

Pittsburg State University

## Pittsburg State University Digital Commons

---

Electronic Theses & Dissertations

---

8-1934

### The History of the Appeal to Reason: A study of the Radical Press

Harold A. Trout

*Kansas State Teachers College*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Trout, Harold A., "The History of the Appeal to Reason: A study of the Radical Press" (1934). *Electronic Theses & Dissertations*. 23.

<https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd/23>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@pittstate.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@pittstate.edu).

THE HISTORY OF THE APPEAL TO REASON:  
A STUDY OF THE RADICAL PRESS

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Science

By  
Harold A. Trout

PORTER LIBRARY

KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Pittsburg, Kansas

August, 1934

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	iv
CHAPTER	
I. THE RISE OF SOCIALISM.....	1
<p>Organization of the <u>Socialist Labor Party</u>--  the Socialist press--<u>Socialist Labor Party</u> con-  ventions--organization of the <u>Social Democratic</u>  <u>Party</u>--Eugene V. Debs--campaigns and elections of  1900 and 1904--Debs joins the <u>Appeal to Reason</u>  editorial staff--campaign and election of 1908--  division between conservative Socialists and  I. W. W., 1912--campaign of 1912--Benson and the  election of 1916--Socialists and the World War--  division between the conservative Socialists and  the Communists, 1919--return to Debs in 1920--  Socialist and Progressives support LaFollette,  1924--The Socialists in the elections of 1928 and  1932.</p>	
II. J. A. WAYLAND--FOUNDER OF THE <u>APPEAL</u> .....	24
<p>Early life--publisher of the <u>Ripley Index</u>,  Versailles, Indiana--publisher of the <u>Cass News</u>,  Harrisonville, Missouri--return to Indiana--  moved to Pueblo, Colorado--establishment of the  "One-Hoss Print Shop"--land speculation--conver-  sion to Socialism--return to Greensburg, Indiana  --publisher of the <u>Coming Nation</u>--<u>Huskin Colony</u>--  founding of the <u>Appeal to Reason</u>--comment on the  election of 1896--plans to build circulation--  methods of presenting Socialism--religion--  charity--philosophy of life--death.</p>	
III. FRED D. WARREN--THE FIGHTING EDITOR.....	42
<p>Publisher of the Bates County <u>Critic</u>, Rich  Hill, Missouri--begins work for the <u>Appeal to</u>  <u>Reason</u>--sub-editor of the <u>Appeal</u>--fight with Post  Office Department--return to Rich Hill, Missouri  --in 1904 joins the <u>Appeal</u> staff for the second  time--Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case and re-  sulting case with Post Office Department for in-  citing to violence through the mails--conviction  --case taken to Appellate Court--pardon--exposure  of conditions at Leavenworth penitentiary and  resulting case for sending obscene matter through  the mails--case dismissed--the "Alton Steal"--  the <u>Appeal</u> and Theodore Roosevelt--suit against  the <u>Kansas City Star</u>--suit withdrawn--some of the  great editions of the <u>Appeal</u>--Warren's resigna-  tion.</p>	

IV. THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE <u>APPEAL</u> .....	62
<p>W. H. Wayland, publisher of the <u>Appeal</u>--  opposition to the Colorado courts--the Coffman  case--<u>Appeal's</u> anti-war campaign--demand recog-  nition of Carranza government in Mexico--barred  from mail for violation of the Espionage Act--  <u>The New Appeal</u>--Haldeman-Julius acquires control  of <u>Appeal</u> publishing plant--the <u>Haldeman-Julius</u>  <u>Weekly</u>--the <u>American Freeman</u>--<u>Warren's News-</u>  <u>paper</u>--"Little Blue Books"--other Haldeman-  Julius publications--summary.</p>	
CONCLUSION.....	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	81
APPENDICES.....	85



## INTRODUCTION

As early in American history as the administration of Andrew Jackson the laboring class was becoming conscious of its strength and demanding legislation for its social and economic improvement. In 1828 a workingmen's party was formed at Philadelphia, to be followed in a few years by similar organizations in the manufacturing and industrial states of the North and East. Trade unions were formed, strikes were called, and the laborers sought various measures of relief from the state legislatures.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the labor movement had gained considerable momentum. In 1869 the Knights of Labor organized. This was an association that aimed, among other things, to bring the laborers into a brotherhood that would protect them against the "aggression" of the employers. They heralded such slogans as "the injury of one is the concern of all," "labor is the only creator of values and capital" and the organization of "cooperative stores and factories." These principles were decidedly Socialistic. The leadership of labor however soon passed to the more conservative and better organized American Federation of Labor.

Labor entered politics in the Presidential election of 1872 under the name of the National Labor Reform Party, charging in their platform that the government of the United

States was "wholly perverted from its true designs," in a land of plenty yet labor was deprived of its just share of wealth.

In 1877 the Socialist Labor Party of North America, later the Socialist Labor Party of America, was formed. It took advantage of the opportunity afforded by industrial unrest of that year, to spread their doctrines by means of the press.

In 1897 the Socialist Labor Party was replaced by the Social Democratic Party of America under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. Debs had played an important role in the organization of the railroad workers and was to play a greater role as candidate of the Socialist party in the next six Presidential elections, with one exception.

It was necessary to know something of the history of the Socialist Party and something of the changes taking place in the public mind in order to understand the reasons for the establishment and growth of the Appeal to Reason, the greatest Socialist propaganda sheet in the United States.

Public opinion is an important factor in determining the action of legislators. During the first decade of the twentieth century the press was very influential in molding public opinion. Today, with the radio and public address system, the press has lost some of its power.

From Girard, Kansas, a little town in the southeastern part of the state, the Appeal to Reason proclaiming the doctrines of Socialism was distributed by the millions to

all parts of the United States and to many foreign countries. One edition ran 4,010,000 copies. There were thousands of people who received the paper but refused to read it. Many would tear the paper into bits, others trample it under their feet and in other ways declare their opposition to the propaganda sheet. Though thousands of people objected to the methods of the editors and refused to read the paper, they were compelled by that very fact to think on the issues that were being presented.

As a teacher of history and social science in the Girard High School, I have been impressed with the importance of the Appeal to Reason at one period of American history. I feel that I have had a very good opportunity to present the history of the paper since I am personally acquainted with Walter Wayland and Fred Warren and have secured access to the files of the Appeal. I have attempted to present the history of the Appeal to Reason and a historical sketch of the Socialist Party whose doctrines the paper proclaimed.

CHAPTER I  
THE RISE OF SOCIALISM

The history of the Socialist Labor Party of North America from 1877 to 1897 is the history of American Socialism for that period. The Socialists having captured the convention called at Pittsburgh, in April, 1876, for the purpose of reviving the National Labor Union, called another meeting for July 19-22, 1876. At this convention delegates from four organizations were present: The North American Federation of the International Working-Men's Association, Social Democratic Working-Men's Party of North America, Labor Party of Illinois, and the Socio-Political Labor Union of Cincinnati. These groups united into the Working-Men's Party of the United States. Their platform was a "somewhat abstract exposition of the cardinal points of Marxian Socialism."<sup>1</sup> In their second meeting in December, 1877, the name was changed to the Socialist Labor Party of America.

It is probably questionable whether the Socialists took any part in the agitation which brought about the labor troubles of 1877, but they did take advantage of the opportunity to spread their doctrines among the excited working men.<sup>2</sup> One of the most important means of spreading their

---

<sup>1</sup>Frederick Emory Haynes, Social Politics in the United States. Hereafter cited as Social Politics. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 55.

doctrines was the press. During the years 1876 and 1877 twenty-four Socialist newspapers were started, eight were in English, fourteen in German, two in other languages.<sup>3</sup> Most of the papers established during these years survived but a short time. In 1878 the New York Volkszeitung was established as a daily paper devoted to socialist and labor interests. It maintained a high position but its influence was limited because its name suggested that it was printed in German.<sup>4</sup>

In 1879 there were one hundred sections of the party in the United States with a membership of about 10,000, but that same year, with the return of industrial prosperity, the party began to disintegrate. With the decline of party membership the press lost many of its subscribers and failed chiefly because of the lack of support. In this one year the party suffered a tremendous loss in number of members. In December the membership was estimated at from 1500 to 2500.<sup>5</sup>

At the party convention, held December 26, 1879, at Alleghany City, Pennsylvania, the chief topic for discussion was the participation of the party in the presidential election of 1880. It was finally decided by party referendum vote to send delegates to the Chicago convention of the

---

<sup>3</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 55.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 56.

Greenback Party.<sup>6</sup> At the convention in Alleghany City a distinct division appeared between the moderate and radical elements of the party and during the next two years several revolutionary clubs were formed until, in 1881, at a convention in Chicago, the Revolutionary Socialist Party was organized. The same year at the Socialist Labor Party convention no action of importance was taken but it was admitted by the authorities that a majority of the Socialists in the United States were outside the party.<sup>7</sup>

The principal significance of the fourth national convention held in Baltimore, 1883, was the drawing of a sharp line of division between socialism and anarchism. Henceforth attempts at conciliation were given up and there was open war between the two groups.

Nothing of importance took place in the fifth national convention. In the sixth national convention held at Buffalo, in 1887, political action was the chief topic for discussion. The convention finally agreed to support the most progressive candidate of the labor party. In 1889 a split occurred between those who favored independent political action and those opposed. In 1896 at the ninth national convention a resolution was adopted condemning trade unions as hopelessly corrupt. These two things led to the failure

---

<sup>6</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 57, citing Commons History of Labor in the United States, II, 284-286.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 60.



of the party as a vital factor in the life of American working-men.<sup>8</sup>

In June, 1897, scattered groups of Socialists met at Chicago and organized the Social Democracy of America under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. The main purpose of the organization was to promote a plan of colonization, to establish a colony in some western state and introduce the Socialist regime in that manner.<sup>9</sup> In 1898 the plan to acquire five hundred acres of land in the Cripple Creek region of Colorado was announced but no practical steps were taken to carry out this plan. In the party's first national convention in 1898, the questions of ordinary practical socialism and colonization were discussed. The minority group, favoring colonization, withdrew and established two insignificant communities in the state of Washington, but both colonies soon failed and ceased to exist.<sup>10</sup> The remaining delegates of the convention organized the Social Democratic Party of America and eliminated all Utopian planks from their platform.

---

<sup>8</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 71-72.

<sup>9</sup>J. A. Wayland considered Debs the greatest organizer of men in the country at that time, hence he predicted partial success of Debs' colonization scheme. Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897.

The Ruskin, Tennessee, colony, sponsored by Wayland was founded in 1895.

<sup>10</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 73, citing Bushee, "Communistie Societies in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, XX, 635-639.

The first national convention of the Social Democratic Party met in Indianapolis in March, 1900. The chief question was that of union with the Rochester wing of the Socialist Labor Party. That group had previously passed a resolution preparing the way for union. A committee of nine was appointed from each party. The joint committee met in New York City, March, 1900, for two days. The questions of candidates and platforms were settled with little discussion but party name and headquarters were seriously debated. A dispute arose between the executive committees resulting in the Social Democratic Party committee asking the members of the party to repudiate the agreement of union. A truce however was arranged during the presidential campaign.

The Social Democratic Party selected for its candidate for President in 1900, Eugene V. Debs, who had led the way in organizing the party. Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, November 5, 1855. At the age of fourteen he began work in a railroad shop, later becoming a fireman on a locomotive, but he discontinued this work because of his mother's fear for his safety. In 1874 at the age of eighteen he became clerk in a grocery store. In 1879 he was elected city clerk, a position which he held four years. The reputation he established for himself during these early years of employment was vouched for in the 1912 campaign by his early employers.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 190. For further information on the early life of Debs see Floy Ruth Painter, That Man Debs and His Life Work, a doctoral dissertation published under the auspices of the Graduate Council, Indiana University. Hereafter cited as That Man Debs.



In 1875 Debs became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; in 1878 associate editor of the Firemen's Magazine; and in 1880 secretary-treasurer, editor and manager of the Firemen's Magazine. He is given credit for increasing the membership of the firemen's Brotherhood and getting them out of debt.

Debs believed in a union that would embrace all workers.<sup>12</sup> In June, 1893, he was successful in organizing the American Railway Union at Chicago. He was selected as president of the newly organized union. The salary of the president of the American Railway Union was seventy-five dollars a month instead of four thousand dollars a year which Mr. Debs had received as Grand Secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. There was a movement launched to raise the salary to five thousand dollars but Debs let it be known that he would not serve as president of the organization if the salary was over three thousand dollars. It accordingly was placed at that figure.<sup>13</sup> The salary later was changed to seventy-five dollars a month and the last two years of Debs' term as president of this order he received no salary at all.<sup>14</sup> Debs was determined to pay the debts of the Railway Union, a debt

---

<sup>12</sup>Painter, That Man Debs, 13.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., citing Proceedings of the General Union of the American Railway Union, First Quadrennial Convention held in Chicago, Ill., June 12 to 23, 1894 (Chicago, 1894), p. 122.

