

Number of subscribers for week ending April 27th... \$17,988
of new subs for week ending May 4th... 9,324
of existing subs for week ending May 4th... 9,326
Total number of subs for week ending May 4th

Established
Aug. 31, 1895

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
Six Months 28 Cents
Club of Four or More (40 Weeks) 25 Cents

This is Number 859
Expiration Number 59

527,372
J.A. WAYLAND
FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter
FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 18, 1912

BETRAYED by its friends, persecuted by its enemies, the little old Appeal continues on its way, serenely confident of the speedy triumph of Socialism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth

The Appeal Wins Great Victory in Federal Court

Warren, Wayland and Sheppard
contempt of court.
Hearing of contempt charge, and
of name.
Case against APPEAL editors
ended to November, 1912, term.

THE United States District Attorney Harry J. Bone sprung what he intended to be a surprise on the APPEAL editors and their attorney, J. I. Sheppard when court opened in Fort Scott, on May 6th. We were cited to appear before Judge Pollock and show cause why we should not be punished for contempt of court. Bone charged in his rule to show cause, that Wayland, Sheppard and Warren had "knowingly, unlawfully, corruptly and feloniously confederated, combined, agreed and conspired with each other to influence and impede the due administration of justice, by endeavoring to have one (who shall be known in the APPEAL as "The Victim") to give false testimony on behalf of the defendants in the action of the United States of America vs. J. A. Wayland, C. L. Phifer and Fred D. Warren."

It was the intention of the prosecution to postpone action in the contempt proceedings until later in the week. The government's side of the case was read in open court in the presence of the members of the petit and grand juries with the palpably evident intention of influencing these men against the APPEAL. It was also proposed by the district attorney, in addition to the contempt proceedings, to bring the same matter before the grand jury and have that body return indictments against the parties named in the contempt proceedings. It was a clever move on the part of Mr. Bone and it would have worked as he had planned but he reckoned without Jake Sheppard. Immediately after Bone had read his charges, Sheppard was on his feet and in one of the most forceful ten-minute arguments ever listened to in a court room, he demanded an immediate hearing on the contempt charges. He pointed out to Judge Pollock that as a member of the bar and an officer of the federal court he was entitled to an immediate consideration of the grave charges that had been filed against him. He stated that he had a number of important cases then pending before the court and that it was unjust to permit this charge to remain undecided during the trial of these cases. His presentation of this issue appealed to the court's sense of justice and the contempt proceedings were set to be heard at 10 o'clock Tuesday, May 7th. All other business of the court was postponed, including the main trial of the APPEAL editors.

The story of what happened on that day is entertainingly told by Comrade Phifer in another column, so I shall not weary you by a repetition of the details. I merely want to impress upon you what I have said before: That in federal court practice no trick is too despicable to be used by the government's attorney. A man who had been befriended by the APPEAL, was persuaded, by what means we do not as yet know, to go upon the stand and swear that we had paid him \$250.00 to testify falsely. Under the rigorous cross-examination by Comrade Sheppard, the victim's story fell to pieces. He stated that the \$250 paid to him by the APPEAL was due him for past services and had been paid to him on his demand; he then testified that the money was paid to him to get outside the jurisdiction of the federal court; to make the matter more absurd he testified that the money was paid to him to remain and testify falsely. Harry Bone's face was an interesting study as it began to dawn upon him that he had made an ass of himself. The proceedings were dragged throughout the entire day. At the close of the testimony for the defense it was clearly shown that the APPEAL had given the victim this \$250 that he might start life anew, so far as this pitiful sum would permit a man who had all his life been the football of fate—a sacrifice to the god of capitalism—to start anew. Judge Pollock, in his decision, stated that the money was paid with good motive. This statement becomes the more significant when it is remembered that Judge Pollock entertains no very kindly feelings towards this paper. Under the evidence, however, there was nothing for him to do but to discharge the defendants. The district attorney walked from the court room in a daze. He did not make his appearance again until on the following Thursday. He soled his wounded feelings by imbibing large quantities of—Fort Scott's celebrated sulphur water!

A Great Drama Playing Around the Appeal

I HAVE been attending a great drama, a living, throbbing play. We will not realize how great it was for years to come. The stage setting was perfect, backed by the magic of May. The action was rapid, ranging from portrayal of the elemental passions to the simplest and sublimest sentiments that speak in the childlike language of truth. The plot was heralded by threat and suspense that riveted attention most intensely upon the slowly unfolding action. It was not the play that had been anticipated, but it developed into a series of surprises that brought out the strongest traits of human character, good and bad in vivid contrast. I can write some things in a wholly impersonal manner, but this I must tell as it appealed to me.

