up for it.

I am not going to sermonize the Army at this time. I am only going to remind the boys that this is a mighty critical time for the Appeal and that a little work now on the part of the Army means a whole lot for

When I say boys in addressing the Army, I do not mean to exclude the for they are among our most faithful workers, and without them it would be a hopeless fight.

That's a fact! The wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts are among the Appeal's most earnest supporters and most valiant defenders.

When the Appeal is attacked we are sure to hear from them, not only with words of cheer, but with lists of subscribers and other substantial tokens of their loyalty.

The Socialist movement is woman's movement and the Appeal is length in support of the criminal sysher champion and she knows it, and tem. But let Socialism poll a million that is why she has given it her al-

Every woman (except those of the upper class who are more interested monkey parties than in humanity ought to give her support to the Ap peal. The great capitalist papers are treated as the equal of man. The Appeal declares, in accordance with the spirit and declaration of the Socialist movement, that woman shall have equal rights and opportunities

Well, we have dropped back a little and must make up for it. Let's go at it at once. A sag in the Appeal's circulation does not look well-except to the plutocrats. They chuckle when it goes down and we do when it goes up. Let's keep it going up.

STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE P	THE RESERVE	8 mp		
State.		or.	On.	Tot
Pennsylvania		129 147	872 555	21.8 21.8
California		524	350 ° 268	18.8
Oklahoma		107	853	17,8
Missouri		305	226	14,2
Rantas		245 814	289 289	13,1
Washington	·	306	278	12.8
Minnesota (.	*****	244	138	10,1
Indiana Michigan New York	****	249 240 L54	245 187	9.7
Arkansas		205	175	9,4
		22	137	7,7
Iowa		31	118	7,0
Cologado Nebraska		89 98	131 100	5,2
Massachusetts .	1	112	78	4.6
Massachusetts Wisconsin West Virginia		75 63	107	4.4
Kentucky		45	65	3.8
Louisiana		78	37 58	3,7
Florida Montana	*****	75	121	3.6
Montana		92 .	63	3.6
South Dakota		51 43	43 59	3.1
Alabania New Mexico	NEEDING GOODS	54 51	53.	2.5
Tenpessee		61	31 35	2.5
Canada		153	60	2,1
Georgia	****	28 30	41 35	2.5
North Carolina		113	39	2.2
Virginia	2	34	56	1.9
DISIDA		200	63	1.7
Arizona Maryland		229	44	1.5
Nevada		19 21	13	1.4
Nevada Connecticut		30	19	1.5
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Tist of County	MARKET NO.	47	DESIMAGES	PERM

New subs week ending Jane 26. A.698 published. The following has just been Expiring subs week ending June 26. 6.798 to Loss for week 1.008

Total 299,870

Every revolutionist tried under the Appeal to reson I never subscribe for the paper is a distance to My loyal name. I doe not read the paper and doe not need it for read the paper and doe not need to read the new editorial policy is received. It against the only movement which pro
Mr. editer, Pleas Stop sending Mee the appeal to reson I never subscribe for the new editorial policy is paper and the new editorial policy is paper what Socialism needed to arouse it to a realization that this is a fight and not a pink tea-discussion. It will give and ever, and who are determined to the movement backbone and vim and will prepare the country for its mea- of superstition and ignorance.

The Switchmen's Journal is dead, or only to tolerate them back it up with their cold cash, and they are thus licensed to use the name of the church as a means of intimidating the organ of the corporations and combines and they are thus licensed to use the name of the church as a means of intimidating the ignorant masses to submit to and the editor enjoins the slaves who will prepare the country for its mea- of superstition and ignorance.

THESE too/are "the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot may shrink today," as he did in the revolutionary days of our fathers, from the struggle that impends. Yet it is a time of opportunity such as man never had before. Another revolution is at hand; it must be a bloodless one, yet it is not a trifling matter, and it will require true manhood and womanhood to meet the so-cial need. The world calls on you for action and for heroic enthusiasm.

Don't waste postage stamps on Judge Pollock. He merely carried out the orders of the lords of privi-After all, he's but an incident. It's the system we're after-not in-dividuals. Letters addressed to him will do you no good and will find their way to the waste-basket.

