

that uttered those words. The press reports of the Chicago Daily News of July 13 attributed them to the Rev. John Wesley Hill, pastor of Metropolitan Temple, New York city.

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Did Mr. Hill mean what the words literally imply? Did he intend to instigate criminal acts? Or was he indulging in metaphor? We do not know. But would those questions be asked if the words could be fastened on Emma Goldman? Nay, nay! And why not? Both of them preach the brotherhood of man. But maybe she believes in it.

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### Our Advancing Postal Censorship.

A Federal judge has sentenced Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, to heavy imprisonment and fine, upon conviction in a Federal court in Kansas, of violating the postal laws. As the Appeal to Reason is a Socialist paper, such socialists as have not given very keen attention to the advancing postal censorship upon agitations other than their own, naturally enough regard Mr. Warren's conviction and sentence as the most dangerous blow yet struck at the liberty of the press in the United States. We do not so regard it. The most dangerous blows at the liberty of the American press had been already struck. They were struck in the more obscure postal prosecutions which we have frequently denounced (vol. iv, pp. 414, 596, 609, 643; vol. v, p. 549; vol. vi, pp. 146, 227; vol. viii, pp. 242, 290, 323, 540, 815; vol. x, p. 1227; vol. xi, pp. 11, 49, 59, 125, 147, 292)—those prosecutions of less vigorous periodicals, and also less reputable if you choose, without which the postal censorship (vol. iv, pp. 414, 596, 609, 643; vol. v, p. 549; vol. vi, pp. 146, 227; vol. viii, pp. 290, 323, 420, 540, 814, 815; vol. ix, pp. 3, 13; vol. x, p. 1227; vol. xi, pp. 11, 50, 147, 172, 314, 410) might not yet have advanced to the point of striking as high up as at the Appeal to Reason. It is of the nature of autocratic censorship to advance insidiously in a republic; and even as the Appeal to Reason has now suffered from the sting of its power, so may it yet be with periodicals that feel safer than the Appeal to Reason ever could have felt.

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The alleged offense of the Appeal to Reason was, on the face of it, more open to legitimate postal interference than were the acts complained of in any of the other prosecutions. It was related to a provision of the postal laws which prohibits

dissemination through the mails of scurrilous matter exposed in such manner as to be read by any person into whose hands it may fall—as upon a postal card, or the outside of an envelope, or the wrapper or other exposed part of a periodical. This is a legitimate and wholesome provision. Although the post office should have no right to censor the contents of sealed letters, or the sentiments of periodicals, it ought to prevent the use of the mails for scurrilous publications in exposed places on mail matter. The Appeal to Reason is charged with having violated that provision of the postal law. The charge rests upon the fact that the alleged libel was exposed on the outside of envelopes sent out by the Appeal to Reason. There is, therefore, less occasion, on the face of the matter, for regarding this prosecution as a blow at the liberty of the press, than there is for so regarding the prosecution, for instance, of Mr. Harman (vol. ix, p. 963), whose offenses consisted not in exposing alleged libels on the outside of mail matter, but in expressing in enclosed periodicals his sentiments on disputed questions of opinion and conduct. In truth, there is no occasion whatever, on the face of the matter, for regarding Mr. Warren's conviction and sentence as in any wise a blow at the liberty of the press.

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But the real purpose of the prosecution of Mr. Warren does not appear upon the face of the matter. Its purpose has evidently been to punish a Socialist periodical of large circulation and wide political influence, for political reasons alone. The prosecution was a transparent subterfuge. It was instituted against the editor of this paper for an act which is common and has long been common on the part of business men in their use of the mails, but which had never before been treated or even regarded by the government as prohibited—much less as criminal. There has manifestly been in Mr. Warren's case a gross abuse of the machinery of government for the purpose of penalizing a political journal whose views are obnoxious to the party in power. That this is true, a brief consideration of the case will show.