We were preparing for the trial of the editors of the APPEAL at Fort Scott for alleged violation of postal laws in exposing vile conditions at Leavenworth. The entire country was expectant. The psychology of the occasion was one of vibrant interest. Then things began to happen. The action opened dramatically in Girard. A former convict, who was a victim of the Leavenworth prison, and who has been in the employ of the APPEAL for a year while he was seeking means of beginning life anew, by demanding an affidavit which he had given the APPEAL concerning conditions in the prison. Shortly before the day the anticipated trial was scheduled to open he appeared in the office of Fred D. Warren, suddenly pulled a forty-four revolver and demanded the paper. Sheppard and Warren were covered, and could only explain that they did not have the document with them. Wayland, hearing the excited demands of the giant Victim of Leavenworth brutality marched quietly into the muzzle of the weapon while threatened with instant death, and pushed the giant into the hall. Simons entered the hall, and with his hands in his pockets marched up against the pistol which the Victim snapped at his breast. The fearlessness of Wayland and Simons disconcerted him. He broke down. Debs came along and led the now weeping man away, promising in his kindly way to see that he got justice, and induced him to go to his own room until they might adjust matters. What was apparently a satisfactory adjustment was made, the Victim leaving with the affidavit in his pocket.

This was Act I, Scene I.
"I was going home from work in the APPEAL office one evening a bit later when I met the deputy postmaster of Girard, who introduced Postoffice Inspector Chance. The latter invited me to step up to his room for a consultation, and on the way stopped to talk over the "long distance" with Harry Bone. When we

returned to Chance's room he began with a few words of flattery and expressions of good will, but I told him to cut those out and tell me what he wanted. He stated new action was contemplated against the APPEAL and wished me to tell what I knew about the case. I told him I knew nothing. Then he stated that I was under indictment, and that the grand jury had been considering a second indictment against me, personally, ending with a suggestion that he believed it would be to my interest to call on District Attorney Harry Bone when I went to Fort Scott the following week. I felt like striking him, but quietly told him he might be sure I would not call on Harry Bone.

This was Scene II.
A pleasant faced old man called at our offices in the APPEAL and was invited to be seated, as he was taken for a comrade. "I am a deputy United States marshal," he said; and Debs, Ricker, Ben Warren and I were summoned to appear before the grand jury at Fort Scott on Monday morning preceding the Tuesday set for the hearing of the case against the APPEAL editors. What was wanted of us we did not know.

This was Scene III and end of Act I. The plot was developing as perfectly as in a well-thought out drama.

We arrived in Fort Scott Monday morning and reported ready for the grand jury hearing. All day, for seven hours, we sat in a little waiting adjunct of the grand jury room but were not asked to appear before that body.

Act II, Scene I, was ended.
Scene II. Papers were served on Warren, Wayland and Sheppard, at Fort Scott charging them with trying to subvert justice in paying the Victim \$250 to induce him to leave the state and refuse to testify in the case against Warren, Wayland and Phifer. Local Socialists were astonished and the papers played up the matter in the most sensational manner possible. Interest was now at fever heat.

Scene III. Monday night at Fort Scott.
Accused preparing their defense. Prosecution visibly gloating over the situation. Socialists begin to arrive in Fort Scott from all over the country. First installment of subs for APPEAL begins to deluge the postmaster. All feel great things are in the air, for conviction meant disbarment of Sheppard and jail for all.

Act III, Scene I.
Hearing of the contempt proceedings begins Tuesday forenoon. Court room is crowded. For the first time provision is made for the populace, extra benches being carried in. The Victim takes the stand. He tells how he had been inveigled into signing an affidavit that was dictated by Sheppard; how this affidavit contained matter that was untrue; how he had tried in vain to get it back from Warren or Sheppard; how, after

back and delivered it to Warren when Sheppard was absent. The Victim is made to confess that he had written letters before the controversy over the affidavit, in which he claimed that Warren had promised him, over and above his salary, \$250 on which to begin life anew; that after receiving the affidavit he had tried to induce a Girard boy to break into the APPEAL building and search it at midnight for other papers; and that all this happened after he had agreed to become a witness for the state. He fumbles, he contradicts himself, he makes passionate speeches in which he is encouraged by Sheppard, he calls Warren a liar and scoundrel on the stand in open court. He becomes livid with rage, and all the baser elemental passions play over his countenance in one of the most spectacular witness scenes ever appearing in court. The scene is concluded by the presentation with great flourish of the APPEAL's draft for \$250 in favor of the Victim, which the defense receives without question, with the quiet assurance of righteousness that breaks the lance so viciously hurled.

Now we come to Act III, Scene II, the testimony for the defense.
It occupies all Tuesday afternoon, and is startlingly dignified, calm and at times poetical in sentiment, language and setting. A statement of the defense, sworn to by Warren, Wayland and Sheppard, is read by the attorney, in which it is explained

himself from the district or should not appear for the prosecution in the forthcoming trial. In grievous tones he tells of how the man he had trusted and sought to help had gone to Pittsburgh in place of Kansas City, returning late at night with the money he (Debs) had freely given him, and had been seen by the pressman in the APPEAL office after midnight; and how he had turned against the man, who, after being threatened with death by the Victim, had sought to give him a chance to begin life anew, and was now trying to send Warren to federal prison. The recital is so simple, so affecting and convincing there is practically no cross examination.