<sup>14</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 190.

that amounted to \$22,000. He personally assumed full responsibility for the debt and was successful in paying every dollar of it, raising the money largely through his lectures on Socialism.<sup>15</sup>

The first strike called by the American Railway Union was on the Great Northern Railroad, April 13, 1894. Hill offered arbitration and Debs was successful in securing \$146,000 to be distributed among the workers engaged in the strike. Debs claimed that the workers won because they were united.<sup>16</sup>

Haynes states that

The American Railway Union officials, against the advice of Debs, decided to call a sympathetic strike to aid the workers of the Pullman Car Company, who encouraged by the successful outcome upon the Great Northern Railway, had struck in June, 1894.<sup>17</sup>

Debs, however, willingly accepted the decision of the American Railway Union officials.<sup>18</sup> A special grand jury for the United States District Court of Northern Illinois, returned indictments against four officers of the Union, including Debs; the indictments being based on copies of telegrams sent from headquarters of the American Railway Union and those received by officials of the strikers. The indictments

<sup>15</sup>Painter, That Man Debs, 81.

<sup>16</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 191.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Painter, That Man Debs, 25.

were issued and arrests were made for the alleged violation of an injunction making it a crime to use persuasion on working-men to join a strike. Painter states that "the telegrams urged compliance with the law and counseled no violence," that Debs had consulted Judge Lyman Trumbull, "one of the oldest and best constitutional lawyers of Illinois," concerning the injunction, and that the Judge told Debs that he was not committing any violence.<sup>19</sup> The men were sent to Cook County jail where they remained until July twenty-third. On that day a motion for dismissal of contempt proceedings and a plea for jury trial both met with denial. The four were sentenced to jail for contempt of court but the trial for conspiracy was interrupted by the illness of a juror and was never completed.

It was during the time spent in jail that Debs was converted to the cause of Socialism.<sup>20</sup> His jail term ended November 22, 1895, and the following day there appeared in the Coming Nation a letter by Debs in which he advocated the use of the ballot by working-men as a means of establishing "the cooperative commonwealth."<sup>21</sup> On January 1, 1897, he

---

<sup>19</sup>That Man Debs, 35.

<sup>20</sup>Victor L. Berger is given credit for presenting the Socialist doctrines to Debs while in jail at Woodstock, Illinois, according to David Karsner in an article, "The Passing of the Socialist Party," Current History, XX (June, 1924), 402.

<sup>21</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 192.

issued a circular letter to the members of the American Railway Union closing with the statement that the issue was

Socialism versus Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. We have been cursed with a reign of gold long enough.<sup>22</sup> Money constitutes no proper basis of civilization. The time has come to regenerate society--we are on the eve of a universal change.<sup>23</sup>

During the campaign for the Presidential election of 1900, Mr. Debs conducted a very extensive speaking tour, making himself a national figure and showing himself to be an excellent public speaker.<sup>24</sup>

In 1904 Debs was unanimously nominated by his party. In the campaign he visited every state and territory. For two months before the election, he delivered as high as six to ten speeches a day.

Floy Ruth Painter gives the following account of Debs between the presidential campaigns of 1904 and 1908:

....many things happened to bring Debs before the public. The most important of these was that in 1906 he became a contributing editor of the Appeal to Reason, a radical Socialist paper, published at Girard, Kansas. During these years he spoke and wrote with an invective and fearlessness which became reckless at times. His newspaper work does, indeed, portray the flaming revolutionist, the militant leader, the courageous, fearless Savonarola of American unrest. He kept his aim constantly to the front, namely, educational propaganda in the

---

<sup>22</sup>Debs supported Bryan in the election of 1896.

<sup>23</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 192.

<sup>24</sup>For the Socialist election returns see Appendix A.

interest of the poorest class of society. The method of attaining his aim was through journalism and oratory.<sup>25</sup>

It was during this period that Debs and other members of the Appeal to Reason staff were fearlessly attacking every move of the "capitalistic government."

In 1906, when the well known Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone kidnaping occurred,<sup>26</sup> Debs conducted a courageous and intense attack on the court of Idaho, the governors of Colorado and Idaho, the Supreme Court of the United States and President Roosevelt. He claimed that Article Four of the Constitutional Amendments had been violated with the consent of both the executive and judicial departments of the federal government.<sup>27</sup> He claimed the whole affair was simply

....an attack of the mine-owning capitalists upon the mine-working slaves. The sovereign states of Colorado and Idaho, with all of their civil and military machinery, belong to and do the bidding of the Standard Oil Company. John D. Rockefeller and Henry Rogers are the real government.<sup>28</sup>

President Roosevelt referred to Debs as an "undesirable citizen" because of his violent opposition to the methods used by the authorities in handling these men. Debs attacked

<sup>25</sup>Painter, That Man Debs, 91.

<sup>26</sup>See page 44f.

<sup>27</sup>See Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Security of persons, houses, papers, etc.

<sup>28</sup>Debs, "To the Rescue," Appeal to Reason, April 28, 1906.



Roosevelt for what he called his connivance in the affair. He further defended his position and challenged Roosevelt when he said:

Does not the president himself justify violence in self-defense? Is he, therefore, an inciter of bloodshed? Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and Debs are opposed to violence and bloodshed. They do not consort with prize fighters nor Sunday School boys to learn how to kill. They are opposed to kidnaping working men. Can President Roosevelt say as much?<sup>29</sup>

Again he asked:

Does the President remember John P. Altgeld? And one Theodore Roosevelt, who in the same year of 1896 said that Altgeld and one Debs should be lined up against a dead wall and shot?....Is that the "temperate" language of a perfectly "desirable" citizen?<sup>30</sup>

With the exception of one justice, Debs severely condemned the Supreme Court of the United States for upholding the action of the officials in the case. The exception was Justice McKenna who gave a dissenting opinion on the kidnaping question. Thus Debs states his opinion of Justice McKenna:

Justice McKenna--all honor to this just judge and fearless man--was the only member to rebel, and he scourged his recreant associates with whips of flame that must have seared their consciences, unless the sable ermine of that body drapes in mourning its dead soul.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>Debs, "Roosevelt vs. Roosevelt," Appeal to Reason, May 4, 1907.

<sup>30</sup>Debs, "Roosevelt's Labor Letters," Appeal to Reason, May 18, 1907.

<sup>31</sup>Debs, "Collusion Between Roosevelt and the Supreme Court," Appeal to Reason, May 4, 1907.

In 1908 there was some opposition to Debs in the convention, because of his ill health,<sup>32</sup> however the opposition was overcome and again he was unanimously nominated. The party decided that a good way to attract popular attention to their candidates was to have them tour the West on a special train called the "Red Special." The use of this train cost the Socialists \$20,000 which was subscribed voluntarily by members of the party and sympathizers. In appealing for funds to guarantee the trip of the "Red Special," Debs said, "Twenty thousand dollars invested in a Socialist special in this campaign will be worth five times that amount at a later time."<sup>33</sup> Anyone could ride as far as they wanted to on the special for two cents a mile. The object was to encourage the workers of different towns to meet each other and become better acquainted.<sup>34</sup> The baggage car was filled with Socialist publications of every kind, and they were freely distributed throughout the country.<sup>35</sup> Debs was the principal speaker and at Muscatine, Iowa, 2500 to 3000 people paid admission to hear him. At Rochester, New York, 5000 struggled for paid admission to Convention Hall. Four days before he spoke at the Hippodrome in New York City, every seat was sold, 10,000 people had paid from fifteen to fifty

---

<sup>32</sup>He suffered from throat trouble.

<sup>33</sup>Appeal to Reason, August 15, 1908.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., September 5, 1908.

<sup>35</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 196.

cents for admission. He was refused admission to speak in the Stanford University Chapel and at Philadelphia police refused his admittance to the Opera House.<sup>36</sup> In Los Angeles he could secure permission to speak only in the Zoo. The opposition of the capitalist papers greatly advertised his lecture. Debs comments on the situation:

They stated that the Zoo was, indeed, suitable for such a radical speaker. Three thousand seven hundred tickets were sold, but after this advertisement on the part of the papers, 12,000 came out to see the wild animal.<sup>37</sup>

The Socialist vote in the following election showed a very small gain considering the effort that had been made.

In the convention held in Indianapolis, in 1914, a division arose between the Conservative Socialists and "the Reds," or members of the I. W. W. A concession was made and the split between the groups was temporarily averted. In the vote of the convention delegates for candidate for President, Debs received 165; Emil Seidel, former Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, 56; and Charles Edward Russell, of New York City, 54. Mr. Seidel was made Vice-Presidential candidate on the declination of Mr. Russell. Debs conducted his usual campaign. The party membership in 1912 was 125,823 while the vote cast for the Socialist candidates was more than seven times that number, indicating that many not affiliated with

---

<sup>36</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 196-198.

<sup>37</sup>Painter, That Man Debs, 96.



the party were in sympathy with its propaganda or were distrustful of the other candidates.<sup>38</sup>

For reasons of economy a convention was not held in 1916; nominations were made by referendum. Debs and Russell declined nomination. Allan L. Benson,<sup>39</sup> of New York, was named candidate for President, and George A. Kirkpatrick, of New Jersey, candidate for Vice-President.

The campaign was exceptional in the amount of literature distributed; 22,039,500 leaflets were published and distributed. Ten leaflets written by Benson were circulated in amounts ranging from 1,260,000 copies of Number One to 3,000,000 copies of Number Ten.<sup>40</sup>

The Socialist vote in 1916 in comparison with the vote of 1912 showed a loss of about forty-five per cent.<sup>41</sup> The causes for the decline in the vote was a difference in attitude on the question of preparedness and the world war and the substitution of a comparatively unknown writer for Debs.<sup>42</sup>

The Socialists vigorously fought against militarism. They had advocated compulsory arbitration of international

<sup>38</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 198-200.

<sup>39</sup>Allan L. Benson had been a contributing editor to the Appeal to Reason for several months. His articles were chiefly anti-war propaganda.

<sup>40</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 201-203.

<sup>41</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>42</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 203.

disputes and had discussed the general strike as a means of preventing war. They did not go on record however as opposed to defensive warfare.<sup>43</sup>

The fiftieth anniversary of the first International was planned to be held in Vienna, August 23, 1914, but was prevented by the outbreak of the war. During the latter part of July when war seemed imminent, Socialists met at Brussels, staged an anti-war demonstration and planned to meet in Paris, August 9, with war as the chief topic. Before the meeting could be held Germany had invaded Belgium and the Socialists had rushed home to the defense of their homelands.<sup>44</sup>

The Committee on Immediate Action of the Socialist Party in the United States on August 12, 1914, issued a manifesto expressing sympathy with the workers of all nations, pledged the support of American Socialists in the fight for peace, urged our national administration to open negotiations for mediation, and reiterated its opposition to war. Two days later the same committee urged the government to seize packing houses, granaries, flour mills, and other plants necessary to safeguard the food of the people, so that Europe could not get food for her armies. Their slogan was "Starve the war and feed America." They also urged an

---

<sup>43</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 272.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

embargo on money and munitions of war. In September they cabled Socialists in ten European countries urging them to use their influence in getting their governments to accept the mediation of the United States.<sup>45</sup> In 1915 they proposed terms of peace which included an international federation of the world, universal disarmament, extension of democracy, and the removal of the economic causes of war. It urged the application of the principle of "no indemnities, no forcible annexations, and the free development of nations." It recommended the abolition of manufacture of arms and munitions of war for private profit.<sup>46</sup> The destruction of the Lusitania did not appear to the Socialists a just cause for America's entrance into the war, but they felt it should inspire the people to maintain peace at any cost. They further believed that "No disregard of national rights seemed to....warrant the entrance of the United States into a war which they believed the inevitable outcome of the capitalistic system of industry."<sup>47</sup>

After Congress had formally declared war, the National Committee called an emergency Convention to meet the second week in April, 1917, in St. Louis. The convention, and later the party by referendum vote, reaffirmed the party's allegiance

---

<sup>45</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 274.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 275.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 276.

to internationalism and proclaimed its unalterable opposition to the war, declaring wars as a rule are caused by commercial and financial rivalry.<sup>48</sup> In June the Emergency Committee issued a proclamation appointing July 4th as the day when the people should assemble in mass meetings and demand that the government submit conscription to a referendum of the people, and that it issue a clear and definite statement of the objects for which the war was waged.<sup>49</sup>

Following the adoption of the report of the Emergency Committee demanding referendum of conscription the Social Democratic League was formed by the bolting group, leaving the party in the hands of the anti-war faction. Among those who left the party to form the League was John Spargo, Upton Stokes, Jack London, A. M. Simmons and W. J. Ghent.

In speaking of this group Haynes says:

They discarded the abstract anti-war position of the majority of the Socialist party. Undoubtedly it was too optimistic and suggested too large a scheme to be immediately practical, but it pointed in the direction of progress. The real leaders of thought and action were in this group and their loss to the Socialist Party has been fatal to any usefulness it might have had for these days.<sup>50</sup>

Had the Socialists polled in the presidential election of 1916, a vote equal in proportion to the municipal elections of 1917, the total would have been approximately

---

<sup>48</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 278-279.

<sup>49</sup>Harry W. Laidler, Socialism in Thought and Action, 454-458; American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918, pp. 50-53; 373-379.

<sup>50</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 283-284.

4,000,000. The outstanding gain in the municipal elections in 1917 was due to several causes: (1) opposition to the war was the chief cause; (2) resentment at the action of Postmaster General Burleson in suppressing many radical papers, including the Appeal to Reason; (3) economic pressure due to rising prices.<sup>51</sup>

The decreased vote of the Socialist party in the Congressional elections in 1918 as compared with 1917 was due to

....Its continued opposition to the war, the wholesale suppression of Socialist papers and meetings, the fusion of the old parties against it upon a patriotic basis and the effect of the increase of wages upon the workers  
....<sup>52</sup>

In the latter part of 1919 there were three national divisions in the process of formation: (1) the "left-wingers"; (2) the proposed Communist party; and (3) the "new executive committee."