The Socialists are sprouting wings. They are becoming jail birds.

THE mortgage crop is always good In this world the black sheep often

Those whom men call strong are often only brutal.—The Public, Chicago. AMERICA would be Socialist now ex

A MAN may know more than a dog, but, unfortunately, he also generally owes more.

THE fires of persecution are the very things that are needed to fix the half-baked Socialist.

No difference how much he may blow, the worker always comes out at fund of that party. What did-the the little end of the horn.

HUNGER for real life and hunger for rotherhood are the legs on which So cialism is dashing around the world.

. CAPITALIST courts have given Social ists the ear of America. Every Socialist should be ready with the mes Ir you had opportunity there is a

would like to develop, and work along that line would be pleasure. Socialism means opportunity. THE cheerful disposition is doubtless

to be commended, but there needs to be full instruction as to how to be cheerful when one is out of work, in debt, and some of the family are sick WITH a million majority for plutoc racy at the last election, it is no won

votes and the tune will change. CHICAGO STENCHES.

der the courts feel free to go their

Whew! We can sniell the stenches of Chicago stirred up by the Daily Socialist-more of them than Coleridge discovered in Cologne-way out here on the plains of Kansas.

Rottenness? What pen could de-scribe it! For years under first one administration and then another and under alternate republican and democratic mayors the city has been stew ing in political filth and civic corrup tion. The capitalist papers, fattening on the carrion, were silent. It remained for a Socialist paper, the Chicago Daily Socialist, under the editorial management of A. M. Simons, to attack the monster in his lair and drag him forth into the open light of day.

The fight is the most remarkable ever witnessed in Chicago and the city is stirred to its depths. For once there is a paper that can not be bribed and an editor who cannot be bullied.

Bravo, Chicago Socialist, and bravo Editor Simons! You are doing great work in exposing the rottenness of capitalist misrule in Chicago and pointing the finger at the miserable culprits who are responsible for it.

Thanks to the Chicago Socialist, the mystery of Ella Gingles will probably be cleared up and the prominent poli-ticians who are the beneficiaries of the white slave traffic exposed.

No wonder Mayor Busse was taken suddenly ill when the Daily Socialist was cried from a thousand throats on the Chicago streets.

The Socialist's fearless exposure has caused an upheaval in Chicago. The advertisers is depicted in glowing lanred-light district is quaking, the white slavers are fleeing in terror and the politicians are trembling in their stolen

Threatened indictments have only aroused the Socialist and its battery the rotten, festering, stinking cap-

italist maladministration. Rake them fore and aft, boys, and may the New York Call follow suit.

UNCONSCIOUS TRIBUTE.

The Appeal receives all kinds of letters from its readers, mostly commending it, but in some instances de-

those used to the ways of error.

William Lloyd Garrison's "Liberat-honest men.

We have no feeling other than that of pity for our correspondent and for others who like her resist those who it is further considered that even would open their eyes that they might behold the great truths that are dawn-behold the great truths the gr

JUDICIAL ABORTION.

Here is the way justice is dispensed in the class courts of the United States, before which all men are said to stand equal. Three years ago the wife of a rich brewer, Moses Kaufmann of Sioux Falls, S. D., murdered her servant girl. The girl was but sixteen years of age. The testimony showed that her beastly mistress had put her to death by slow torture, lacerating her flesh and scalding her with boiling water. It proved be one of the most sickening and shocking murders on record.

The murderess came near being lynched by her neighbors. But she was rich. Very rich. Not only this, her husband was a leading republican and a heavy contributer to the campaign court do to this atrocious rich murderess? This unspeakable fiend? found her guilty and fined her one hundred 'allars for assault and battery. This is one picture. Now look upon the next.

Freeman Knowles, editor of the Lantern, a veteran of the civil war and an ex-congressman, one of the bray est editors and purest men in the country, told in his paper the tragic story talent and desire which you of the cruel outrage perpetrated by society upon a poor girl, betrayed and friendless, who had been sent to her

The great heart of Knowles touched and he wept with pity. Reaching out, figuratively, for the remains of this poor and deserted child, and seeking to cover her dishonor with the mantle of his pity, he was arrested for publishing and circulating obscene mat ter, put upon trial and fined five hundred dollars and sentenced to jail until the fine was paid, and the court of appeals has just affirmed this infamous verdict.