Fred D. Warren appears on the stand, and tells how he is editor and publisher of the APPEAL, and how he had been led to an expose of Leavenworth condition by P. L. Zickgraf; how he had verified every charge before it was made public, by special examination; and how he had attached no special significance to the Victim's affidavit, never asking for it, not intending to use it either in the APPEAL or on the witness stand; and how on one occasion, when its return was asked, he had handed it back, but that the Victim had voluntarily returned it to him (Warren). He testifies that he alone was responsible for the publication that caused the indictment, and had never tried to induce the Victim to refrain from tes-

tifying for the state, or to leave the jurisdiction of the court. He expressed sympathy for the man who had so roundly abused him on the stand. The plain recital is so convincing the people listen in rapt attention and there is little cross examination.

J. A. Wayland, always quiet, always serene, tells how he has leased the APPEAL to Fred D. Warren and given him full management of it; how he marched into the face of the gun in the hands of the Victim, and pushed the giant into the hall, yet tells it in such an unaffected manner no one thinks of it as anything but absolute truth. He tells how he thought so little about the indictment against him he had never consulted anyone else about it; that he had made absolutely no provision for his defense; that he felt that, being in the right, he must be cleared, but if he was convicted, he would not in the least be disturbed by having to serve sentence. It is one of the most startling series of statements ever made in court, and the prosecuting attorney fairly gasps as he requires Wayland to repeat the story over and over. There is something absolutely sublime in this testimony, and it is all given in so simple and unaffected a manner as to strike deeper than the fountain of tears.

All this time Sheppard has been conducting the defense. He has built a pyramid of fact. The attorneys for the prosecution sit white and subdued. The Victim flushes and pales

by turns. Now comes the climax. Sheppard himself takes the witness chair, and tells his story in a volume of eloquence that has seldom been surpassed. If he lives a hundred years he will never rise to a higher plain of native power. In the most positive language he tells how he had asked an affidavit from the Victim simply to protect the APPEAL in case of the very contingency that was now facing them; how it was signed while he was not present; how it had never been in his (Sheppard's) possession; and how the Victim had never demanded it from him. He specifically and absolutely denied that he had ever, by suggestion or otherwise, endeavored to get the Victim to refuse to testify for the prosecution, or had sought to remove him from the jurisdiction of the court. When he has completed his statement

the national convention meet me, and handshaking and expressions of good will and comradeship climax the victory that has been won.

I don't think I have ever seen or heard of as complete and perfect a court drama as this. It possesses all the elements of greatness. It contains comedy and tragedy, passion and sentiment, beauty and ugliness, nobility and sordidness.

Act IV begins in comedy.
Deputy Prosecutor Moore attempts to speak for the prosecution, while Harry Bone sits by his side, white and clearly unable to argue. Moore asserts that the issue is purely a question of veracity, and that one must decide whether the Victim was telling the truth or whether Debs, Warren, Wayland and Sheppard were telling the truth. The anti-climax is so perfect the pose is restored after the tense climax that preceded it. The situation could not have been relieved better by a Shakespeare or a Moliere, using all the arts of stagecraft and genius to accomplish his design.

Now comes the decision of the court—Scene II, though with the same setting. In measured words Pollock declares that the charge was so grave it had demanded attention. He is excusing the prosecution, letting them down easy after the overwhelming defeat. He goes further, and declares that it was his determination, had the defendants been found guilty, to give them the full limit of the law. The judge takes occasion to lay down the rules he means to enforce in the trial of the case against Warren, Wayland and Phifer, when he says that Warren was right in not attaching much importance to the testimony of the Victim; that, in fact, no evidence showing conditions at Leavenworth, or the intent of the publication, or its truthfulness, had any bearing on the subject, the issue relating wholly and solely to the matter of obscenity. Having so outlined how he means to "get" the APPEAL, he dismisses the defendants in the contempt proceedings and leaves the room without formal adjournment of court.

Another scene follows. The prosecution is sullen. It is announced that the trial of Warren, Wayland and Phifer would not be called until Thursday morning. Warren and Wayland prepare to return to Girard to rest and work on the APPEAL. Debs, Ben Warren, Ricker and I, too, want to get back and catch up with the work. I go to Harry Bone and ask him to dismiss us from the grand jury so we may return home, but he gruffly refuses. We remained Tuesday night in Fort Scott. That night we can hear in Harry Bone's room, which was assigned him after we had ours, yet adjoined it in caucus with the Victim and others. It seemed we were being slated to help frame up another indictment against the APPEAL. But it appears the significance of Tuesday's battle grew on the prosecution just as it had been growing on me. Wednesday noon we are excused from the grand jury, never having been called to testify before it.