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In many petty ways the postal department has for years pestered the Appeal to Reason with conditions of circulation not exacted of Republican newspapers (vol. iv, p. 628). Just as it once drove Wilshire's Magazine (another Socialist publication) out of the country by frivolous exactions (vol. vii, p. 2), so it has tried to suppress the

Appeal to Reason. Its opportunity for instituting the present prosecution turned upon peculiar circumstances. Certain socialists of Denver, Colorado, had been lawlessly kidnaped and "rail-roaded" to Idaho, where they were put upon trial for a murder of which every one of them was acquitted after years had elapsed. Meanwhile efforts were made to hold the kidnapers to account; but the courts refused relief, and President Roosevelt gave wide currency to the thought that the kidnaping of such "undesirable citizens" as those then unconvicted and subsequently acquitted socialists, was quite the right sort of thing to do. Thereupon the Appeal to Reason decided upon a little goring of the other ox. If it was quite the thing to kidnap socialistic labor leaders in their home State, for trial for murder in a distant State not their own, why not kidnap a Republican political leader in a distant State not his own, for trial for murder in the State that was his own. So reasoned the Appeal to Reason, and surely not without rationality. Now, it so happened that there was just such a case all ready to hand. A Republican Governor of Kentucky had absconded to Indiana under charges of murdering his Democratic successor-elect. For this alleged murder he was indicted in his own State, and custody of his person was duly demanded for trial by the Governor of Kentucky of the Governor of Indiana. But the Governor of Indiana, a Republican, refused to deliver his fellow partisan, the fugitive. These being the facts, the Appeal to Reason offered a reward for the kidnaping of this fugitive Republican (after the manner of the kidnaping of the Denver socialists) and his return to Kentucky for trial. The offer of the reward, with full explanation of the circumstances that had inspired it, was enclosed in an envelope, on the outside of which the amount, purpose and condition of the reward and the name of the person to be kidnaped and delivered to the proper authorities of his home State, were briefly printed. Because his offer of that reward was so exposed, the editor of the Appeal to Reason, Mr. Warren, was indicted, and has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. He had libeled the fugitive in question—so ran the formal accusation—by denouncing him as under indictment for murder, and had done so by exposing the libel on the outside of mail matter.

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That the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Warren were not in good faith, is evident from a single fact. There are corroborating facts, but this one alone is conclusive. We allude to the

fact that postal cards offering rewards for fugitives from justice are common in the mails, and no one is ever prosecuted for mailing them. Yet they are as distinctly criminal under the postal law as was the Appeal to Reason's offending envelope, if that kind of thing is criminal at all. Not only was this prosecution in bad faith, but it was ordered from Washington, and against the advice of the local prosecuting office. To be sure, a court has sustained the prosecution; but what does that prove when the very Federal authority at Washington which ordered the prosecution controls the appointment of Federal judges? To be sure, also, a jury has convicted; but what does that prove when the very Federal authority at Washington which ordered the prosecution controls the appointment of the Federal officials who select Federal jurymen? Clearly, the case against the Appeal to Reason is another in the growing list of cases which testify to an advancing postal censorship. It is further proof of the development of a great centralized movement of the party in power and the Interests behind it, to utilize postal laws and regulations for destroying the liberty of the radical press.

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## "BIG BUSINESS," LABOR UNIONS, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

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Readers outside of Chicago may think they have no interest in the election last week of its president by the Chicago Board of Education. To them it may seem that the subject is one of personal interest only, and only to the candidates and their supporters; or, at most, that it is of local concern alone.

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In a way, but only in a way, that view of the matter is right.

Mr. Urion, who was elected, is an ambitious little man, and to him the victory is one which conventionally demands of personages of his type that they "buy the champagne for the crowd."

Mr. Schneider also, the president whom Mr. Urion defeated for re-election, is a man of ambition (though his is ambition of a more scholarly cast), and to him the defeat is personal and saturated with bitterness.

And, indeed, Mr. Schneider's case naturally excites sympathy.

Although he had amiably given himself over, along with his political and social "crowd," to the service of Big Business, his native instincts and