Let the readers of the Appeal contrast these two cases and contemplate them both in all their ghastly signi-In the one case the rich murderess of a poor working girl was released on an insignificant fine and in the other case a humane, noble and generous man was heavily fined and sent to jail because he sought to rescue from dishonor the name of a poor girl who had been betrayed and

raged.
We have in these two shocking cases the absolute confirmation of the So-cialist contention that the present ruling class, the capitalists, own and control the courts, and as such servile agencies of rich criminals the courts are totally unworthy the respect good citizens and decent men.

NINE TO SIX.

The issue of the Pittsburg Catholic section two, of June 17th, presents an interesting study in sociology. The section contains four pages of four columns each, 16 columns in all. The first page is completely taken up with a de-nunciation of Socialism under the head of "The Church a Foe to Socialism."

The tirade against Socialism covers six columns of the paper. There is a column of miscellany and the remaining nine columns are made up solidly of capitalist advertising under the head of "Progressive Pittsburg Business Men and Business Enterprises."

The stocks and bonds, real estate and other exploiting concerns, thirty-nine in all, are here heralded as the finest in the land. Each of these capitalist guage as the very one in his line to whom the people should hasten with

This subsidized issue tells its own lewd story on the very face of it. In Pittsburg catholic, with pious mien and in the name of sweet religion, going to these thirty-nine capitalist exploiters and soliciting their advertising patron-Socialist movement.

5,706 5,608 200,870 nouncing it as the very worst paper consideration, a mere mess of pottage. The first issue of the journal under the Pittsburg Catholic, sets its face the new editorial policy is received. It

the Appeal. How then does she know.
without reading it, that it is a disgrace? and all religions look alike to them. Any leged labor journalism we have never The first few issues may shock you, and all religions look alike to them. Any leged labor journalism we have never and others like you, Mrs. Giles, but if you paper that will attack Socialism is their and others like you, Mrs. Giles, but if you paper that will attack Socialism is their paper, and the paper that is published only have the fortitude to keep on reading you will soon not be without it. Light dazzles and blinds those who live in darkness and the truth hurts tims in ignorance, poverty and filth truckled to the corporations. Although tims in ignorance, poverty and filth, merits the scorn and contempt of all

JUST ONE, COMRADE!

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

Warren is a Fort Scott today to hear his sentence pronounce in the federal court. In his absence I want to ask you to go out and get just one subscriber for the Appeal to show that you are with him

Just one! You can get it eas ily if you will only make the effort, and in this case the effort is surely worth while. It is not for the one subscriber

that I am asking, but that Warren may feel and know that you are with him and that the fight he has made and the persecution he has suffered have not been in No one not in his position can

realize under what difficulties he has done his work during the last two years. Not only has he been under bail during all this time, but he has been hauled into court repeatedly, has had his case postponed again and again and every now and then he has been given to understand in various would land in penitentiary.

To some this may not appear as being particularly trying, but to a man of Warren's sensitive nature, a man of his unobtrusive loves with all his heart his wife and little children, the anxiety and suspense have been far worse than any actual punishment that might have been imposed upon

It is not that Warren has lacked courage or fortitude, for few men possess these qualities in a greater degree. His is not the bravery that is vaunted in the market place, but the calm courage that bears what comes in silence; and through all this ordeal Warren has thought mainly of the cause he was fighting for and the principle involved and only incidentally of himself and family. For this he would be the last

to expect reward. He feels that ? he has done his duty only and that he could not have done less without betraying his trust. But nevertheless it is gratify-

ing to a man to know that those in whose interest he is perse-8 cuted and for whom he would willingly sacrifice everything appreciate his service. The tribhe would most appreciate; for, while it would assure him of the approbation of his comrades, it would at the same time be a direct service to the cause which he regards far above any perwhich there is no man living who would more willingly sacrifice everything than Fred D. Warren.

Don't wait, comrades, to place a flower on his grave, but show your appreciation of his service by adding a subscriber to the roll of the paper the plu-tocracy is bent upon destroying. 8 July 1, 1909. —J. A. W. 8 the roll of the paper the plu-July 1, 1909.