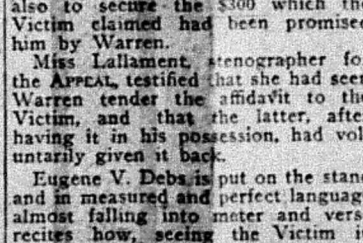
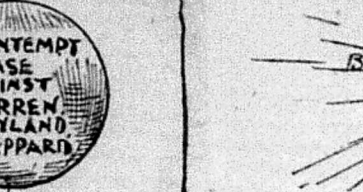
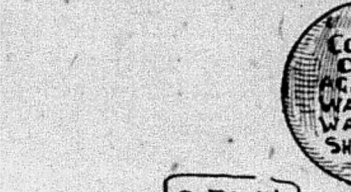
Now we come to Act V, the closing of the drama, the consideration of the original case against the APPEAL editors.
Scene I of Act V—Eugene V. Debs is walking along a country road at the edge of Fort Scott in early twilight. Suddenly he comes face to face with the Victim, who is walking toward him with one of the state's attorneys. Debs in his kindly way speaks to the Victim, and the latter turns toward him, with longing in his eyes, though he wished to explain and apologize for his conduct. The two men face each other for a moment, then Debs turns and walks away without a word.

Act V, Scene II—Court room, Thursday morning. Attorney Sheppard announces that he has subpoenaed sixteen guards from the Leavenworth penitentiary, and is ready to proceed to trial, to be on hand in time to testify. There comes a protest from Warden McClaughey, who declares that the absence of so many guards would ruin public service and cause the prisoners to be locked up until after guards had returned. Prosecution is in a dilemma. The judge wishes to know what it is desired to prove by the guards, evidently so he can rule as to admissibility of testimony, but Sheppard refuses to say until he has his witness present. Then the judge suggests a postponement of the case until depositions of the guards can be taken. Hearing postponed until Friday morning.

Scene III—Court room Friday morning. Attorneys are negotiating with court clerk a recess. Editors have been permitted to return to Girard; Wayland and I are back and Warren on his way, but Wayland is on the street talking Socialism rather than attending the proceedings. Postoffice Inspector Chance is present for the first time in the hearing of the case. Attorneys for the United States are clearly mad and disconcerted, while rain is falling outside and all spectators save some faithful Socialists have deserted the room. Bone tries to make it appear that the APPEAL asks a continuance, but Sheppard declares he is ready for trial; and, after hurrying from one room to another, consulting and arguing, Bone signs the agreement Sheppard had written. Judge Pollock convenes court on the stroke of twelve. He declares the APPEAL case closed for the present by agreement and dismisses the petit jury. The case is at an end.

Scene IV—Socialists crowd around us to congratulate us on the victory won in leaving the court room. I lance into the room occupied by lawyers during the session of court, and see the Victim seated. I bow to him. He arises and advances a pace as though he wishes to speak and explain, but I pass on. As I proceed a number of Socialists on their way to

the wonder of the age is that we are as good as we are.
Socialism will give to all an economic equality, a chance to start right in life. It will do for humanity in wholesale what the Christian is mistakenly trying to do in retail.
Let us draw the curtain on the Victim. His failure does not indict humanity, but the system which brutalizes and degrades the best in all of us.



Agreement that Postponed Case In the District Court of the United States...

Wickersham is Summoned One of the most brilliant of the many bright moves made by Attorney Shepard...

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Abolish Federal Courts

The action of the house of representatives in voting almost unanimously to abolish the lately established commerce court should be followed by a like action in dealing with the federal district courts and the United States circuit court of appeals.

ment does not realize what a great man it has had working silently and serenely and everlastingly in the cause of the class to which he has always belonged.



This federal judge has discovered the people.

CITING a precedent is merely appealing to the dead to bind the living.

WHAT do you suppose will be the next form of attack on the APPEAL?

THE APPEAL has fought more battles at Fort Scott than the federal troops ever did.

You needn't bother about recall of decisions. The judges will see to that little matter themselves.

AFTER all there is need of the bailiff's devout expression, "God save this honorable court." Save the mark.

SINCE the federal judges have the final say, they might let the country which it is going to be, T. R. or just T.

If the empire was to make as rotten rulings as some federal judges do there would be instantaneous recall of the empire.

HARRY BONE has decided that the APPEAL is a pretty lively corpse. Kansas City Star and St. Louis Republic, please notice.

PERHAPS the reason the people are deserting Taft is because they are beginning to realize he once was a federal judge.

SUPPOSE the whole American people should get their deserts and be cited for contempt of the federal court—who would be left to carry food to them?

If every capitalist was arraigned for conspiracy to defeat justice how many of them could prove they had done nothing worse than to try to aid the unfortunate?

The Grand "Old Man"

"J. A." the "One Hoss," the "Old Man," as we of the APPEAL staff affectionately call him, grew upon me immensely during the hearing at Fort Scott and in the days preceding the trial.

THE Fort Scott postmaster has brought in a verdict to the effect that the APPEAL Army is a marvel, and he shows signs of hoisting both the white and the red flag.

WHILE T. R. and Just-T. are considering whether or not they will win, the Socialist party is about to meet in national convention and consider how the working class may win.

THE federal court building should be an audience room, not a little star chamber. There must be room in it for the whole people, as well as for the masters and such as they want to put away.

THE federal judge is human after all. He can be tamed. Already he is becoming tractable. After a while he may be useful in ruling the wealth from the masters into the hands of those who produce it.