The "Left-Wing" group began to form early in 1919 and was made up chiefly of those in opposition to the group that controlled the party machinery. This group held a convention in New York City in June, with ninety-four delegates present from forty states. The main question before the convention was whether they should organize a new party or try to gain control of the old party. On defeat of the proposal to organize a new party, thirty-one delegates, chiefly from

---

<sup>51</sup>Paul H. Douglas, "The Socialist Vote in the Municipal Elections of 1917," National Municipal Review, VII (March, 1918), 138-139.

<sup>52</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 278.

Russian federations, withdrew. The Russian federation delegates favored the organization of a new party.<sup>53</sup> The remaining delegates clung to the plan of gaining control of the old party and proceeded to rent the first floor of Mechanics Hall in Chicago. The Socialist Party was to meet on the second floor.<sup>54</sup> Saturday morning, August 30th, when the Socialist convention was to convene, the "left-wingers" began to occupy the hall on the second floor. Struggle for possession followed and finally the police were summoned, by the Socialist Party officials, to restore order. The first three days of the convention were spent in debate of contested seats but before this was settled the "left-wing" group withdrew from the meeting.

The bolting delegates met in convention at "Smolny Institute," Chicago, September 1. The meeting was a marked contrast to the others because of youth; a "majority of the delegates seemed to be in their twenties."<sup>55</sup> One of the main questions considered was the relationship of the Communist Party to the Communist Labor Party. Their constitution barred anyone from membership "who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest, or profit."<sup>56</sup> They favored mass action

---

<sup>53</sup>This minority group called a convention to meet in Chicago, September 1, to organize a Communist Party.

<sup>54</sup>The Socialist Party Convention to be held August 30, 1919, in Chicago, was called by the New Executive Committee elected in the summer by the revolutionary faction.

<sup>55</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 294.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.



in industry to secure their demands.

The Communist Labor Party was organized September 2, after they had found it impossible to unite with the Communist Party. The Communist Labor group had been meeting in convention since August 31, on the lower floor of Mechanics Hall. Debate centered around the use of political or industrial methods in the advancement of the objects of the party. They approved the principles of the Third or Russian International. They also favored mass action as the most important means of capturing State power rather than the use of the ballot.<sup>57</sup>

The party repeated its performance of 1912 by expelling the left wing group; in 1912 it was the I. W. W.; in 1919 the Communists.<sup>58</sup>

The Socialist convention of 1920 was the first nominating convention of the party to be held since 1914. The party returned to Debs as its nominee for President. Seymour Stedman, lawyer, of Chicago, was chosen as nominee for Vice-President. Stedman received 106 votes to 26 for Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare, who on May 29 was freed by President Wilson from Federal Prison where she was serving a term for violation of the Espionage Act by an alleged disloyal speech at Fargo, North Dakota, in 1917. At this time Debs was serving

---

<sup>57</sup>Haynes, Social Politics, 293.

<sup>58</sup>David Karsner, "The Passing of the Socialist Party," Current History, XX, 405.

a ten year sentence in the Federal prison at Atlanta for violation of the same act in a speech delivered at Canton, Ohio, July, 1918.<sup>59</sup> Many people thought that since Debs was in prison he would decline the nomination but "On May 29, Debs, 'Convict 2,253,' was notified at the prison of his nomination, and he accepted."<sup>60</sup> In the following election Debs received the largest vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate in the United States.

On July 4, 1924, the Progressive Party Convention assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, and indorsed by acclamation Senator Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, as candidate for President, and Senator Burton K. Sheeler, of Montana, for Vice-President.<sup>61</sup> On July 7th the Socialist Party met at Cleveland and endorsed the candidacy of LaFollete.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup>"The Trial of Eugene V. Debs," Survey, XL (September 21, 1918), 695-696.

<sup>60</sup>World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1921, p. 662.

<sup>61</sup>World Almanac, 1925, p. 870.

<sup>62</sup>Debs was no longer physically able to run as a candidate for the Presidency. In 1921 President Harding commuted his ten year sentence. Debs immediately began a crusade which "was nothing less that [sic.] a war upon all prisons." The next year, because of heart trouble, he entered Lindlahr Sanitarium at Elmhurst, a suburb of Chicago. He was soon released and saw his party unite with the Progressives in 1924 after which he urged railroad leaders to form a labor party with the Socialists. He returned to Lindlahr in the summer of 1926 and died October 20, 1926. McAlister Coleman, Eugene V. Debs a Man Unafraid, 334-336.



At the Socialist convention in 1928, Norman Thomas, of New York, was nominated as candidate for President, and James H. Maurer, of Pennsylvania, candidate for Vice-President. The Convention appealed to organized labor to support its candidates.<sup>63</sup>

During the campaign, in order to reach many thousands more people than usual, the radio was used, especially "Debs Radio Station," W E V D, established in New York City, October 20, 1927. The station was financed by individual contributions, G. August Gerber being largely instrumental in organizing the contributors to the station and to keep it running after it was set up.<sup>64</sup>

In spite of the popularity of Al Smith in the State of New York, the Socialists polled 107-332 votes, more than one-third of the total Socialist vote of the entire country. In Wisconsin the Socialists apparently voted for Smith on the wet issue, giving Mr. Thomas only 18,213 votes, while Victor L. Berger, who had been elected to Congress seven times, increased his vote by 16,000 yet lost by a margin of three hundred.<sup>65</sup>

The dues paying membership of the Socialist Party in 1932 was 25,000. The convention for that year was held in

<sup>63</sup>World Almanac, 1929, p. 850.

<sup>64</sup>The American Labor Year Book, 1929, p. 153.

<sup>65</sup>"The Socialist Slump," Literary Digest, C (January 5, 1929), 9.

Milwaukee, with 250 delegates present. Morris Hillquit, National Chairman and later candidate for mayor of New York, in his keynote address, demanded the complete reorganization of the entire existing social and economic order. Thomas and Maurer were again selected as the national party candidates. The platform among other things, called for five billion dollars for immediate unemployment relief, another five billion for public works construction, government aid for farm and small home owners, and socialization of banking.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup>World Almanac, 1933, p. 910.

## CHAPTER II

### J. A. WAYLAND--FOUNDER OF THE APPEAL

One of the greatest propagandists of Socialism in America was J. A. Wayland. His life, from the time of his conversion to Socialism to the last hour, was one long, indefatigable fight for the spreading of the Socialistic doctrines. Nothing was allowed to obscure the issue nor to interfere with his ambition to convert others. Many times he would miss his meals in order to talk Socialism with someone on the street, in a store or in his office.<sup>1</sup> Wayland was most influential through his writings. It has been said "that what Eugene V. Debs has been on the rostrum swaying vast audiences with his eloquence in a thousand cities, Wayland has been with his pen writing the thoughts that have moulded the opinions of millions."<sup>2</sup> He gave many years of his life to the work of making others see what he saw and believed.

Julius Augustus Wayland was born in Versailles, Indiana, April 26, 1854, of Virginian parentage. His father and four of the seven children died during a cholera plague when "J. A." was but an infant. The widow's property, except a little four-room house, was soon squandered by the

---

<sup>1</sup>Interview with Walter Wayland, son of J. A. Wayland, April 18, 1933.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. Wayland, Leaves of Life, edited by A. W. Ricker, Preface, p. 2.

administrator of the estate, and the family faced poverty. Wayland's first impressions were of extreme hardship. He used to tell of a winter of comparative luxury when they had a pig, a barrel of potatoes and some meal, and that his mother remarked that they would not starve that winter.<sup>3</sup>

The trials of the early years of his life probably had much to do with forming that sympathy and interest in the problems and needs of the working class.<sup>4</sup>

His entire schooling totalled less than two years. It was necessary for him to earn what little he could to keep the wolf from the door. His first five dollars was earned baling shingles.<sup>5</sup> His ambition at that time was to become a carpenter but he could not find work. He finally got a job in a printing office as "devil" on the Versailles Gazette at two dollars per week.<sup>6</sup> He maintained himself and his mother on this pittance for six months, by that time having worked up to nine dollars per week but was discharged for trying to collect it.<sup>7</sup> The next few years were spent as

---

<sup>3</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 7f.

<sup>4</sup>George Allen England, The Story of the Appeal, 21.

<sup>5</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>7</sup>England, op. cit.

a tramp printer and as an employee on a steamboat on the Ohio River.<sup>8</sup>

Wayland returned to Versailles and with H. M. Thompson, purchased the Gazette, changed the name to the Ripley Index, and on February 6, 1873, issued their first paper.<sup>9</sup>

There had been four hundred and eight regular issues of the old Gazette. Names were taken off the list only on demand and some of the advertisements, Wayland claims, had run for ten years without the change of a letter. Wayland describes his first publication thus:

We tore down the entire paper and reset every advertisement. We made a spicy local sheet of the first issue.... In this issue we announced that all who were in arrears for the paper would be cut off the list....When we got out our second issue we found we had just seventy-two names on the list paid in advance, and so we printed just four quires of paper....my plan of advance payment was a success and we soon had money to pay our bills, though the panic that struck the country in April of that memorable year, made it pretty hard sledding to keep our heads above the wreck and ruin that bestrewed the country.<sup>10</sup>

The partnership continued for eighteen months, each making about seventy-five cents a day to live on.<sup>11</sup> Wayland traded Thompson an old silver watch and gave him a note for twenty-five dollars for his share of the plant. Then, according to Wayland, began his most terrific struggle for

---

<sup>8</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 10-12.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 12-14.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 14-16.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 17.

existence. To his poverty was added the anxiety and fear of not being able to meet his obligations.<sup>12</sup>

In 1877, at the age of twenty-three, Wayland married and decided to go west, having leased his office in Versailles. They went to Harrisonville, Missouri, where he purchased an interest in the leading Democratic paper, the Register.<sup>13</sup> When the Republicans of the county found that he was a Republican they urged him to establish a paper of his own. He sold his interest in the Register to James H. Payne, its former sole owner, and began the publication of the Cass News.<sup>14</sup>

While publishing the News, Wayland was threatened several times with personal violence. Once a mob roped him around the neck and talked of lynching. At another time, unarmed, he stood off a mob by merely reaching for his hip pocket and declaring he would perforate the first man who should advance a step. After proving certain corrupt charges against a sheriff he met the sheriff on the street. The sheriff threatened to shoot Wayland but Wayland looked him over, spat in his face and walked away.<sup>15</sup>

As a reward for his successful war on the Democrats in that part of the country. Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him

<sup>12</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 17.

<sup>13</sup>George Milburn, "The Appeal to Reason," American Mercury, XXIII (July, 1931), 361.

<sup>14</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 21.

<sup>15</sup>Interview with Walter Wayland, April 18, 1933; England, op. cit., 22; Milburn, loc. cit., 361.



postmaster at Harrisonville.<sup>16</sup>

In 1881, he resigned as postmaster, sold the News, after having cleared several thousand dollars, returned to Versailles and bought back his old print shop.<sup>17</sup>

In the thirteen months stay in Indiana he cleared several thousand dollars more, but dissatisfied with conditions there he again sold out and moved to Pueblo, Colorado, in 1882.<sup>18</sup>

Here another paper was begun but after about two years of publication he traded this paper for a job printing outfit and dubbed his business "Wayland's One-Hoss Print Shop."<sup>19</sup> The new business venture proved to be very profitable and he began to invest in land.<sup>20</sup>

It was about this time that Wayland was converted to Socialism. In 1890, he fell into conversation with William Bradford, an English shoemaker, who gave him a pamphlet to read on the subject of railroad strikes from the economic or Socialist viewpoint.<sup>21</sup> Other pamphlets were given him to read by the old shoemaker until as he said, "he landed me

<sup>16</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 361.

<sup>17</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 20-21.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 21; England, op. cit., 23.

<sup>19</sup>Through the later years of Wayland's life he was called the "One-Hoss Philosopher."

<sup>20</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 22.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 23-24; Interview with Walter Wayland, April 18, 1933.

good and hard. I saw a new light and found what I never knew existed."<sup>22</sup>

Wayland, foreseeing what others did not see, predicted the panic of 1893, and proceeded to sell his real estate holdings for gold at a price below the market value.<sup>23</sup> He was mocked by his friends and many decided that he was insane.<sup>24</sup> His wealth had now greatly increased and he was able to give most of his time to study and agitation.

He now visualized a Socialist paper of his own which some day might satisfy his ambition of ten thousand copies.<sup>25</sup> With this in mind he moved to Greensburg, Indiana, in February, 1893, and established the Coming Nation.<sup>26</sup> His purpose in establishing the paper at this place was to be near the great industrial centers of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and other places which he thought would be a good field for circulation. The greatest circulation, however, went to California.<sup>27</sup>

When Wayland left Pueblo for Greensburg, he had approximately \$80,000 in gold and government bonds. Since the

<sup>22</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 24.

<sup>23</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 362.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Mrs. Walter Wayland, June 16, 1934.