FRANK M. CASSIDY.

The late convention of the switch men's union cannot be congratulated, except by the railroad corporations, upon the change of editorship in its of ficial journal. Under the editorial management of Frank M. Cassidy the journal took rank as the leading publication of the railway unions and one of the ablest and most progressive in

age on the strength of launching the the labor movement. But the railroad thunderbolt of the church against the corporations did not like Cassidy and To this it has come at last. The Cassidy has been retired, for the conchurch has been commercialized and vention seems to have been dominated religion has been prostituted to keep by a "conservative" spirit, entirely the working class in bondage. For a agreeable to the corporations.

The letter of our good friend, who ing workers and their families be degiven a little free transportation which

exploitation instead of rising in revolt pay his salary to be sure to show proper

spect of every progressive member of the switchmen's union. Cassidy never truckled to the corporations. Although for some time prior to his retirement. The very fact that the capitalists, as

RICH LAWBREAKERS.

Governor Herbert Hadley of Missouri in a speech before the Chautauqua at Topeka, Kansas, the other day

Seventy-five per cent of the corporations doing the business of this country are either organized illegally or are doing an illegal business.

This means that the captains of industry are criminals and law break ers. But they are not arrested, they They are perfectly imare not jailed. mune. They are the ruling class. They have a right to trample upon the law with im punity for they are the Lords of Privilege and can do as they please. means opportunity.

A poor devil in Ohio who was hungry stole fifty cents worth of corned beef not long ago and was sentenced to the pententiary for ninety-nine years.

This is justice as it is meted out by capitalist courts under the capitalist The rich malefactors have a free hand. As Governor Hadley says, they violate the law with impunity but they go unwhipped of justice.

SENATORIAL BUNCOMBE.

The heat wave which has settled over the country during the past few days would be unbearable were it not for the distraction afforded by the United States senate in framing a tariff schedule that will abundantly fix the treasury of the trusts and at the same time fool the people.

To those who understand the Washington game with its wind jamming, its sham battles and the fierce onslaught of certain senators, presumably, upon the thieving trusts, but in reality to make the record "look good" when another election comes around, the scene is suf ficient to provoke roars of laughter.

These senatorial stunts generally catch the unthinking. The tariff measure that will be adopted, as the Appeal has stated, was written by the trusts and presented by their representative, Senator Aldrich. This bill makes a few nominal reductions, which are conceded only after wordy conflict, in which such horrible epithets as "ungentlemanly," "unfair," "lack of senatorial courtesy" are handed back and forth with such grave solemnity as to make the boodlebugs shake-with laughter.

The United States senate is a confidence game. Some day the people will take this aristocratic bunch high-brows by the seat of their trustprotected trousers and help 'em to a chance to earn their own living.

BREAKING THE UNION.

gan of the manufacturers, we find the capitalist reason for dealing indulgently with labor unions. When unions are an actual menace to the capitalists they finds his way home again. The fedare crushed and never are they patron- eral judge and the millionaire brewer ized unless they are helpful instead of hurtful to their masters.

The steel trust, for instance, has had the amalgamated union of its employes completely at its mercy and could have is true of other unions, but the capitalists refrained not from any love for the unions or for their employes because they were wise enough to understand that the crushing of the union would prove inimical to their own interests by for ering the revolutionary spirit among the workers and develop-

ng their class power. The reason given by the editor of "How," the manufacturers' organ, for not crushing the union when a strike is lost and the union is helpless, is as

"IT IS USELESS TO BREAK UP A UNION OF A HUNDERD MEMBERS AND BREED TWO HUNDRED SOCIALISTS."

Here we have it frankly stated in leading article of the manufacturers organ that it is better for them to tolerate the union than to destroy it and that is why they are so friendly to some unions and patronizingly smile be when they are perched on the upon them, knowing that to wipe them bench. out would mean a more radical spirit,

numberless separate factions and if they ask nothing more than a few paltry concessions in the way of wages and working conditions. So long as the workers are divided instead of being The letter of our good friend, who hinks she is our enemy, speaks for its and Debs. Simons, of the Chicago Socialist, is threatened with prosecution for exposing the rottenness of Chicago. It is clearly a concerted move against the radicals. But it is just darkness and abhors the light, and in this she typices many millions whose minds.