THERE are recruiting offices for the APPEAL Army in every section of America, and they are never puzzled to know how to get new material. If Uncle Sam wants to increase his army he should turn Socialist and make it an army of peace.

THE APPEAL'S GRAFT

When the letters from the APPEAL Army came tumbling into the Fort Scott postoffice it caused much comment among the postoffice employees. On the 7th, highwater mark was reached. Then the federal court officials were invited to come down and take a look at the stack of letters reaching into the thousands that had come from the four corners of the country as a silent protest against the persecution of the APPEAL.

"What a graft," exclaimed a government official as he read on the outside of one of the envelopes that it contained 200 subscriptions to the APPEAL. The postmaster estimated that there were 40,000 subscriptions in the lot.

"Ten thousand dollars," exclaimed another official.

To be exact the mail sent to Fort Scott by APPEAL Army comrades amounted to \$5,110. The total number of subscriptions was 20,000. Before we have earned the \$3,000 we will have had to print and deliver 800,000 copies of the APPEAL TO REASON. The defense in this case up to date has cost us \$1,860. This reduces the graft very materially.

PRESIDENT TAFT recently decided that the Catholic teachers in the Indian schools might wear their religious garb. The big Methodist conference of the United States now in session at Minneapolis has protested bitterly in this introducing religion into the public schools in this partisan manner.

Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

The word comes to us direct that the cotton and woolen kings of New England are determined to send the two union leaders above named to the electric chair.

Ettor and Giovannitti, along with their associates, directed the strike along peaceable and orderly lines, but rioting was incited in spite of them, and in one of these outbreaks, provoked by the brutality of the police and other authorities, a woman was shot and killed by a policeman and upon the charge of being "accessory before the fact," Ettor and Giovannitti were arrested, locked in jail, and indicted; and although they are absolutely innocent all the powerful milling interests of New England are in conspiracy to pronounce them guilty and put them to death.

These men must be saved, if it is within the power of the labor movement to save them—and it certainly is.

They are innocent—there is no stain of crime upon them. Reputable witnesses are prepared to prove this beyond any question of doubt.

No one knows better than the mill owners themselves that Ettor and Giovannitti are innocent of the crime charged against them, but they believe that with all the authorities and all the legal machinery at their command they have these workmen at their mercy and can with impunity send them to the electric chair for having espoused the cause of the slaves of the cotton and woolen mills and directed and inspired them in their struggle against inhuman conditions and starvation wages.

Such men are dangerous to the cotton and woolen trust and there is but one way to deal with them and that is to fasten the charge of crime upon them and lock them up for life or shock them to death by electrocution.

Do you remember that even pregnant working women were clubbed and their own children torn from their arms by the soldiers and police at Lawrence, at the command of the brutal mill owners?

Do you remember the pitiable stories that were told by the little slaves of these mills at the congressional investigation?

Do you remember the facts that were brought out in the investigation regarding inhuman working conditions and starvation wages paid in the mills while their owners were pocketing millions from the earnings of the wretched slaves?

It was against these brutal conditions and the indescribable suffering that resulted therefrom that Ettor and Giovannitti and their associates bravely took their stand, and for this they deserve the commendation and support of every working man and woman and every decent citizen in the land.

The APPEAL TO REASON is with these men and recognizes clearly its duty to do all in its power to save them. Every Socialist paper and every labor paper should come promptly to the rescue. There is not a day to be lost.

The trial is set for May 27th!

Indifference on the part of the working class or but half-hearted support will certainly mean the judicial murder of these brave young fighters in labor's ranks and their death would leave a foul and indelible blot upon the labor movement of this country.

Publicity is needed, agitation is needed, protest is needed, and money is needed. Contributions for the defense fund should be sent to Wm. Yates, 9 Mason street, Lawrence, Mass.

At the time of this writing, Warren, Wayland and Phifer of the editorial staff of this paper are in court and about to be tried upon a trumped-up charge of violating the postal laws by sending an expose of capitalist crime through the mails. Every effort will be made to send these Socialist editors to prison, but in making their defense they are not thinking of themselves alone. They know that there are others who are already in prison for fighting the same fight, and notwithstanding their own persecution they sympathize with, and are ready to help, all others who have been arrested and are threatened with punishment for fighting the battles of the workers in the struggle to put an end to the slavery of the working class.

The APPEAL editors, realizing the grave danger that threatens Ettor and Giovannitti, unite as one in having this plea made in their behalf, and when Warren said, "they are on trial for their lives and we only for our liberty; give their case precedence, make the appeal for them strong and give it ample space in the next issue," Wayland and Phifer promptly assented and added that nothing must be left undone to save these brave and innocent men from the cruel fate which threatens them.

With all the earnestness there is in us, we appeal to our readers, our comrades, our friends and sympathizers, to join in a nation-wide movement to arouse the people and prevent the consummation of this brutal conspiracy of the millionaire mill owners to foully murder the men whose dauntless courage and unwavering loyalty had so much to do with winning the splendid victory of the mill workers at Lawrence and throughout New England.