<sup>25</sup>England, op. cit., 25.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 28.



country was in a state of panic and because of his distrust in banks, "he buried his treasure in a woodshed at his home."<sup>28</sup>

The Populist movement was making good headway at this time. Bellamy's Looking Backward and Donnelly's Caesar's Column were widely circulated and were being read by the most active Populists. Wayland conceived the idea that if his paper was to gain in circulation it should be introduced to this group of people. The paper fitted into the times and in short time had attained a circulation of 65,000.<sup>29</sup>

The "One-Hoss Philosopher" was again "making money hand over fist."<sup>30</sup> The problem of investing his wealth was again before him. His socialist philosophy was decidedly Utopian, owing to the fact that he had read the classic works of Marx and Engel.<sup>31</sup> He conceived the idea of establishing a cooperative colony. A call was issued for volunteers to make a practical test of the theory which he had been spreading. He promised that "he would get a site for the colony, move his printing establishment to it and contribute all that he had in the world to it."<sup>32</sup> He could not look at

<sup>28</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 28-29.

<sup>29</sup>England, op. cit., 25.

<sup>30</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 362.

<sup>31</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 30.

<sup>32</sup>Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897, reprinted from the New York Herald.

all the lands offered him so he sent an agent to Tennessee to look over some land in that state. Here he purchased 2,000 acres and with a band of one hundred twenty-five followers established a cooperative commonwealth near Tennessee City and named it after his idol, Ruskin.<sup>33</sup>

There were certain disadvantages connected with the location of the new commonwealth. The early colonizers found no water nearer than a half mile.<sup>34</sup> The first winter in the colony was very trying on the colonists. Many deserted and went home being "thoroughly convinced that it was better in the books than in Tennessee."<sup>35</sup> Conditions in the colony were tolerable only so long as the founder's money held out.<sup>36</sup> Wayland soon discovered his mistake, but he turned over the Coming Nation to the colonists and when he found himself unable to agree with them he left the colony July 22, 1895.<sup>37</sup> He was now "much poorer in cash, but wiser in experience."<sup>38</sup> He had learned that it is impossible to spread the teachings of Socialism to the world by isolation, i. e.,

---

<sup>33</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 362.

<sup>34</sup>Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897, reprint from the New York Herald.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>England, op. cit., 26.

<sup>37</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 31.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

through colonizing.<sup>39</sup> He moved to Kansas City, Missouri, and there on the 31st day of August, 1895, the first issue of the Appeal to Reason appeared.<sup>40</sup> The title of the paper had been suggested by an old German Socialist who said, "Give it a name that in time will be better known than the man who made it."<sup>41</sup> The Appeal had to begin at the bottom just as the Coming Nation had done two years before, since Wayland had not brought any mailing list with him from the Ruskin Colony and the Populists were turning toward fusion with the Democrats.<sup>42</sup>

The circulation of the paper grew slowly at first, since Wayland was giving his readers "clear cut, scientific Socialism," and the people were not interested in the silver and trust issues of the presidential campaign of 1896.<sup>43</sup> Things were not going so well so he decided to suspend publication, temporarily, and move his plant to some small town where the operating expenses would be lower.<sup>44</sup> T. T. Perry, of Girard, induced him to go to Girard to investigate the possibilities of locating his plant there. Wayland went to Girard and discussed the matter with several of the

---

<sup>39</sup>England, op. cit., 26.

<sup>40</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 31.

<sup>41</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 363. Wayland had considered for titles such names as the Rights of Man and Wayland's Weekly with the latter being a strong favorite.

<sup>42</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 31-32.

<sup>43</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 363.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

business men. He returned to Kansas City and in a few days began moving his equipment to Girard where he located in the T. T. Perry building on the east side of the square.<sup>45</sup>

Accordingly the first issue of the Appeal in its new home came off the press February 6, 1897.<sup>46</sup>

The circulation of the paper began to grow. Wayland began printing:

If you like this kind of a paper, this is the kind of a paper you'll like. Trial trip, ten cents! Try this paper three months and it will kill or cure you. No man is rich enough or great enough to get this paper on credit....<sup>47</sup>

The dimes came rolling in, and for a while it seemed that he was going to repeat his success of former years.<sup>48</sup>

Wayland was confronted with many difficulties. He and his family received a cold, even hostile reception in Girard. His children were snubbed and hooted at by their school-mates.<sup>49</sup> He himself was shunned by his neighbors and looked upon with hate and suspicion.<sup>50</sup> Wayland never retorted in anger. He grieved over "the stubborn ignorance of the opposition" and it is said that "more than once he wept,

<sup>45</sup>Interview with W. J. Eldridge, June 17, 1934.

<sup>46</sup>Appeal to Reason, February 6, 1897, issue number 62.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 365.

<sup>49</sup>Interview with Walter Wayland, April 18, 1933.

<sup>50</sup>England, op. cit., 27.

because, as he said, he 'couldn't make the fools see the light.'"51

The "One-Hoss Philosopher" however was eager to get his teachings before the people. In the first issue from the new home he pointed out that the promises of the corporations had not materialized and that more people were ready to listen to Socialistic teachings than ever before.<sup>52</sup> With this thought in mind he set out toward the goal of 100,000 circulation.<sup>53</sup>

When the Populists fused with the Democrats, Wayland cut entirely away from the party and made a straight declaration for Socialism. Wayland had no use for William Jennings Bryan. He said, "He [Bryan] represents the party of amelioration."<sup>54</sup>

In an interview with a reporter for the Kansas City Star, he said, "Our labor is yet purely educational. Our revolution will be accomplished by the ballot. We are against violence....we appeal to the reason of the man and not to the brute strength of man."<sup>55</sup> In commenting on

<sup>51</sup>England, op. cit., 27.

<sup>52</sup>Appeal to Reason, February 6, 1897.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., March 20, 1897. In this issue Wayland, in one of his paragraphs, commented: "There are two million 'reformers' in the United States. Out of this number certainly a national reform paper ought to have 100,000 circulation."

<sup>54</sup>Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

Anarchists, he said, "An Anarchist wants no law. A Socialist wants a great deal of law."<sup>56</sup>

The following sarcastic reflection on the election of 1896 appeared in black face type on the front page of one of the issues of the Appeal:

#### 1897 PUDDING

For the benefit of the unemployed who voted for sound money and prosperity last fall, I give them the following Pudding Recipe: Take three gallons of confidence, one peck of International agreement, one quart of Gold Standard, seven tablespoonsful of Prosperity, two quarts of sound money, and one pound of Protection; boil with twelve months of No Work for ten hours and eat while hot.<sup>57</sup>

The Appeal usually contained some special offer to encourage people to secure subscriptions for it. One of the first of such offers was a copy of Bellamy's Looking Backward to any person who would send in two yearly subscriptions at fifty cents a year.<sup>58</sup> In 1901 an offer of ten acres of land each week was to be given to the person who would send in the largest number of annual subscriptions. The land lay in a solid body of 320 acres twelve miles from West Plains, Missouri. It was four miles from the Kansas City Fort Scott and Memphis Railroad, and one mile from a school and post office.<sup>59</sup> In November of the same year an

<sup>56</sup>Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897.

<sup>57</sup>Appeal to Reason, May 29, 1897.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., April 3, 1897. This offer was good until May 15, 1897. The subscription rate was changed April 17, 1897, to twenty-five cents a year.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., January 19, 1901.



offer was made of a fifteen jewel Elgin or Waltham watch to be given to the person who sent in the largest number of annual subscriptions each week.<sup>60</sup>

On Friday preceeding the May 4, 1901, issue of the Appeal, 3,293 yearly subscriptions were received, the largest number of yearly subscriptions received by one paper in one day up to that time.<sup>61</sup>

Another plan was to get a special copy of the Appeal into the hands of all of the doctors in the United States. In five months a total of \$2000.85 was subscribed by the Appeal Army to issue and distribute the Appeal to the doctors.<sup>62</sup> Continuously each week, from January 19, 1901 to April 27, 1901, comrades in the state of California sent in the largest contributions to the "Doctor's Fund," while the middle western states passed second and third places on the contribution list around among themselves.<sup>63</sup> The June 8th issue was sent to the doctors presenting to them the Socialist doctrines. It said in part,

The professional man not the less than the working classes, are sufferers by the present competitive system, and it will grind them harder and harder as the wealth is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>Appeal to Reason, November 8, 1901.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., May 4, 1901.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., April 27, 1901.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., June 8, 1901.

During the great strike in the United States in 1901 the Appeal used the opportunity of spreading its propaganda among the discontented groups by raising \$1000 to place the paper in the hands of the strikers.<sup>65</sup>

Thus Wayland was building up the circulation of his paper. Even by the middle of the year 1901, he had far surpassed the goal he had set when he first began publishing the Appeal in Girard.<sup>66</sup>

Wayland's characteristic method of presenting the Socialistic doctrines was through paragraphs and parables. He always carried a small memorandum book in his pocket. Any thought that came to his mind that might be helpful in his teaching, he made a note of it and later paragraphed it for his paper.<sup>67</sup> His paragraphs have filled many columns in the Appeal. It is impossible for the writer to present even a general conception of the content of these writings of the "One-Hoss Philosopher" except to say that they were purely Socialistic, written in clear and simple English, and reveal the character of their author.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup>Appeal to Reason, September 21, 1901.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., June 15, 1901. The circulation at this date was 152,800.

<sup>67</sup>Interview with Mrs. Walter Wayland, June 16, 1934. All business transaction records were kept in this little book.

<sup>68</sup>Some of Wayland's articles are reprinted in Wayland's Leaves of Life, but the number is very limited in comparison to the vast number to be found only in the Appeal.

Wayland seemed to be a man free from vanity. He shunned the limelight and always refused requests from newspapers and magazines for his photograph.<sup>69</sup> To his mind the idea of reaping honor and glory for himself were wholly foreign.<sup>70</sup>

England cites Josephine Conger Kaneko as saying in The Progressive Woman:

To hundreds of thousands of readers of the Appeal Mr. Wayland was a myth; a wonderful man, of whom nobody knew anything personally, whom nobody had ever seen, yet whose work and fame had gone around the world.<sup>71</sup>

Many times when traveling he would use the name "J. A. Wilson," in order to avoid the curious. It is further claimed that in this manner he was better able to argue his points because when many found out who he was they would just listen or ask questions about the plant.<sup>72</sup> Few persons knew Wayland personally. George Brewer says in The Wayland I Knew, "Not a hundred men ever knew him."<sup>73</sup>

Wayland applied his doctrines to his religion. He believed that if the Christian theory was to be a solvent one it would have to be applied as a whole. That no nation had a right to claim it was Christian if by law it recognized the private ownership of property. Private wealth in his estimation was anti-Christian.<sup>74</sup> One of his favorite

<sup>69</sup>England, op. cit., 30; Interview with Walter Wayland, June 1, 1934.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>72</sup>Interview with Mrs. Walter Wayland, June 16, 1934.

<sup>73</sup>As cited by England in The Story of the Appeal, 31.

<sup>74</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 224-225.

sayings was: "There is no religion higher than truth."<sup>75</sup>

He professed scorn for what he called the weakness of charity and good deeds; but secretly he was helping many. He carefully tried to hide every trace of charity done to the unfortunates of Girard.<sup>76</sup> His theory was that:

The amount paid out for charity in this country every year would furnish the necessary land and machinery for all the recipients to create their own living ever after, while as now operated they have to be provided the next year at the same expense. All of this is pure waste and degrading on the recipients.<sup>77</sup>

Wayland's philosophy of life was that it is

....one continual struggle and disappointment. From the time we are forced to tackle the struggle for bread it is one desperate fight. The lives of nearly everyone are a round of work, sleep, eat; work, sleep, eat. There is never a chance to enjoy it....The masses of people in this land and all other lands are mere machines creating wealth they are not permitted to enjoy....All the ills that affect the human family are the result of the present social system and can be traced directly to the root; private property and profit.<sup>78</sup>

In 1904 Fred D. Warren, former publisher of the Bates County Critic and the Coming Nation, both Socialist publications, became managing editor of the Appeal. The next few years brought forth a series of court battles involving Wayland, Warren and others directly connected with the Appeal.

---

<sup>75</sup>Appeal to Reason, April 17, 1897.

<sup>76</sup>England, op. cit., 32.

<sup>77</sup>Wayland, Leaves of Life, 225-226.

<sup>78</sup>England, op. cit., 35-36.

In November, 1912, Harry Bone, United States District Attorney, made the statement: "I'm going to bankrupt the Appeal, force its editors into exile and suicide or land them behind the bars at Leavenworth."<sup>79</sup> Here was Wayland's cue.

On Sunday night, November 10, 1912, Wayland went to his room, prepared for bed, and wrote in one of his favorite books on Socialism the following message: "The struggle under the competitive system is not worth the effort. Let it pass."<sup>80</sup> He then took up an automatic pistol and ended his life.<sup>81</sup>

The Appeal quickly charged that Wayland had "been hounded to death by the dogs of Capitalism."<sup>82</sup> The Socialists proclaimed their fallen leader a martyr.<sup>83</sup> Some newspapers published obituaries called him the "Lincoln of Socialism."<sup>84</sup> Other newspapers began series of counter-exposes. The Live Issue, as opposed to Socialism as the Appeal was against Capitalism, exclaimed: "The Appeal has reached its zenith. Without Wayland it will have far less

<sup>79</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 366; England, op. cit., 185.

<sup>80</sup>England, op. cit., 187.