The letter of our good friend, who hinks she is our enemy, speaks for its livered from such hypocritical and heartless friends.

The letter of our good friend, who livered from such hypocritical and heartless friends.

"The Church a Foe to Socialism," which heads the article in the Pittsburg capture of their tools and the full product of their tools and the full product of their tools and the radicals which heads the article in the Pittsburg which heads the article in the The merging of capital into trusts

and combines and the combinations of capitalists which have been organized

unions as they now are have been rendered almost helpless by the power of

William Lloyd Garrison's "Liberator" was denounced in terms compared with which the letter of our good Mrs.
Giles is but a perfumed zephyr.

We have no feeling other than that its public officials and converted that the We have no feeling other than that its public officials and converted that to not only the switchmen, but to the wrong with that union and that it is pity for our correspondent and for metropolis into a den of thieves; when

behold the great truths that are dawning upon the twentieth century; and orgies, the true character of the Pittsburg continue; notwithstanding their ignorant hatred and opposition, to send the Appeal forth on its mission of education and emancipation.

Is notorious for its scandals and its switchmen's union. There are too orgies, the true character of the Pittsburg Catholic is revealed and every workingman, however devout, or however devout, or however ignorant, may see it in its true colors.

In the struggle of the union. There are too ough organization of the working many live, progressive members, too ough organization of the working wany love, progressive members, too ough organization of the working to allow their journal to be permanely published in the interest of the workers and making common cause railroad corporations.

THE boss is a master.

Ir you had opportunity it would be an easy thing to make a living. Socialism means opportunity.

UNDER Socialism you would not seek employment from another because you would be able to employ yourself.

If you had opportunity you could be mebody and do something of value in the world. Socialism means opportunity.

Ir you had the opportunity some have, you would not waste your time and talent like they do. Socialism

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The next issue of the Appeal will contain in full the sentence pronounced upon Fred D. Warren by Judge Pollock and also the full text of Darrow's masterly argument before the court. Read both and judge for yourself.

If your children had opportunity they too might be educated and see the world and accomplish something worth while. Socialism means opportunity.

THE world will not have escaped despotism until it has overthrown the greatest despotism of all, capitalist control of industry.

THEY say that when a man lies he wiggles his big toe. Perhaps that Is the reason that shoes became fashion able in capitalist countries.

THERE are two words which have come into vogue under capitalism that are suggestive, considering that they do not mean the same thing. These words are, earners and owners.

TIMES are getting good (for the cap talists), with two million men out of employment. This means that, even at the best, capitalism is now unable to keep the people employed.

LOST ON A FISHING TRIP.

The following press dispatch explains itself, especially when it is read between the lines:

read between the lines:
St. Louis. Mo. June 25, 1909.—Federal Judge Smith McPherson, now holding court here, and Otto Stifel, millionaire brewer and republican leader, wandered about the foothills of St. Charles county all last night, returning to St. Louis after daylight this morning after finally finding their way, which had been lost early last evenine, Judge McPherson said total state evening and the state of the

Please note the company Judge Smith McPherson is in when he goes on a fishing expedition, and how he would have made an interesting photograph on their return. This is the same Judge McPherson, of Missour whose notorious decisions in favor of the railroads wiped out the two-cent fare law and other railroad legislation in that state. These decisions were so rank that

impeachment proceedings were instituted in congress by a member of the gence, please, and next week the "lit-Missouri delegation. This is also the tle old Appeal" will as usual reach you same McPherson who, with certain other brethren of the bench, went off on a lark, the report of which had to be suppressed to avoid a sensa-tional judicial scandal. The railroads furnished the palatial train, the rarest wines and other things too numerous to mention, and to cap it all, the whole hilarious party came near being the same time the state of California arrested. The report leaked out but was hushed by the same powerful influences which financed the expedition. The Appeal has some savory details of this judicial junket which would make certain federal judges appear far less grave and reverend to their constituents than they try to

It will be noted in particular that if not a revolutionary form of organ- Judge McPherson goes fishing with ization.

Most capitalists are in favor of trade unions if they are so organized as to keep the workers divided into almost numberless searches facilities.

In the state of the papers will tell of the big crops until the prices go down and the farmers sell low. It is the way the state of th cork the bait and pilot the weary is the way the real capitalists have of fishermen to their rest.

STRAIGHT AHEAD

There are many disheartening incidents in a great struggle. There are times when it seems as if the struggle was hopeless and with a de-spairing "What's the use?" many sadly abandon the field.

There are others who face all these trials without shrinking and who keep straight ahead no matter who falls by the wayside.

These are the heroic souls who conquer and whether they win fame or not they are the salt of the earth and the light of the world. They may be despised and friendless but they nevertheless preserve the integrity of their souls, and if they die in a ditch abandoned they die possessed of all there is of real wealth. The Appeal Army has in it many

such brave and heroic souls. never complain; they do not clamor for recognition; they are satisfied to do their duty day by day, to keep straight ahead. These souls, the products of the Socialist movement, are in themselves the complete vindication of the

movement. The base and mean and self-seeking qualities have been eliminated from their natures. They have risen to that plane and developed to that point where social service becomes the holiest of sacraments. They do not see the faults and frailties of others, but only the en-

vironment which produces them. They do not excuse themselves by the weakness of others, but work all the harder to make up for it. The Appeal is proud of its Army and flatters itself that it has to some

extent been the means of developing the moral and spiritual fibre of its Of course, not all the Army consists of seasoned, disciplined, self-reveterans who keep straight

ahead under all circumstances. But the number is increasing and new names are constantly being added to the roll of honor. As I look over the field I see here and there the splendid men and women, and children even, who are doing the work that keeps this paper

on the firing line. Without them its

heart would soon cease to throb and its vital message would die upon its lips. To see them at work, even in fancy, aye, even to hear their names, is to me an inspiration. To have such comrades to turn to and rely upon, come what may, is to face the future without fear and bear adversity, with-

out regret. These are trying times for the Appeal and for the Army, but I am confident we shall keep our colors flying and triumph in the end.

I have abiding faith in The Grand Army of the Revolution.

A DAY BEHIND.

The Appeal is a day behind this week in reaching its readers on account of the "Glorious Fourth" falling on Sun day and being celebrated by some on Saturday, by some on Sunday and by still others on Monday. Your indulon Saturday.

As a proof of the way the present system rewards genius it may be cited that James J. Jeffries refused to enter the ring recently for less than \$4,000which would amount to something like \$22 a minute for the time he was there. At is grumbling because the salary of the president of the leading educational in stitution of the state has been raised to \$12,000 a year. The prize fighter is better paid than the teacher.

THE man who clears less than \$3,500 a year from his investments is not a capitalist. He is merely playing capitalist, and bears the same relation to the real thing that the boy on a broomstick does to a real horseman.

reaping from the farmer.

Warren and the Appeal Workers

Total Defense Fund pledged to date \$19,742.50

The Appeal mail during the past two weeks has been literally flooded with letters containing pledges of the Appeal Army of Workers to stand by Warren and the Appeal. Some of them are from old men who flash again with the old fire as they re-enter the ranks and volunteer their service. Some are from women and some from boys and girls, and all breathe the same spirit of loyalty to Warren and the Appeal and devotion to the Socialist movement.

It is a magnificent flow of enthusiasm in a great cause. It shows that the people are awakening and that they are not lacking in the true spirit of manhood and womanhood which has met every crisis and conquered in Our good correspondent will pardon us for suggesting that she is in error when she says that she has not read the Appeal. How then does she know the Appeal How then does she know.

In a paper of the privilege of being mangled and fleeced by them.

The advertisers in the Plitsburg privilege of being mangled and fleeced by them.

The Appeal Army of Workers into one great industrial body, that they may present a united front and fight together the batter of the found the list of one-hundred-dollar pledges and another instalment of the inspiring letters of the inspirin

Dunham, Florida, Maple, Tennessee Reeve, Oregon . . Arnett, Kentucky Fitzsimmons, Ohio SEND NO MONEY

MY PLEDGE APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas

I herewith pledge to the Appeal Defense Fund \$.

days after being notified that it is needed.

"By this Sign we Conquer" City.,