Do They "Go Wrong?"

MOST people in discussing the unfortunate denizens of the underworld have the habit of saying that they "went wrong." It is not true as a rule. The assumption of those who say that a girl "goes wrong" is that it is from pure wantonness, from deliberate choice, and that she is therefore entitled to little consideration and no pity.

It is a false and vicious assumption. In most cases the girl is the victim of conditions she cannot control and is "pushed by unseen hands" into her inevitable fate. The conditions surrounding her are at fault, and not the poor girl who is the victim and pays the penalty with her life.

The Chicago vice report proves beyond question that a very great majority of the girls in that city who are said to have "gone wrong," have literally been driven into a life of shame by their sheer inability to live decently on the pittance they were getting for wages.

A writer who understands, and who has a heart to feel as well as eyes to see, says in reference to these martyrs of capitalist society:

"They 'go wrong.' In thousands of cases, from sacrificial motives that are angelically pure, so far as the spiritual side goes. They sell the body, not for the body's own food into her inevitable fate. They sell their bodies secretly for money needed by the aged, weak and helpless of their own blood."

This is the truth and it is to their eternal honor even if it be at the price of their earthly shame. They are the victims of capitalist society and it comes with poor grace from those who loll in ease out of the proceeds of their blasted lives to point the finger of scorn at them and accuse them of having "gone wrong." It is perhaps in the spirit of self-accusation and seeking to exculpate themselves that they assume a position of cold disdain toward those who have to be sacrificed that they may satiate their vanities in luxury and self-indulgence.

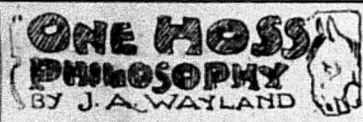
The same writer very justly argues that it is often on account of her sex nature, her noble feminine instinct of self-sacrifice that a girl "goes wrong." He says:

"Where the boy will cut himself loose, it necessary from parents and younger brothers and sisters and say, 'It is as much as I can do now to take care of myself,' the girl pours even her chastity upon the altar of family devotion."

This also is absolutely true, as everyone knows who has intelligently studied this question. What infinite paths that the self-sacrificing soul of a girl should irrevocably decree her ruin and death!

And what a commentary upon the social life in which this supreme tragedy is the reward of the supremest virtue!

LAST year the APPEAL printed and mailed 31,414,000 papers. In addition to this, more than 2,000,000 copies of the Coming Nation were printed. The total newspaper postage was \$21,403.37; total postage of all classes was \$32,257.29. If the balance of the year runs as well as the three months just closed, we will print 50,000,000 copies of the APPEAL and 4,000,000 copies of the Coming Nation. That is doing pretty well for a paper that is singing its "swan song."



THE wealth of the United States as in England or any other country, is the surplus that labor has produced and not yet consumed. It is the surplus of this and past generations. It belongs by right to the progeny of the workers. Those who possess it have no moral right to more than an equal interest in it. Your ancestors produced it and it belongs to you as much as to any other citizen. That is true of other countries, also. Cunning has fooled the masses and taken away from them their natural rights. Are you wise to it?

THEY tell you that the rich are possessed of their wealth because of their great brain power. When the workers develop their brain power they will take it because they have the brains to do it. And the workers are rapidly getting next to the game. Then they will possess it because of their great brain power. Sure. And Socialism is rapidly developing the brains of the workers.

If the public operated the banking system the profits annually would be enough to pay all the expenses of government. Would that be better or worse for the people? Is the giving of many hundreds of millions a year to a few rich men better than retaining it for your own benefit? But even if the public did operate the banking system and you didn't want to take your profits you could give it to some of those who are now bankers. There surely wouldn't be any law against that. And then no banks could fail unless the government failed. Who are the wise guys—you or the bankers who are busy with making laws concerning money and banking?

LAND is just as essential to life as air. In fact, you can get no air unless you have land to stand on. So that controlling the land is really also controlling the air. To sell air would be considered absurd and a tyranny, but that is just what is done when you buy and sell land. There is enough land for every human being without interfering with any other being. Only the ignorance of the character of land permits the present absurd system of land tenure. I own land. What for? To compel some other people to pay me for living on the earth. They must buy the right to live of me or some other person, if they own none themselves, for they cannot go to any other planet. Nor can they live on the water without drawing their sustenance from the land somewhere. Society will sometime make use and occupancy the sole title to land. Then none can speculate off the necessity of others, nor can they live without doing something useful. You are your children in the ideas concerning land tenures. Why don't you get something and read up on it?

J. T. ROBERTSON, Fort Rock, Ore., suggests that Harry Bone is in the employ of the railroad company and so has a right to his pass. Possibly he is in the employ of the railroad company, but what business has a federal attorney to be in such employ?

Water—The Coming Threat

THE report on the water power development of the United States, just out, contains some interesting facts. The minimum potential water power of America is estimated at 36,916,250 horse power, while the maximum estimate is over 66,000,000. The total installed power of various kinds is in round numbers 23,000,000. It will be seen therefore that there is sufficient potential water power to run all the machinery of the country until it almost doubles that now in existence. The importance of water power becomes apparent in considering this fact.