<sup>81</sup>Kansas City Star, November 11, 1912.

<sup>82</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 366.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.; England, op. cit., 187-188.

<sup>84</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 366.

circulation and influence....the death of its founder paves the way for its end."<sup>85</sup>

Warren, though deeply saddened by the loss of his comrade, was ready to carry on the work. The following eulogy and note of optimism appeared in the next issue of the Appeal after Wayland's death:

Wayland is dead, but his memory will live as long as men live.

The cause for which he gave his life will go marching on and on until the system that makes martyrs of men will be forever ended.

.....  
This is the tragic end of the career of a man whose life has been devoted to making this old world a better place in which to live.

The Appeal will continue its work until the dreams of our departed comrade have been realized.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>As cited by Milburn, loc. cit., 367. The Live Issue was a Catholic paper.

<sup>86</sup>Appeal to Reason, November 16, 1912.



## CHAPTER III

### FRED D. WARREN--THE FIGHTING EDITOR

In October, 1889, Fred Dwight Warren, at that time publishing a little Socialist paper, the Bates County Critic, at Rich Hill, Missouri, received from Mr. Wayland, one of his characteristic letters which read:

Dear Warren -- Come to Girard. I want to talk with you. Besides, you will be interested in looking over the Appeal plant.

Fraternally,  
J. A. WAYLAND.<sup>1</sup>

Warren went to Girard and received the offer to become one of the editorial staff of the Appeal. The offer was refused because he was unable to leave his business at that time.<sup>2</sup>

Again in June, 1900, Warren went to Girard and this time accepted a job in the composing room as foreman at fifteen dollars a week.<sup>3</sup>

Gradually he worked into the position of sub-editor, and by 1901 had become managing editor, "then things began to pick up around the Temple of Revolution."<sup>4</sup> The paper at that time had reached a circulation of 150,000<sup>5</sup> and was

---

<sup>1</sup>George Allen England, The Story of the Appeal, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, April 19, 1933.

<sup>3</sup>England, The Story of the Appeal, 40.

<sup>4</sup>George Milburn, "The Appeal to Reason," American Mercury, XXIII (July, 1931), 364.

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix C.

drawing attention of the Post Office Department, resulting in the Appeal's first big fight. Third Assistant Postmaster General Edwin C. Madden, November 2, 1901, issued an order to the effect that bundles of the Appeal could not be sent through the mails to chance subscribers.<sup>6</sup> A large percentage of the circulation in those days was sent to persons who ordered and paid for bundles of the papers and distributed them among their friends. The editors were successful in securing the signature of 68,000 persons to a statement that they had subscribed to the Appeal and that they had paid their own money for the paper.<sup>7</sup> These signatures were turned over to the Girard postmaster and forwarded to Mr. Madden. On January 18, 1902, the case was dismissed.<sup>8</sup> Wayland thus announced the news: "AND THE APPEAL WON!" "The right of the Appeal supporters to send the paper to their friends is sustained."<sup>9</sup>

Such was the end of the first battle of the campaign waged by the Appeal against the "powers of plutocracy."

After the successful conclusion of the struggle between the Appeal and the Post Office Department, Warren withdrew from the Appeal and returned to Rich Hill to reestablish a

---

<sup>6</sup>Appeal to Reason, November 16, 1901.

<sup>7</sup>England, The Story of the Appeal, 42-43.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 43.

<sup>9</sup>Appeal to Reason, January 18, 1902.

paper of his own. He bought from the Ruskin colony the Coming Nation, which had been idle for some time. In two years the circulation was brought up to 30,000,<sup>10</sup> thus becoming a powerful competitor of the Appeal.

In January, 1904, at the suggestion of Mr. Wayland, Warren returned to Girard and for the second time joined the Appeal staff.<sup>11</sup> For some months the Coming Nation was carried as the title to the fourth page of the Appeal.<sup>12</sup> With Warren as editor the Appeal

....set the vogue in muckracking in America, and published exposes of everything exposable from the hellish traffic in innocent young girls to the equally culpable Boy Scout menace. In its pages, from week to week, Upton Sinclair's great stockyards novel, The Jungle, made its first appearance, and the nation's lawmakers were aroused to the extent of passing a Pure Food and Drug Act.<sup>13</sup>

The famous Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone case was the second outstanding legal battle involving the Appeal and its

---

<sup>10</sup>England, The Story of the Appeal, 40.

<sup>11</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, April 19, 1933.

<sup>12</sup>Appeal to Reason, Jan. 9, 1904, to December 30, 1905.

<sup>13</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 359-360; Upton Sinclair, in a pamphlet "Fred D. Warren, Editor of the Appeal to Reason," published by the Appeal, says it was Warren that "was the cause of the writing of The Jungle. It was Warren who suggested to me the theme. It was Warren who put up the money to make possible the writing of the book. It was Warren who first published it, and took all the risks of libel suits and prosecution."

editors. On the morning of December 31, 1905, ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, was instantly killed by the explosion of a bomb.<sup>14</sup> On February 17, 1906, Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, of the Western Miners' Federation, were named as being implicated in the murder, by the confession of Harry Orchard.<sup>15</sup> The three men were in Colorado at that time but were arrested and taken to Idaho immediately without going through the usual process of extradition. They appealed to the courts and finally the case reached the Supreme Court. The United States Supreme Court held that the arrest in Denver and the journey to Idaho under military guard was a justifiable proceeding.<sup>16</sup> Justice McKenna dissented in rendering his opinion, and was praised very highly by the Appeal for the stand that he had taken. The men were tried and acquitted through the efforts of Clarence Darrow. Warren denounced the case as one of kidnaping, maintaining that the men had been unlawfully deported from Colorado to Idaho. In furtherance of his contention he hit upon the scheme of building up a parallel case, so far as might be possible, the object of which was to prove that "there are two kinds

---

<sup>14</sup>England, op. cit., 48-49.

<sup>15</sup>Marion Reedy, "The Case of Fred Warren," Reedy's Mirror, Dec. 15, 1910. The article from Reedy's Mirror was found in the Kansas City Star clipping library. Pages were not given.

<sup>16</sup>Kansas City Star, May 6, 1910.

of law in the United States--one for the privileged and one for the unprivileged."<sup>17</sup> Warren made the following offer which appeared in flaming red on Appeal envelopes as well as in the Appeal:

\$1000.00 Reward

The Appeal will pay \$1,000.00 in gold to the person or persons who will kidnap Ex-Governor Taylor and return him to the State Officials of Kentucky.<sup>18</sup>

Copies of the envelopes with the reward printed upon them were submitted to the postmaster of Girard who approved them.

On May 7, 1907, Warren was indicted for the crime of inciting to violence through the mails.<sup>19</sup> Warren gave bond for appearance at the November term of court, 1907, at which time the government applied for postponement until the May term of court in 1908; the postponement was granted.<sup>20</sup> In May the government sought another postponement which was granted until November 9, 1908.<sup>21</sup> The case was finally tried in the May term of court, 1909, the jury returning a verdict

<sup>17</sup>The Appeal's Arsenal of Facts, 1912, edited by Fred Warren, 132.

<sup>18</sup>Appeal to Reason, January 12, 1907. Ex-Governor Taylor, at that time stood accused of being a participant with Caleb Powers in the murder of Goebel, the opposing candidate for governor's office in Kentucky. Taylor had gone into Indiana.

<sup>19</sup>Reedy, op. cit., Dec. 15, 1910.

<sup>20</sup>Appeal to Reason, "Warren and a Free Press on Trial," Nov. 7, 1908.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

of guilty, May 6.<sup>22</sup> In commenting upon the results of the trial to newspaper men, Warren said:

It is rather a remarkable coincidence that the government was ready so soon after the pardon of ex-Governor Taylor. This was the ex-Governor's first trip out of Indiana. It gives rise to suspicion that perhaps his presence here had something to do with his pardon. The result of my case has merely added a bit of evidence to my contention that the courts of today are for the protection of the capitalistic class and its political representatives. Taylor's pardon and my conviction are striking proof of this.<sup>23</sup>

Warren claimed that his

....trial and conviction were brought about by the government purely to hamper the work of the Appeal to Reason in its efforts to propagate Socialism. This, government officials connected with the prosecution of Warren's case, deny.<sup>24</sup>

Sentence was finally given July 1, 1909, by Judge Pollock. It provided for six months at hard labor in the Fort Scott jail and fifteen hundred dollar fine.<sup>25</sup>

Before sentence was passed the defendant was given the usual opportunity to speak before the court. Warren arose from his chair and drew a manuscript from his pocket which he had previously written and proceeded to read the paper to the court. It was this speech that stirred the country

<sup>22</sup>Pittsburg Daily Headlight, May 6, 1909.

<sup>23</sup>Kansas City Star, May 7, 1909.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., May 6, 1909.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., July 1, 1909.



and resulted in giving the case such extraordinary publicity.<sup>26</sup> In this speech Warren charged that he had been convicted by a packed jury and unmercifully exposed the class-character of the courts, pointing out how he represented the working class and the court the capitalists.<sup>27</sup>

The Appeal Army had subscribed \$35,000 for a defense fund, although \$10,000 would probably paid the fees, costs, and fine.<sup>28</sup>

The circulation of the Appeal, instead of falling off during this period, had risen and passed the 300,000 mark.<sup>29</sup>

Warren's attorney, J. I. Sheppard, appealed the case to the Appellate Court at St. Paul, Minnesota. Here on May 9, 1910, Warren again argued his own case.<sup>30</sup> The court finally issued an order, November 21, affirming the sentence of the lower court.<sup>31</sup>

January 26, 1911, Warren tried to be admitted to the Fort Scott jail to begin serving his sentence but the mandate in the case had been "held up, on orders from Washington,

<sup>26</sup>England, op. cit., 62.

<sup>27</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>28</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 368.

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix C.

<sup>30</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>31</sup>Kansas City Star, November 21, 1910.

presumably on instructions from President Taft. Warren.... was informed that he couldn't get in jail until this official mandate had been received."<sup>32</sup>

By this time President Taft and Attorney General Wickersham had become interested in the plea that the Socialists were making for a pardon for Warren.<sup>33</sup> On February 1, President Taft commuted the sentence by striking out the imprisonment and reducing the fine to one hundred dollars.<sup>34</sup> The penalties against Warren were both remitted on the grounds that they would tend to make a martyr of the editor. Mr. Warren commented that he "considered the President's action a complete vindication" for himself.<sup>35</sup>

The pardon was received by Warren but when he noted that it was a "scab" document, he promptly put a sticker, "Demand the Label on All your Printing," across the face of it, and sent it by registered mail back to the President, marked "To be delivered to the Addressee only."<sup>36</sup>

Before the pardon was returned to Taft, Warren had the

---

<sup>32</sup>Kansas City Star, January 31, 1911.

<sup>33</sup>Kansas City Times, January 25, 1911.

<sup>34</sup>Kansas City Star, February 1, 1911.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., February 2, 1911.

<sup>36</sup>England, op. cit., 68.

pardon photographed<sup>37</sup> and used it in the "Red Special."<sup>39</sup>

A movement was started among the Socialists of the country for a penny subscription to pay their comrade's fine.<sup>39</sup> Warren, however, refused to pay the fine otherwise than in the form of Appeal subscription cards.<sup>40</sup> The fine has never been paid.

After Warren was convicted but before he was sentenced he thought the punishment would include a term in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. Mr. Warren decided that he would go to Leavenworth and investigate the penitentiary.<sup>41</sup> The warden, according to Warren, showed him where he would have to stay and told him what work he would have to do.

After returning from this inspection tour of the prison, the fighting editor proceeded to print in the Appeal a series of articles exposing the conditions in the Federal penitentiary.

<sup>37</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>38</sup>The "Red Special" was published as a special edition by the Appeal to Reason, June 10, 1911. The special edition contained the photo-engravure of the pardon. The Appeal stated in its regular June 10 edition that it was "mechanically impossible to make a presentable picture" in the Appeal. The first copy was mailed to President Taft with the compliments of the Appeal Army. The special edition had been withheld from print until the subscription list had reached the half million mark; the June 10 issue enumerated the subscribers at 504,047.

<sup>39</sup>Kansas City Times, February 2, 1911.

<sup>40</sup>England, op. cit., 68.

<sup>41</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

The result was the return of indictment against the Appeal editor for sending obscene matter through the mails.<sup>42</sup> Eugene V. Debs, J. A. Wayland, Lincoln Phifer, and J. I. Sheppard were also indicted on the same charges claiming that these men through the organ of the Appeal were attempting to obstruct justice. The case was carried several years, while the government exercised strict censorship of the Appeal and made several attempts to bar it from the mails.

The case was tried before the November, 1912, term of the District Court at Fort Scott. J. P. McDonough of Kansas City, formerly a prisoner at Leavenworth, testified as a government witness, that he had been paid two hundred dollars by the defendants, to go to California, and not testify in the misuse of the mails case.<sup>43</sup> The defendants admitted the payment of the money but said it was to discharge a debt.<sup>44</sup>

April 25, 1913, Judge Pollock sustained a demurrer to the criminal suit against the Appeal for sending obscene matter through the mails.<sup>45</sup> Upon receiving instructions from the Attorney General the case was dismissed, May 7, 1913.<sup>46</sup>

Another outstanding episode during the life of the Appeal involved Theodore Roosevelt and the "Alton Steal."