The amount of water power developed in 1907 was placed at 3,423,000 horse power, or about one-seventh of the whole, though it is admitted the ratio is rapidly changing as water power is more and more developed. Indeed, late statistics, not yet complete, give the total water power now at 5,536,680 horse power.

Of this developed power, 939,000 horse power belongs to six companies located in eighteen different states. Ten companies control 1,821,000 horse power already developed. To quote from the report: "Some of these great groups show more or less relationship to each other. . . . There is furthermore an increasing affiliation of water power concerns and public service companies. . . . A more general relationship is where men who are officers or directors of one company are also officers and directors in many other corporations, making a far-reaching group of inter-relationship control or influence." In other words, water power is being trustified. How extensive the trustification already is, is shown by the fact that the groups thus related control fifty public service corporations, fifty banks and financial houses, sixteen interurban railroads, street railways in 111 towns, gas plants in 113 towns, and electric light plants in 669 towns and cities. This is quite a formidable showing of cities and towns already tied up to the power trust; and the work is only beginning.

It used to be thought that water was free. It has been socialized so long that men accepted socialized or "free for all" as a matter of course, and liked it. But it appears water is now coming under private control, and possesses potentialities of oppression greater than anything yet placed in private hands. It is possible for the owners of water power to supply all power in America, of every kind. It can supply this power cheaper than can be done in any other way, yet at enormous profits, that will make the fortunes of the Morgans and Rockefellers dim in comparison.

The same power, conserved for the people by the government, and used by that governmental cost of maintenance, would decrease the cost of production in every line fully one-half. It is no wonder that even the republican official who compiled the figures suggested that "public control is peculiarly desirable, because, broadly speaking, water power is inexhaustible and permanent, and therefore differs from all other natural resources, which are expended in their using." It is no wonder he declares: "Action should be immediate—first, to save our steel by the use of water power, and second, because our remaining public water powers are fast passing into private control, making regulation thereafter difficult."

into private control, making regulation thereafter difficult." The hint is there, but the suggestion, like all the plans of the masters, contains a joker. It does not suggest use by the government, which is the only thing that would end profit and exploitation, but "control" and "regulation," which is merely a suggestion that the government help a few to rob the rest of the citizens.

The National Convention

THE national convention of the Socialist party will be meeting in Indianapolis when the readers of the APPEAL see this.

When fifty years from now, people are casting up the events of 1912, that convention will occupy more space than that of any other gathering that will be held this year. It will do this because it is up to this time the greatest gathering of the class that will be ruling fifty years from now, and is the meeting at which will be formulated policies that will be effecting events at that time.

There will be hard-fought questions at this convention. The question of the relation of the party to organize labor, immigration, the agricultural problem, and the internal organization of the party in its relation to foreign speaking branches, the work among the women and the publication of literature, will be the most important subjects. On none of these, however, is there any division that threatens the solidarity of the movement. The fact that such questions as these will occupy the minds of every delegate instead of the distribution of offices, is one of the most striking contrasts between the Socialist party convention and those of the capitalist parties.

Committees that were appointed two years ago have been turning in reports for some time, so that the delegates will find a body of matter to work upon when it arrives, and the convention will, from the start, be a working organization. It will be a hundred and fifty thousand Socialists conferring, through their representatives, on the best way to advance the cause of labor, and not a gathering of professional politicians struggling for power.

Reports of the officers show that there are about three times as many members represented in this convention as there were four years ago. When it comes to comparing activities it is safe to say that ten times as much propaganda is being carried on now as was in progress during what we thought was the great campaign of 1908. Indianapolis is located close to the center of Socialist activity. There are more Socialists within 500 miles of Indianapolis than there were in the United States four years ago. The fact that Indianapolis has very extensive railroad facilities and is the center of the greatest net of interurban roads of any city in the world makes it probable that the number of visitors to the convention will be many times greater than at any previous gathering.

The hall in which the convention will be held is more than three times as large as any previously used, and this will give an opportunity for a large body to hear the proceedings. The woman's committee met some days before the convention and the farmer's committee meets the day before. The woman's committee has outlined an extensive series of activities and it is a safe prediction that the next four years will see more propaganda among the women than was carried on by the entire party but a few years ago.

Another line in which propaganda is extending is among the young. An educational committee has already reported on a series of activities in the schools. Steps are being taken to affiliate the young people's societies directly with the party, and to unite them in some way with the Inter-collegiate Socialist society.

While the Socialist party is meeting in convention, with its membership growing like a mighty tidal wave, with its program definite, its principles determined, its activity at white heat, its members filled with the confidence that comes from certain victory, the republican and democratic parties are torn asunder by the conflicting interests of the capitalist class they represent.

It is always dangerous to make historical comparisons, but it is impossible to avoid seeing the close analogy with the situation that prevailed in the United States in 1860. Then the democratic and whig parties were split into factions by the strict construction vs. ruling class interests. So it is today. The large capitalists are quarreling among themselves, and are fighting in turn against the desperate and dying small capitalists. There is only one thing on which they agree, and that is hostility to Socialism.