<sup>42</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>43</sup>Kansas City Star, November 24, 1912.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., April 25, 1913.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., May 7, 1913.

"Prior to 1898 the Alton Railroad had," according to the official report of the Interstate Commerce Commission reprinted by the Appeal,<sup>47</sup> "paid an average dividend exceeding eight per cent per annum." About this time Edward H. Harriman and others formed a syndicate and bought the Alton stock "at a cost of \$39,042,200. In about seven years the outstanding capital indebtedness of this company had expanded from \$39,951,407 to \$114,610,937, and there was expended in actual improvements only about \$18,000,000."<sup>48</sup> The bonds issued were sold to the New York Life Insurance Company at ninety-six cents on the dollar.<sup>49</sup> Harriman testified that he had no books to show the profits on these bonds. It was further admitted that there were about sixty million dollars worth of stocks and bonds issued, against which no property had been acquired.<sup>50</sup> This according to the Appeal shows the amount of the steal.

In the State of New York, savings banks may invest their money only in those railroad bonds that are listed by the legislature of the state as secure. February 26, 1900, the New York Legislature passed a bill which listed the names

---

<sup>47</sup>Appeal to Reason, "Roosevelt and the Alton Steal," November 21, 1908; Appeal's Arsenal of Facts, 1912, p. 134.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Appeal to Reason, "Roosevelt and the Alton Steal," November 21, 1908.

<sup>50</sup>Appeal's Arsenal of Facts, 1912, 134.

of those companies whose securities were recognized by the state. This list included the name of the Alton Railroad.<sup>51</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, signed the bill "which," according to the Appeal, "made the steal possible." The Outlook defended Roosevelt on the ground that he did not know at the time he signed the bill that the Alton securities were "watered." It further pointed out that six or seven years later through investigations instituted by Roosevelt while President, it was discovered that these bonds were created by methods employed by Harriman. They further claimed that the depositors of the banks never lost a cent.<sup>52</sup>

The Appeal ran a photographic copy of the bill showing Roosevelt's signature. They also offered a five thousand dollar reward to any person or persons who could and would disprove that Roosevelt had signed the bill that lobbied through the legislature by the Harriman interests.<sup>53</sup> No claimant ever appeared for the reward, thus the Appeal claims to have won the battle.

The Appeal first attacked Roosevelt immediately after he had accepted the Presidential nomination of the Republican Party in 1904. In a full page editorial Roosevelt was summoned to answer the charges against him, to explain the

---

<sup>51</sup>Appeal to Reason, "Roosevelt and the Alton Steal," November 21, 1908.

<sup>52</sup>"The Appeal to Reason" and "The Alton Steal," Outlook, XCI (April 24, 1909), 905.

<sup>53</sup>Appeal to Reason, November 21, 1908.



frightful living and working conditions in America and to put himself on record as a friend of labor or an enemy.<sup>54</sup> Silence on the part of Mr. Roosevelt greeted the first attack.

The next opportunity for the Appeal to strike at Roosevelt was during the Moyer-Haywood case. In a speech delivered at Washington, April 14, 1906, Roosevelt said:

The wealthy man who exults because there is a failure of justice in the effort to bring some Trust magnate to an account for his misdeeds is as bad as, and no worse than, the so-called labor leader who clamorously strives to excite a foul class feeling on behalf of some other labor leader who is implicated in murder.<sup>55</sup>

The Appeal came back at Roosevelt with the following:

It is time to drop all delicacy of verbiage in dealing with Roosevelt. Primarily a creature of political accident....he has become the protege of plutocracy and a convenient marionette in the hands of the money power....

By what right does Roosevelt assume to pronounce these men guilty of "implication in murder," in absence of all evidence, constituting himself witness, judge and jury.<sup>56</sup>

From now on a state of war existed between the Appeal and Roosevelt. Just before sailing for Africa and big game, Roosevelt took a final jab at the Socialists and the Appeal in stating that:

<sup>54</sup>Appeal to Reason, September 24, 1904.

<sup>55</sup>England, op. cit., 109.

<sup>56</sup>Appeal to Reason, May 6, 1906.

What their [the Socialist] movement leads to may be gathered from the fact that in the last Presidential campaign they nominated and voted for a man who earns his livelihood as editor of a paper which not only practices every form of malignant and brutal slander, but condones and encourages every form of brutal wrongdoing, so long as the slander or violence is supposed to be at the expense of the person who owns something.<sup>57</sup>

The Appeal came back with a special "Reply to Roosevelt Edition," on May 1, 1909.<sup>58</sup> It promised its readers that the answer to Roosevelt would be on a plane of dignity "that would put to shame the coarse tirade of its swaggering assailant."<sup>59</sup> George Milburn remarked that it was "a strange mode of attack for the Appeal and something to cause its readers to sit up and take notice."<sup>60</sup> The "Reply to Roosevelt Edition" ran over three million copies. The Appeal's statistician reported that "the letters and postals ordering this edition when packed closely together on a table, extended more than eight feet."<sup>61</sup> Debs wrote the reply in a full page article.<sup>62</sup> By this time the ex-President

---

<sup>57</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, "Socialism," Outlook, XCI (March 20, 1909), 621.

<sup>58</sup>It is well to note that this is the date of International Labor Day.

<sup>59</sup>Appeal to Reason, April 23, 1909.

<sup>60</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 369.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 370.

<sup>62</sup>Appeal to Reason, May 1, 1909.

was on his way to Africa and the only reply to the Appeal's reverberation was silence.

The last important suit involving Fred Warren, as editor of the Appeal to Reason, was against the Kansas City Star, for an article it had printed on March 21, 1912, stating that

The editor of the Socialist paper is tired of fighting ....after making a fortune for himself and his partner by opposing wealth, Fred D. Warren is afraid of losing it--wont go to prison.

The Appeal to Reason....the largest political paper in the world is suspended....Fred D. Warren....will let the giant die.

The same day Mr. Warren telegraphed the Star as follows:

The report published in the Star today that the Appeal to Reason had suspended is without foundation. The Appeal was never more alive than at this time. Last Wednesday more than six thousand subscriptions were received, the largest number to be sent in one day since the Appeal started.

....We will triumph over our political enemies just as surely as right triumphs over wrong and truth triumphs over the lie.<sup>63</sup>

Suit was filed against the Star by the Appeal for \$100,000.<sup>64</sup> Warren felt that the article printed by the Star was the hardest blow the Appeal had ever received; other attacks had helped the paper to gain in popularity and pick up in circulation, but this incident caused many people to withdraw their support.<sup>65</sup> When Warren resigned in 1914 the case was still pending. Since his successors did not want to press

---

<sup>63</sup>Kansas City Star, March 22, 1912.

<sup>64</sup>Appeal to Reason, April 5, 1913.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 16, 1934.

the case, Warren, upon the advice of his attorney, withdrew the suit.<sup>66</sup>

Thus during the years that Fred D. Warren was managing editor of the Appeal to Reason a mighty paper was built up with an enormous circulation that had much to do with the spreading of Socialist doctrines and increasing the strength of the party. Wayland had been prone to give his readers "a Socialism pure and undefiled."<sup>67</sup> Warren soon changed all that: "The beacon of the oppressed became a searchlight. Juicy exposes began to empurple the hitherto stolid grey pages of the Appeal, and red ink, laid in generous streamers heightened the effect."<sup>68</sup> Wayland's "dowdy paragraphs and parables" which had been "bringing home Socialistic tenets to the common man,"<sup>69</sup> were soon displaced.

The first great edition of the paper was the "Colorado Expose Edition" telling of conditions in the Colorado coal fields. This edition used more than two carloads of paper<sup>70</sup> and ran to more than 2,000,000 copies.<sup>71</sup> This edition

<sup>66</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 16, 1934.

<sup>67</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 364.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Extraordinary Announcement, a special sheet prepared by Haldeman-Julius and Fred Warren announcing the plan to revive the Appeal.

<sup>71</sup>England, op. cit., 277.

contained the famous speech of Fred Warren's at the District Court in Fort Scott. The speech was reprinted in other papers and in pamphlet form and it is estimated that more than 20,000,000 persons read it.<sup>72</sup>

The next great edition was the "Moyer-Haywood Rescue Edition" which reached a total of 3,100,000 copies. Four mail trains of ten cars each were required to carry the copies of this mammoth edition from Girard.<sup>73</sup>

In December, 1905, the "Trust Edition" was issued, of which the paid advance orders were for more than 3,000,000 copies. This was the largest edition of any paper ever printed, up to that time,<sup>74</sup> and was to be beaten in that record only by itself.<sup>75</sup> The Appeal declined \$25,000 worth of advertising for this issue.<sup>76</sup>

In September, 1903, the "Great Double Edition" ran to 1,000,000 copies. The "Kidnaping Anniversary Edition," in 1907, exceeded 2,370,000.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup>England, op. cit., 277.

<sup>73</sup>Extraordinary Announcement, loc. cit.

<sup>74</sup>Upton Sinclair, "The Socialist Party," Worlds Work, XI (April, 1906), 7432.

<sup>75</sup>England, op. cit., 277.

<sup>76</sup>Sinclair, loc. cit. The policy of "Not a line for advertising...." had been established by J. A. Wayland, according to the Kansas City Star, July 4, 1897.

<sup>77</sup>Extraordinary Announcement, loc. cit.

In 1909, the "Debs Reply to Roosevelt Edition" reached the 3,000,000 mark.<sup>78</sup> Mail trains were delayed thirty minutes, four days out of the week, while the paper was loaded into the cars.<sup>79</sup>

For ten weeks prior to the election of 1912 the Appeal ran special editions which totaled 10,976,416 in circulation.<sup>80</sup>

The famous "Harry Bone Special,"<sup>81</sup> in 1913, beat all newspaper records in the world.<sup>82</sup> The press indicator showed a total of 4,010,000 copies, or more than one hundred twenty tons, filling four thousand mail sacks.<sup>83</sup>

The Appeal as a money maker was shown in a trial at Amarillo, Texas, involving the question of division of the estate of J. A. Wayland. At the trial it was brought out that in 1911 the Appeal made a profit of \$53,000; 1912, \$35,000; and in 1913, \$56,000.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>78</sup>See footnote 61, Chapter III.

<sup>79</sup>Kansas City Star, May 7, 1909.

<sup>80</sup>England, op. cit., 278.

<sup>81</sup>Harry J. Bone, United States prosecuting attorney, was accused by the Appeal of maliciously prosecuting its editors in the case resulting from the Haywood-Moyer case.

<sup>82</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 359.

<sup>83</sup>England, op. cit., 278.

<sup>84</sup>Kansas City Star, May 18, 1919.



After Wayland's death, the record of the Appeal furnishes a dismal anticlimax, except for a short-lived rally. Possibly Warren felt that a change was necessary for himself and the Appeal. Lincoln Phifer, one of the editorial staff of the Appeal, said "that his [Warren's] very success had in a way eliminated him from the Appeal."<sup>85</sup> Louis Kopelin, formerly managing editor of the New York Call, a Socialist daily, was imported by Warren in 1913 to take his place as managing editor of the Appeal while he toured Europe the following months.<sup>86</sup>

After returning from his trip abroad, Mr. Warren resigned, July 27, 1914, as editor of the Appeal to Reason.<sup>87</sup> The reason given was ill health. Phifer says that Warren "was not really ill--only excessively nervous."<sup>88</sup> Warren feels that he has been unduly criticized by many Socialists because he resigned at this particular time because of the World War. He says that he could not foretell that a World War was pending.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, if it had become a war paper it would have lost many subscribers,<sup>90</sup> and if it pursued an

---

<sup>85</sup>Lincoln Phifer, "Looking Backward--and Ahead," in England's The Story of the Appeal, 294.

<sup>86</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 370.

<sup>87</sup>Kansas City Times, July 28, 1914.

<sup>88</sup>Phifer, loc. cit.

<sup>89</sup>Mr. Warren, in an interview, expressed a desire that it be made clear that he resigned before the actual outbreak of the war on the continent of Europe. Interview, June 3, 1934.

<sup>90</sup>The Socialist Party, in general, was opposed to war.

anti-war policy it would have been suppressed by the Federal Government under the authority of war time legislation.<sup>91</sup> He stated that all of this was "just one of the unavoidable things in life that can not be helped." That life is just a series of obstructions, once you have conquered and surmounted one you are confronted with another.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE APPEAL

After the death of J. A. Wayland the management of the Appeal passed to the hands of his son, W. H. (Walter) Wayland. For many years he had been connected with the Appeal being trained, no doubt, for the task that was now his. After the resignation of Fred Warren, the paper continued to be published without any interruption or delay with W. H. Wayland as publisher and Louis Kopelin as managing editor. The first issue under the new management appeared August 8, 1914.

The Appeal continued to oppose the courts, this time in Colorado. The laborers in the mines at Trinidad and Ludlow had gone on a strike. After some demonstrations by the strikers, the operators hired and armed men to protect their property. The result was that in following demonstrations some of the strikers were killed. Rulings of the courts according to the Appeal were outrageously against the laborers. The Appeal took up the fight for the protection of the rights of the laborers and claimed credit for the release of many of the prisoners from the Trinidad jail.<sup>1</sup>

Another case in which the Appeal played an important role was that of Waldo P. Coffman, a Socialist soldier, who

---

<sup>1</sup>Appeal to Reason, October 31, 1914; England, op. cit., 296-297.

had been arraigned before a court martial in the state of Washington, his offense being the distribution of Socialist literature. John Kenneth Turner was called by the Appeal to investigate. Before Turner could get his information complete, Coffman had been sent to the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. A series of articles in the Appeal set forth the circumstances of the trial; the arrogance of army officers; bad conditions in the army which they claimed was the cause of many soldiers deserting; and other similar articles. All this evidence with the court record of the Coffman case was laid before the War Department. The result was that Coffman was freed. Afterward Coffman was restored to citizenship and given an honorable discharge from the army.<sup>2</sup>

At the time these fights were being waged the Appeal was plunging into an anti-war campaign. On August 29, 1914, appeared an editorial under the heading: "Starve the war and feed America."<sup>3</sup> These demands appeared in black face type boxed off on the front page of the Appeal:

1. Starve the war by forbidding the shipment of any food products to Europe. This will keep in this country the food with which to feed America.
2. Feed America by seizing on the food and distributing it through government channels at cost of production and handling. This will bring food within the reach of all who have an income.
3. Provide employment and money for all by using the deposits in the postal savings banks, to a safe banking

---

<sup>2</sup>England, op. cit., 296.

<sup>3</sup>Appeal to Reason.

margin, in paying for the needed public improvements. This will provide means for all for buying the food.<sup>4</sup>

The Appeal had entered a new field of propaganda.

It planned to bring within the folds of Socialism the farmers of America. In flaming red letters they announced: "We will bring Socialism to the farmers and the farmers to Socialism."<sup>5</sup> John Kenneth Turner wrote a series of articles, that appeared in the Appeal, that dealt directly with farming and Socialism.

The Appeal took advantage of the opportunity offered when the President, by proclamation, set apart October 4, 1914, as a day of prayer for peace. It published a special edition containing a full page editorial written by Allan L. Benson, urging all Christians to pray for peace. Special bundle rates were made to the comrades to encourage them to buy large quantities of the special edition and distribute them at the doors of the churches.<sup>6</sup>

The Appeal in its thousandth issue came out with a full page editorial by Allan L. Benson, urging the people to "Prepare for Peace while there is War."<sup>7</sup> The same issue carried a peace petition which the readers were urged to sign and send to the President. The petition urged that we

<sup>4</sup>Appeal to Reason, September 5, 1914.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., November 21, 1914.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., October 3, 1914.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., January 30, 1915.

release all our possessions; it advocated absolute disarmament, abolition of secret diplomacy, and that the power to declare war be taken from Congress and given directly to the people.

The policy of "watchful waiting" of President Wilson, in regard to Mexico, was attacked by the Appeal. It declared that the people of Mexico resented American interference with their national affairs.<sup>8</sup> It further claimed that the Carranza revolutionary movement was supported by the working people<sup>9</sup> while other alleged revolutionary movements were supported by American financial interests.<sup>10</sup> The President was severely criticized for sending troops to Vera Cruz.<sup>11</sup> The Appeal demanded the recognition of the Carranza revolutionary government as the only way of averting war between the United States and Mexico.<sup>12</sup>

Danger of the United States being drawn into the World War was becoming more and more imminent in the early months of 1916. The Appeal was urging that this country keep out of the war. It warned the country of the impending danger in an article by Allan L. Benson stating that the jingo press

---

<sup>8</sup>Appeal to Reason, March 27, 1915.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., April 17, 1915.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., April 3, 1915.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., April 24 and May 1, 1915.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1915.



was succeeding in intimidating the President and that the country was "drifting toward a terrible war."<sup>13</sup>

The paper had not dropped the issue of holding food in America. In one of the 1916 issues a full page editorial by Louis Kopelin heralded with a flaming red streamer: "Feed America First."<sup>14</sup>

In March and April, 1917, the Appeal devoted the large part of its force to an attack on the railroads. It strongly advocated government ownership and operation of the railroads.<sup>15</sup>

After war was declared on Germany by the United States the Appeal began a campaign to bring the war to a speedy end. It demanded that the belligerents renounce all claims for annexation and indemnity.<sup>16</sup>

The Selective Service Act, as passed by Congress, May 28, 1917, was another point for attack by the Appeal. This act, among other provisions, required all male citizens between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register for military service. The Socialists objected. While the bill was pending on Congress, the Appeal urged its readers to

<sup>13</sup>Appeal to Reason, March 11, 1916.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., November 25, 1916.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., March 3, to April 17, 1917.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., May 12, 1917. These demands were kept constantly before the readers of the Appeal in the following issues.

"flood Congress with protests against the conscription measure."<sup>17</sup> After the passage of the bill the Appeal openly criticized it and opposed it, declaring that "Conscription is unconstitutional."<sup>18</sup>

On June 15, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act which provided severe penalties for interfering with the recruiting and disciplining of troops. The federal government began a zealous attack on persons and organizations obstructing the draft and opposing the government's war policy. Numerous publications were barred from the mails for violation of the act. No copy of the Appeal appeared June 30, the regular date for publication. July 14, the Appeal explained that it had been barred from the mails but that the order did not affect future issues provided they did not violate the Espionage Act. From then on the publishers of the Appeal were careful to abide by this order. By the latter part of the year they were demanding the government operation of railroads, mines, telegraph and telephones.<sup>19</sup>

The Socialist Party, as shown in an earlier chapter, was divided on the war issue. The Appeal by this time was beginning to feel the effects of this division. Subscriptions and circulation were declining rapidly, supporters

---

<sup>17</sup>Appeal to Reason, May 19, 1917. The bill was passed May 28, 1917.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., June 9, 1917.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., December 8, 1917.

were deserting by the thousands.<sup>20</sup> Only once after the resignation of Warren did the Appeal attempt an edition as stupendous in dimensions as some of the special editions of the old days.<sup>21</sup> Even this edition seemed to be lacking in some way the old vigor of the former issues. If it had taken the other side and favored war it would have been headed for the same fate and probably would have reached it much sooner. The Appeal was doomed.

The Appeal's anti-war policy and the fact that the Post Office Department had ruled that the paper could not be mailed to persons who had not paid their money for it caused the subscription list to decline.<sup>22</sup> In an effort to save the Appeal the name was changed to The New Appeal, December 22, 1917. W. H. Wayland continued as publisher and Louis Kopelin as editor. The subscription rate was increased to one dollar per year. The first issue contained a full page editorial on what the New Appeal would fight for, chiefly being opposed to war and favoring a lasting peace. It said:

The issues that have arisen out of the war, political ideas, social conceptions and industrial methods.... will be set forth in the New Appeal, and it will be shown how these things are combining to hasten mankind along the path of collective effort toward the ultimate goal of Socialism.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 371.

<sup>21</sup>This was the special edition of Oct. 3, 1914, for the day of Prayer for Peace.

<sup>22</sup>Interview with W. H. Wayland, June 25, 1934. Many of the papers had been sent to persons when the subscription had been paid by someone else. The paper could still be ordered in bundles, then distributed.

<sup>23</sup>The New Appeal, December 22, 1917.

April 20, 1918, The New Appeal appeared as a publication of the New Appeal Publishing Company with W. H. Wayland as president, Louis Kopelin, vice-president, and Emanuel Haldeman-Julius,<sup>24</sup> secretary-treasurer.<sup>25</sup> Haldeman-Julius and Kopelin had each purchased a one-third interest in the publishing company from Wayland who retained the other third.<sup>26</sup> In September, Haldeman-Julius bought Wayland's third interest.<sup>27</sup>

The life of the paper under the new title was short. On March 1, 1919, they reverted to the old familiar name of Appeal to Reason. In the first issue under the revived title the following reasons were given for the change: (1) popular demand of the readers; (2) most of the mail received was addressed to the Appeal to Reason; and (3) other publications in referring to the paper were using the old title or spoke of The New Appeal as successor to the Appeal to Reason.<sup>28</sup>

The Sedition Act had been passed by Congress in May, 1918, making it a crime to criticize by speech or writing the government or the Constitution. Eugene V. Debs was

---

<sup>24</sup>Emanuel Julius had been with the Appeal to Reason since before the death of J. A. Wayland, having been employed to write copy for the paper. He married a local heiress, Marcet Haldeman, hence the name Haldeman-Julius.

<sup>25</sup>The New Appeal, Spril 20, 1918.

<sup>26</sup>Interview with Mr. Wayland, June 25, 1934.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.; The New Appeal, September 14, 1918.

<sup>28</sup>Appeal to Reason, March 1, 1919.

convicted for violation of this act and sentenced to ten years in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia. The Appeal began laying plans for a special "Amnesty Edition." The proposition was to issue 1,002,925 copies, this being the total number of "days in jail sentences for political offenders under the War Espionage Act."<sup>29</sup> The special edition appeared March 1, protesting against the detention of Debs in jail with the following double streamer across the front page: "Shall Gene Debs lie in Jail while the Plutes and Profiteers defy Public."<sup>30</sup>

The old vim and force of "the little old Appeal" were gone. Death was stalking the paper. Finally, November 6, 1922, the last copy of the Appeal to Reason came from the press. The Kansas City Star noticed the passing of this great weekly with a front page story recalling some of the highlights in the history of this leading Socialist organ.<sup>31</sup> In the place of the Appeal appeared the Haldeman-Julius Weekly.<sup>32</sup> The policy of the paper underwent a decided change. The new policy was explained by the publisher-editor

<sup>29</sup>The New Appeal, February 22, 1919.

<sup>30</sup>Appeal to Reason, March 1, 1919. The writer was unable to find any record as to whether the paper reached its circulation goal.

<sup>31</sup>Kansas City Star, November 6, 1922.

<sup>32</sup>Haldeman-Julius had purchased the remaining third interest in the company from Louis Kopelin, in January, 1921. The first issue of the Haldeman-Julius Weekly appeared November 11, 1922.

would be to

bring to its readers the best works of the world's greatest minds. I promise a literary feast for the culture-seekers who want to know the truths of science, philosophy and history, and want to establish weekly contact with the vast beauties of literature and art.<sup>33</sup>

It promised "individual self-help and development through one's own efforts."<sup>34</sup> In an interview with a reporter for the Kansas City Star, Mr. Haldeman-Julius said:

For twenty-seven years, the Appeal to Reason has been the sign and symbol of agitation and radicalism. Without discussing the usefulness or harm of a policy such as guided this weekly, I have felt during the five years of my control, a mental and temperamental reaction against anything that suggested "change" by the means of mass movement.<sup>35</sup>

The first issue of the publication under the new name was sent to the 485,000 subscribers of the Appeal to Reason in the United States and many foreign countries.<sup>36</sup> Many of the faded veterans of the Appeal Army who received the new paper in lieu of their unexpired subscriptions, snorted, and sat down to write letters of protest.<sup>37</sup>

The new publication was devoted to individualism, it planned to educate rather than agitate. It had been publishing for four months a literary monthly magazine, Life and

---

<sup>33</sup>Haldeman-Julius Weekly, November 11, 1922.

<sup>34</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 371.

<sup>35</sup>Kansas City Star, November 6, 1922.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Milburn, loc. cit., 371.



Letters, dealing with the lives and writings of old and contemporary authors. The circulation of this magazine had grown in that time to over one hundred thousand.<sup>38</sup>

The Haldeman-Julius Weekly continued to be published for less than seven years. It was replaced on April 13, 1929, by the American Freeman, the new name being selected by contest.<sup>39</sup> The American Freeman is a paper "devoted to social justice and industrial sanity."<sup>40</sup> It had declared that: "We are in the minority today, but the future belongs to the working class if you will only get busy now."<sup>41</sup>

The circulation of the paper had dwindled to 30,033 on March 1, 1933.

During 1932 and the first part of 1933 the last page of the Freeman was called "Warren's Page" being edited by Fred D. Warren. Mr. Warren had returned to Girard the latter part of 1931 having made plans with Mr. Haldeman-Julius to attempt to revive the militant Appeal to Reason. The plan as outlined by Mr. Warren was to secure pledges from the old Appeal Army to subscribe for the paper. If enough pledges

---

<sup>38</sup>Kansas City Star, November 6, 1922.

<sup>39</sup>Interview with John Gunn, June 12, 1934, former writer for the Appeal to Reason and the Haldeman-Julius publications, at the present editing an encyclopedia for the Haldeman-Julius Company.

<sup>40</sup>American Freeman, March 1, 1933.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., January 1, 1933.

were received to justify publication, those who had sent in their pledges would be notified to send their money.<sup>42</sup> The plan did not materialize so Mr. Warren began editing "Warren's Page."

Early in 1933, Mr. Warren withdrew from the American Freeman and edited and published during the spring and summer of that year, four editions of Warren's Newspaper, a paper that contained the best works on Socialism that had been written by the editor through his many years in the publishing business.<sup>43</sup> This paper had no list of regular subscribers. The paper could be purchased, however, in bundles of twenty-five copies for one dollar.<sup>44</sup>

The American Freeman had now become a monthly sheet and continues as such at the present time.

Back in the days of the New Appeal, in 1919, a book department was established that was to become the main feature of the Haldeman-Julius publications. After seven months the book department had issued thirty-one books, many of them having gone into the fifth edition.<sup>45</sup> The policy according to Mr. Haldeman-Julius was to "publish

<sup>42</sup>Interview with Mr. Warren, June 3, 1934.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Warren's Newspaper, July, 1933. Published and edited by Fred D. Warren.

<sup>45</sup>Girard Press, November 20, 1919.

literature, regardless of any kind of politics."<sup>46</sup> The people of Girard were optimistic, hoping to see one of the largest book publishing plants in the United States located in their city.<sup>47</sup> Mr. Haldeman-Julius was optimistic stating that he expected they would soon be able to offer to the public five hundred titles to select from.<sup>48</sup>

The Appeal itself served as the chief and very effective medium for advertising the books. The books have been and are today advertised in other nationally and internationally known publications.

Other features that made for the growing success of the plan was that books were being printed that the people wanted. They were put up in a convenient form and sold at an attractive price. The first title in the series of Little Blue Books, is The Rubaiyat, by Omar Khayyam. This book sells 50,000 copies annually.<sup>49</sup> At the present time there are 1,756 titles, number 1,756 being a Simplified Cook Book.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup>Girard Press, November 20, 1919.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>E. Haldeman-Julius, The First Hundred Million, 93. A book telling the story of the publication of the first one hundred million copies of Little Blue Books.

<sup>50</sup>Interview with R. L. Newbery, June 12, 1934, compositor at the Haldeman-Julius plant. The catalogue which will contain this book has not come off the press at the time of this writing.

The books are put up in the convenient size of three and one-half by five inches. The print is easily read, being set in eight point type. The books are bound with blue paper cover.

In 1919 the books were sold for twenty-five cents apiece, then at five for a dollar, and later offered at ten cents apiece as an experiment.<sup>51</sup> In 1922 the first five cent sale was advertised, the series at that time contained three hundred titles.<sup>52</sup> The five cent sales proved successful and resulted in the change of the price to that figure.

In 1926 the sales had passed the one hundred million mark.<sup>53</sup> In 1928, one of the peak sales years, the total number of books sold for that year passed the 25,000,000 mark.<sup>54</sup>

Other publications of the Haldeman-Julius Company have included: Know-Thy-Self, a publication dealing with diseases, their causes and cures, written by Dr. William J. Fielding. The Quarterly, printed as the name suggests, was similar to Life and Letters mentioned above. The Debunker, a monthly publication dealing with atheism, the main contributor being Joseph McCabe of London. The Millitant Atheist, another

---

<sup>51</sup>Haldeman-Julius, First Hundred Million, 324.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 326.

<sup>53</sup>Pittsburg Headlight, May 19, 1926.

<sup>54</sup>Haldeman-Julius, First Hundred Million, 323.

atheist publication, edited by Haldeman-Julius and Joseph McCabe. And A Guide to Today's Knowledge, a monthly guide reviewing science and learning, also edited by Haldeman-Julius and Joseph McCabe.

The climax of the Appeal to Reason was reached in 1914 with the resignation of Fred Warren. At the outbreak of the World War the Appeal adopted a strict policy of opposition to the war and to the entrance of the United States into the war. If the paper had supported the government's war measures it would have lost favor with the anti-war faction that controlled the Socialist party. In declaring its opposition to these measures the paper violated the Espionage Act and was barred from the mails, June 30, 1917. The Post Office Department had ruled that the paper could not be sent to persons who had not paid their own money for it. All of this figured greatly in the cause of the decline of the Appeal. In 1917 the name of the paper was changed to The New Appeal in an effort to save the paper from the impending danger. In 1918, W. H. Wayland sold two-thirds interest in the publication, one-third to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius and one-third to Louis Kopelin. Later that year Haldeman-Julius bought Wayland's interest and in 1921 bought the remaining third interest from Kopelin. The following year the name and policy of the paper was changed. The name of "Wayland" and the policies of the founder of the Appeal were no longer a part of the publications that were to come from the presses

of the Girard plant. The former publications that had urged mass action were replaced by those advocating individualism.



## CONCLUSION

The Socialist propaganda sheet, the Appeal to Reason, was a part of the outgrowth of the social and industrial unrest of the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is hard to determine the exact influence of the Appeal but the strength of the opposition it encountered signify something of its power and influence. Much of the social legislation of the past twenty-five or thirty years are things the Appeal advocated.

There were certain persons connected with the Appeal whose names are known to most Socialists. J. A. Wayland founded the Appeal and built its circulation to over 150,000 by advocating pure, scientific Socialism. Wayland knew how to reach men with his pointed paragraphs, the thing for which he is well known.

Fred D. Warren, publisher of the Bates County Critic and the Coming Nation, both Socialist papers, became managing editor of the Appeal in 1904 and led the paper and those directly connected with it through several court battles, each time using the opportunity to increase the circulation of the paper.

In 1906, Eugene V. Debs became a contributing editor to the Appeal which was one of the most important means of bringing him before the public.

After the death of J. A. Wayland, the resignation of Fred Warren, the outbreak of the war and the return of

prosperity, the circulation and the power of the Appeal began to decline. A few unsuccessful attempts were made to publish editions of the enormous dimensions of some of the special editions put out during Warren's editorship.

The ownership of the publishing plant passed from the hands of the sons of J. A. Wayland to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius who changed the name of the paper to the Haldeman-Julius Weekly and again in 1929 to the American Freeman. The Appeal was dead. The policy of its successors was decidedly different because they emphasized individualism rather than mass action. A book department was established which later was to be the main feature of the Haldeman-Julius publications. At the present time there are 1,756 titles to select from. The American Freeman continues to be published as a monthly sheet.

It is now some fourteen years since the death of the Appeal and from the presses that printed its mammoth editions declaring for social revolution by the use of the ballot, comes printed matter to be folded, cut and bound into books relating to hundreds of subjects. An attempt at revival of the Appeal, three years ago, failed.

The future of the radical press is not very bright. Considerable capital would be required to establish a radical paper similar in size to the Appeal. Things are different today from what they were when the Appeal began at the very bottom in 1895. There is too much competition on the part

of the radio and the news reel for the voice of a propagandist sheet to be much more than a mere whisper.

There stands in Girard a nice trim post office building, one of the few perceptible monuments of the Appeal. It was the proceeds from the mailing of the Appeal that made it possible for Girard to be the biggest little first class post office in the United States. Southeastern Kansas is known by many people in the United States as the place where the Appeal to Reason was published.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## GENERAL WORKS

Haynes, Frederick Emory, Social Politics in the United States, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

Laidler, Harry W., Socialism in Thought and Action, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

The American Labor Year Book 1917-18, edited by Alexander Trachtenberg, New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1918.

The American Labor Year Book 1929, edited by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, Solon De Leon, director, New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1929.

The Appeal's Arsenal of Facts, fourteenth edition, edited by Fred D. Warren, Girard, Kansas: Appeal to Reason, 1912. This book was not sold. The only way a person could get a copy was by sending to the Appeal to Reason a certain number of subscriptions.

The World Almanac and Encyclopedia for 1921, New York: The Press Publishing Company (The New York World), 1920.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1925, edited by Robert Hunt Hyman, New York: The Press Publishing Company (The New York World), 1925.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1929, edited by Robert Hunt Lyman, New York: The Press Publishing Company (The New York World), 1929.

World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1933, New York: New York World Telegram, 1933.

## SPECIAL WORKS

Coleman, McAlister, Eugene V. Debs: A Man Unafraid. New York: Greenberg, Publisher Inc., 1930.

England, George Allen, The Story of the Appeal, with a forward look by Lincoln Phifer, Girard, Kansas: Appeal to Reason, date not given.

Haldeman-Julius, Emanuel, The First Hundred Million, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1928. A story of the publication and sale of the first hundred million "Little Blue Books."

Painter, Floy Ruth, That Man Debs and His Life Work, published under the auspices of the Graduate Council, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana; 1929. A doctoral dissertation.

Wayland, J. A., Leaves of Life: A Story of Twenty Years of Socialist Agitation, edited by A. W. Ricker, Girard, Kansas: Appeal to Reason, 1912.

#### NEWSPAPERS

American Freeman, Girard, Kansas, 1933. Successor to the Haldeman-Julius Weekly. It is published at the present time as a monthly sheet.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, 1897, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919. It appeared under the name of The New Appeal part of 1917, 1918, and part of 1919.

Extraordinary Announcement, Girard, Kansas, 1931. A special sheet printed and distributed by E. Haldeman-Julius and Fred D. Warren, announcing the plan to attempt to revive the Appeal to Reason.

Girard Press, Girard, Kansas, 1919.

Haldeman-Julius Weekly, Girard, Kansas, 1922. The Haldeman-Julius Weekly replaced the Appeal to Reason in 1922. It was published until 1929.

Kansas City Star, Kansas City, Missouri, 1897, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1919, 1922.

Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Missouri, 1911, 1914.

Pittsburg Headlight, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1909, 1926.

The New Appeal, Girard, Kansas, 1917, 1918, 1919.

Warren's Newspaper, Girard, Kansas, 1933. Only four editions of this paper appeared in the spring and summer of 1933. Warren's Newspaper is a mis-nomer since the paper contained only articles on Socialism that had been written by Fred Warren for many years.



## PERIODICALS

- Douglas, Paul H., "The Socialist Vote in the Municipal Elections of 1917," National Municipal Review, VII (March, 1918), 131-139.
- Karsner, David, "The Passing of the Socialist Party," Current History, XX (June, 1924), 402-407.
- Milburn, George, "The Appeal to Reason," American Mercury, XXIII (July, 1931), 359-371.
- Reedy, Marion, "The Case of Fred D. Warren," Reedy's Mirror, (December 15, 1910). This article was found in the clipping library of the Kansas City Star. Page and volume number were not given.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, "Socialism," Outlook, XCI (March 20, 1909), 619-623.
- Sinclair, Upton, "The Socialist Party," World's Work, XI (April, 1906), 7432-7433.
- "The Appeal to Reason and the Alton Steal," Outlook, XCI (March 24, 1909), 905.
- "The Socialist Slump," Literary Digest, C (January 5, 1929), 9.
- "The Trial of Eugene V. Debs," Survey, XL (September 21, 1918), 695-696.

## OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

## PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

- Eldridge, W. J., June 17, 1934.
- Gunn, John, June 12, 1934.
- Newbery, R. L., June 12, 1934.
- Warren, Fred D., April 19, 1933; June 3, 1934; June 16, 1934.
- Wayland, W. H., April 18, 1933; June 1, 1934; June 25, 1934.
- Wayland, Mrs. W. H., June 16, 1934.



## APPENDIX A

The Socialist Vote and Its Per Cent of the Total  
Popular Vote, 1900 to 1932.<sup>1</sup>

	Socialist vote	Per Cent of total popular vote
1900.....	94,768 .....	.6
1904.....	402,400 .....	2.9
1908.....	420,820 .....	2.9
1912.....	897,011 .....	5.9
1916.....	585,113 .....	3.2
1920.....	919,799 .....	3.4
1924.....	4,822,856 <sup>2</sup> .....	16.6
1928.....	267,420 .....	.7
1932.....	728,860 .....	1.8

---

<sup>1</sup>World Almanac, 1933, pp. 910-913.

<sup>2</sup>The Socialists and Progressives supported the same candidate for President in 1924. The above figure represents the combined vote of these groups.

## APPENDIX B

Total Annual Circulation of the Appeal to Reason<sup>1</sup>

1905.....	8,175,388 copies
1906.....	17,814,681 copies
1907.....	24,016,100 copies
1908.....	22,910,992 copies
1909.....	26,283,692 copies
1910.....	28,288,089 copies
1911.....	31,414,000 copies
1912.....	36,091,390 copies

---

<sup>1</sup>Appeal to Reason, January 18, 1913.

## APPENDIX C

Number of Subscribers to the Appeal to Reason<sup>1</sup>

1895.....	25,000
1900.....	100,000
1901.....	150,000
1906 (April).....	175,000
1907 (Feb. 2).....	275,000
1908 (Nov. 21).....	332,609
1909 (Jan. 9).....	303,241
1910 (Jan. 1).....	341,815
1911 (Jan. 28).....	477,711
1912 (Missing from files)	
1913 (May 10).....	444,278
1914 (July 25).....	550,503

---

<sup>1</sup>Figures from 1895 to 1908 taken from the "March of the Appeal," Appeal to Reason, Dec. 5, 1908. Other figures taken from Appeal to Reason for respective dates given.

## APPENDIX D

Example of the distribution of Socialist strength in 1912 and 1916, showing them to be strongest in the West rather than in the manufacturing centers of the East.<sup>1</sup>

1912	New York	ranked	29th	in	Socialist	strength,	in	1916,	24th.
"	Pennsylvania	"	19th	"	"	"	"	"	18th.
"	New Jersey	"	31st	"	"	"	"	"	32nd.
"	Connecticut	"	25th	"	"	"	"	"	28th.
"	Rhode Island	"	37th	"	"	"	"	"	29th.
"	Mass.	"	36th	"	"	"	"	"	31st.

In contrast:

1912	Oklahoma	ranked	1st	in	Socialist	strength,	in	1916,	1st.
"	Nevada	"	2nd	"	"	"	"	"	2nd.
"	Montana	"	3rd	"	"	"	"	"	8th.
"	Washington	"	4th	"	"	"	"	"	6th.
"	Idaho	"	6th	"	"	"	"	"	5th.
"	Arizona	"	9th	"	"	"	"	"	7th.
"	Texas	"	12th	"	"	"	"	"	9th.

---

<sup>1</sup>American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918, p. 338.