This convention will meet just as the Wisconsin legislature closes a special session, called for the purpose of arranging for the combination of the two old parties against the Socialists. This is but a forecast of the time when Socialists will stand face to face to but a single party representing the interests of exploitation and robbery. It is easy to see that this is the last year in which there will be both a republican and a democratic convention. It is certain that the Socialist party is the party to which the future belongs.

A MAGAZINE called Banking Reform calls attention to the fact that there are nominally deposited in the banks six billion dollars. The money actually there is one and one-half billion. The money outside the banks is two billion. The total money in the country is three and one-half billion, yet there are sixteen billions on deposit. How secure is your money under such conditions, seeing that you have no security for it and that there is absolutely nothing behind it?

THE Railroad Magazine publishes an extract from a newspaper which naively says relative to alleged decrease in the revenues of the railroad: "The railroads cannot afford to suffer the loss and so it is only a question of time when they will have to decrease the wages of the employes or increase the passenger and freight rates." That doesn't follow at all. The people may take over the railroads and get rid of the tribute takers entirely.

"Is the red flag the flag of any religion?" screamed a preacher recently to a New York audience. "Certainly it is. It is the flag of the religion of humanity."

May 7th

This date will forever remain a memorable one in the history of the APPEAL and its army of loyal workers. A few days before the trial we sent out an invitation to our friends to meet us at Fort Scott, not in person but in spirit. We were unable to answer this invitation to but a small number of the APPEAL Army. Had this invitation gone to the entire Army list the federal building at Fort Scott would scarcely have held the responses. As it was Postmaster Hughes in an interview with the Kansas City Post stated that his office was completely swamped in the deluge of mail that came pouring in on every train. Every available postoffice employee was put to work to care for the letters addressed to the APPEAL.

These subscriptions, more than 20,000, are being put in type as rapidly as possible. These Fort Scott subscriptions added to those sent in to the APPEAL at Girard, will make a grand total of over 40,000 for the week. This shows what the APPEAL Army can do. With a little extra effort all along the line, we can easily reach the Million mark. Before reaching that goal, however, it will be necessary to reach the 600,000 mark and to that end we ask everyone of our readers to do a little work for the APPEAL this week. The attention of every member of the APPEAL staff from Teddy, the office boy, down to the managing editor, has been occupied with events at Fort Scott. Therefore the circulation work has been somewhat neglected during the past week. That there may be no gap in the onward march of the APPEAL to the Million I urge you to devote thirty minutes of your time in getting subscribers. We have big things ahead of us for this year and it is therefore necessary for us to have this circulation work out of our way and provided for, that we may devote all of our energy of the propaganda plans that we have been maturing. Read carefully the report which follows. It will serve to arouse your enthusiasm. Write the study gain in every state. We can make the net gain much larger in the weeks that are before us if every comrade who reads these lines will devote thirty minutes of his time this week to getting subscriptions.

Table with columns STATE, OFF, and TOTAL. Lists subscription data for various states including Pennsylvania, Kansas, Ohio, Texas, etc.

9,294,10,310 827,372

States marked "*" show gain for week.

HOW WE LEARN.

You and I are controlled by ideas, just as are the Mohammedans. You cannot tell which ideas are the more correct until you get others with which to compare them. For instance, if you had never seen a horse and never read about one, when you saw the first one you could not tell whether it was a big horse or a little one, or if there were other colored horses. It is thus with all other subjects. If you have never read and got a clear idea of some other system of society than the one under which you have lived, then you cannot tell whether it is the best or not. You cannot tell whether Socialism is better or worse than the present capitalist system until you have gotten a clear understanding of Socialism, or a state of society based on common ownership of capital instead of the private ownership of it. We Socialists understand the present system just as well as you who support it, for we, too, have been raised up under it. But we also have a more or less clear idea of Socialism, and it proves to us that it will be much better for all than the one we live under. That is just why we did away with a kingdom—some of the people who had studied the matter were convinced that a republic would be better than a monarchy, and they agitated for it and were denounced as anarchists, free lovers, against the home and just the same epithets that are now applied to Socialists. If you will read history you will find this true. I think it would be fair to claim that we Socialists understand the present system better than those who do not know the principles of Socialism, for the study of the latter has given us a clearer view of the present system than we had before. And you will have to admit that Socialists are readers and thinkers, even if you think we think wrongly. Come now, examine our horse and then compare it with yours and see which you would prefer.

"The Torch of Reason," by Frederick Forrest Berry, is a novel full of fire and poetry of the social revolution. It is a thrilling story crowded with living characters and stirring scenes. Its economics are sound and it teaches thoroughly the lesson of Socialism in the brilliant author's own unique and impressive fashion.

The Million League. Appeal Comrades: Here is my pledge to send you One Subscriber a Week for each month until the Appeal list numbers One Million Subscribers. Includes fields for NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE.