For President—T. V. Debs, of Indiana.
For Vice President—Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin.

THE REBEL

The great upper crust to us only because we are on our knees — LET US ARISE

E. A. NICKEY, Editor and Owner.
Entered as second-class matter July 1, 1911, at the postoffice at Hartsville, Tex., under the act of March 3, 1879.
10c per yr.; clubs of 4 (40 wks) 25c

Total subs for week ending August 24, 1912..... 22,312.

HALLETTSVILLE, TEXAS, AUGUST 24, 1912. No. 60

The National Platform Analyzed

(The following is a report of a speech delivered before a great gathering of West Texas farmers and land renters at the Haskell county encampment on August 14, at O'Brien, Texas.)

Able-Bodied Liars.

My Comrades, ladies and gentlemen: Great and glorious is our beloved Lone Star State. With its 200-and-odd thousand square miles of land, it stands out as the largest in the Union, first in agricultural production, the State where king cotton proudly carries aloft his great white banner. The State where we have the strongest and cleanest men, the sweetest and purest women and incidentally the largest collection of able-bodied liars in the civilized world. (Loud laughter and applause.)

These able-bodied followers of Ananias and Sapphira have come up and down the Lone Star State for years and told the un-informed that the Socialists had no platform. It will be my pleasure today to show that we have not only a platform, but a great document covering our national program that is fit to rank with any other political document that ever came from the hands of statesmen since the first political party raised its standards in our land. (Applause.)

Framed by Real Democrats.

I believe, my friends, that I can speak with authority upon this subject, not only as your candidate for lieutenant governor and your national committeeman, but also as one of the 291 delegates from 48 states that met in Indianapolis from the 12th to the 19th of May and labored arduously to frame this document that bears upon its face the stamp of immortality.

Before entering into an analysis of this platform I desire to point out to you one great fact in connection with this and that is that this platform was framed by men and women who are democrats to the core and accomplished their work in a thoroughly democratic way. For be it known, I am a democrat from the day of my fet to the hairs of my head. I am a democrat in all that the tem implies. However I would say that I am not one of those Baileyesque democrats of that type that can be determined by lighting a match in their vicinity and then be compelled to call the fire department because of the presence of ker ene. I am a democrat who realizes that the fathers of our country found that the remedy for political autocracy was political democracy and we, too, are of the same belief that the remedy for industrial autocracy is industrial democracy. Thus I am an industrial democrat, a social democrat, a Socialist. (Applause.)

A Comparison of Methods.

As far back as last January 143,000 men and women in the Socialist party had an opportunity to vote on the question of where the national convention should be held and what should be the date. The referendum vote decided that the date should be May 12, the place Indiapolis. Then each of these dues paying member would say, through their delegates what planks should be inserted in this platform and after the work of the convention is over we still did not have a platform until every man and woman in the United States who is a member of the party had an opportunity to vote upon each plank in our working program.

I will ask you my countrymen to compare this democratic method of the Socialist party with the autocratic methods of the allered democratic party. When Mr. Bailey and Mr. Bryan had their series of joint debates in Texas some three years ago it will be remembered that Mr. Bailey speaking in the City Hall at Dallas told the people of the South that he did not have to stand upon the national platform adopted by the democratic party at Denver in July, 1908, because said he, "The platform was written by some political 700 miles away from Denver and was rammed down the throats of the delegates in the small hours of the morning."

Regardless of what our private views may be of Senator Bailey we at least know him as an authority upon the procedure adopted in national conventions by his fellow democrats. I accept his statement as the truth because Mr. Bryan has never denied it and I would ask you sincerely to contrast our platform with the methods of the democratic methods of the donk party that Mr. Bailey so vividly exposed. (Applause.)

A Great Demand.

Now as to the work at hand. The national platform of our party, in its opening paragraph declares as follows:

"As a measure calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Co-operative Commonwealth, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

"First we demand the collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, telegraphs and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and all large scale industries."

When I sat in the convention and listened to this brief statement of our first demand I thought of the genius of the man who placed such a tremendously comprehensive demand in such small compass. But just look at what it means:

"The collective ownership of railroads"—they have one million six hundred thousand employes who operate eight hundred and sixty thousand miles of railroads. They, with their wives and children, and forty-seven thousand miles of track run on rails that have literally united two oceans with bonds of steel across the land of the Buffalo and the home of the nomadic Indian.

That plank of 31 small words lifts us from the grave of Jefferson to the living pathway of Debs. It makes our mind take a gigantic leap from the ox cart to the Pullman train. (Applause.)

And so with the demand of the ownership of the telegraph and express service and other means of social transportation.

Finally our 31 words winds up with the demand for the collective ownership of all other large scale industries which, of course, include the Standard Oil trust, the beef trust, the tobacco trust, the lumber trust, the clothing trust, in short all the great trusts of the nation.

As I read these 31 words over again I am impressed with the statement my friend Meitzen made to me some months ago when he said there was nothing like "boiling down" because the greatest story in the world, the story of the creation of the world was told in ten words. You will find it in the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis where we learn it all in ten words: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." (Laughter and Applause.)

The Second Demand.

Our second demand is for "the immediate ownership by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living."

The portion of this plank that deals with grain elevators will appeal to you tillers of the soil who have been caught coming and going, buying and selling, by the Elevator trust, while in the great cities the storage warehouses owned by the great monopolists have been the cause of inexcusable suffering among the masses in these congested centers, for instance, last winter in New York City millions of eggs and multiplied pounds of butter were stored in cold storage plants controlled by the food trust with the result that they forced up the price up to 65c a pound for butter and 50c a dozen for eggs. To prevent this wholesale robbery we make this demand.

Socialism and Drouth.

To you who live on the farms in Texas, teh next portion of our program will be of exceeding interest. It reads:

"We demand the extension of the public domain to include mines, quaries, oil wells, forests and water power."

Take that item of water alone. Just look out from this tabernacle and see stretching out like a ribbon in front of you the Brazos river. For the past four years twice a month that river has risen almost to a flood and its waters have gone down to the shining sea to be wasted and lost forevermore. During these four years West Texas has been cursed by a drouth as bad as ever Egypt in the days of Pharoah. Thousands of homes have been broken up as a result. Our youth has not been educated. Our women have suffered and died from anxiety and broken hearts. Even God himself has been cursed from mouths broke down under the strain and yet God revealing himself in the plastic hand of nature has given us the sunshine, the water and the soil but unfortunately he did not supply us with enough brains to build storage dams instead of battleships to enable us to about for Debs instead of Woodenhead Wilson or the Wild Moose. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

Had we but sense enough to fight the battles of agriculture in the civilized co-operative manner instead of the archaic competitive manner what was used in biblical days we would have dammed up the rivers and streams of West Texas and turned this land of drouth into one of the most productive spots that lies out under the silent stars in all the civilized nations of the earth.

A Farmer's Plank.

The next plank in our working platform will give us a key to the meanings that we shall use to still further benefit the men who honestly till the soil. The plank says:

"We demand the further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people.

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of the mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highways and waterway systems.

(Continued Next Week.)

Brazen Attempt to Unite Church and State.

Mr. Thomas J. Carey is a well-known Catholic citizen of Palestine, Texas. He had frequently heard the charge that the Catholic high dignitaries contended that a true Catholic must not only trust to them for spiritual guidance, but that he was subject to their orders on matters political. He did not believe that any church would go that far in interfering with the political freedom of any American citizen. However to make sure he decided to go to the fountain head. So he wrote direct to the Pope's ambassador at Washington. He did this because he hesitated writing to the cardinals in America, knowing full well that they have large ecclesiastic interests at stake. Hence he reasoned that he would go to the Pope's direct representative. His letter follows:

Palestine, Texas, June 10, 1912.

Papal Legation, Washington, D. C.
Archbishop Bonzano.

Your Grace:—In reply to letter above quoted, I regret to say that I have made two sincere attempts to do so, but was stayed. I will not make the third attempt until I know once and for all:

Must I as a Catholic, surrender my political freedom, to the church?

I am ready to surrender my life, if necessary, for the faith that is in me; but not my political freedom, and by this I mean the right to vote for the Democratic, Socialist, or Republican parties when and where I please. The religious future of myself, wife and family, depends greatly upon your answer, which, after all, are the most important things of all. Therefore I hope you—as special representative of the Pope—will answer, and not ignore me as others have done.

Yours in Christ,
Thomas J. Carey,

220 Cottage Ave.

In reply to Mr. Carey's letter he received the following reply from Archbishop John Bonzano, Bishop of Melitene, Italy ,now in charge of the Papal legation at Washington, D. C.:

Apostolic Delegation.
Washington, D. C., June 16, 1912.

No. 11. 630-d
T. J. Carey, Palestine, Texas.

Dear Sir:—In your letter dated June 10 you say that the religious future of yourself, your wife, and children, are the most serious and important things of all. Now you must remember that if the Catholic church, condemns doctrines that are pernicious to the good of the faithful, she does it only in order to defend and protect the religion of her children. HENCE YOU SHOULD SUBMIT TO THE DECISIONS OF THE CHURCH EVEN AT THE COST OF SACRIFICING POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. FOR YOUR GUIDANCE I MAY MENTION TO YOU THE FACT THAT SOCIALISM, BESIDES BEING A POLITICAL PARTY, IS ALSO AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN SECT. In order to convince yourself of this you only have to read what Socialism teaches regarding religion.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely in X
John Bonzano,
Apostolic Delegate. Archbishop of Melitene.

remember Sackville in the Cleveland campaign of 1888 wrote to a voter in California advising him to vote against the Republican ticket. In response to the howl of rage that went up from all parties Cleveland called for his papers and practically kicked Sackville out of the United States. Now the matter should be brought up before congress and an investigation be made and if the letters are shown to be authentic, then Archbishop Bonzano should be made to leave our country for his country's good.

Knowing that you will take prompt action in this matter, I remain,

Your friend and comrade in the fight for industrial freedom.

T. A. Hickey.

The Rebel and its readers will watch with interest all the developments in this remarkable case. Every man, woman, of the name regardless of political affiliations should denounce strenuously against this attempted clerical domination. In the desperate struggle that is now being waged for the rights of the political freedom, every weapon that the reactionists possess will be brought into play. The lash of the ecclesiastical whip in the hands of a corrupt hierarchy is not the least of the weapons that the plutocracy will use. It behooves us all to be on our guard and remember that as of old "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

On with the battle then, bombard the capitalistic press of the land with letters, cease not your fighting spirit for one moment, let grow rusty until the blackguards are driven from the temple and the nation stands bathed in the glorious sunlight of democratic and religious freedom.

IDEALS OF HEAVEN.

The early Greek conceived heaven to be a place of beauty, as a supremely fine enlargement of the best that was known in their temples and palaces—hence, of course, the Greek with the vision of it as having golden streets and walls and towers of precious stones, and as being a place where saved souls played on harps, making delicious music all day long.

The red Indian's idea of heaven was a place of plenty—formed like the ancient Greek—a place of "everlasting hunting ground," with plenty of game, fish in the streams, wild game to kill, with no cold weather, but a warm sun and clear running streams of water, and a place of rest for the hereafter, and for the brave warrior the highest joy of the red Indian heaven was to be with his dog and gun in social and delightful converse on earthly scenes.

My own idea of heaven is a place of rest, where I can

43000 PER YEAR AND SIX HOURS PER DAY.

The stupidity of the average capitalist editor is always beyond comprehension. We have become so accustomed to the asininity of the editorial writers of the Dallas News and similar sheets that anything that comes from them affects us but slightly. However, we expected that a weekly with national circulation amounting to one million and three-quarters, possibly the largest in the world, would be wise enough not to wear the fools-cap that the muzzled editors of the daily papers wear with such gay abandon.

This soliloquy was engendered by the reading of the following:

The Ultimate Wage Problem.

"Two thousand dollars a year and six working hours a day is what Socialism offers in return for your vote," observes one of the most hopeful of the least mathematical of our revolutionary contemporaries. That is nearly four times as much as the average wage-earner in manufactories now receives. We do not think it is too much. On the contrary, considering the rise in price of gasoline and the frequency with which tires blow out, it may be hardly enough; but to attain it a vast reconstruction is necessary. The total yearly output of our manufactories sills for twenty and a half billion dollars. The raw materials consumed cost twelve billions, and miscellaneous expenses, such as power, light, selling, take nearly two billions more. That leaves six and a half billions to be divided among landlords, capitalists, managers, clerical force and wage-earners. To give the wage-earners two thousand dollars each would take over thirteen billions, or more than twice the total wealth created by the manufactories. Ultimately the problem of higher wages does not depend upon collective bargaining, nor even upon eliminating capitalist and landlord. By all those means a few dollars may be added to the weekly pay envelope. If the total share of landlords and capitalist now went to wage-earners the average pay envelope would be only sixteen dollars a week. The ultimate problem is to eliminate waste, increase efficiency and make industry create wealth to be divided."

establishment of Socialism to the head of each ...and dollars a year ...ure a day can be ...mathematical. the mathe... moment ... that ...ar

Enough is said here to indicate that an enormous waste is caused the methods the present system ...rs for its maintenance. ...ere is another side of this ... capitalist system holds ...ng powers of the na... lowest level. ...ernor Colquitt ...ently in an ...me that ...acres

lawyers let us briefly summarize some of the other occupations that present day part of the present two thousand dollars.

We have today over three hundred thousand drummers. That is no value to a pair of shoes or any other commodity, no more than they would add value to a Socialist postage stamp. To imagine drummers under Socialism would be as sensible as to imagine drummers for money orders or Western Union telegrams, each of which may tout for their own make of suspenders, corsets, chewing gum or any other commodity sold extensively and drummed for.

In connection with the drummer let us mention the fact that the advertising columns of the Saturday Evening Post eloquently attest the correctness of our position when we realize that there are about two billion dollars expended in waste advertising each year. Including real estate agents of all descriptions in all the cities and the land agents on the plains and down at the forks of the creek who are two hundred thousand in number, we commence to see this army of non-producers under this system employed.

We have at least eight hundred thousand gamblers of all descriptions from Rosenthal and "Gyp the Blood" up to the "respectable" of Wall street.

Then we have two million, five hundred thousand small business men of all descriptions, who under an orderly system of society, would be engaged in productive toil.

Seventy-one per cent of all national taxes goes for army, navy and pensions, something that will be absolutely unnecessary when from the dome of the Socialist republic the State the flag of universal peace.

Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, in a speech in the United States Senate recently pointed out that three million people are unnecessarily sick in the United States. With the abolition of the food poisoners our nation under Socialism will be at least as healthy as the Panama Canal Zone and the enormous waste that the sickness entails will be abolished and that which adds to the mortality rate such as tenements, with dark rooms, child labor and excessive hours for adults will cause this spectre of unnecessary sickness to disappear from our midst. Whereupon the average per capita will be considerably increased.

Because of the crime resulting from this anarchistic system we learn that $1,800,000,000 is spent yearly in the prevention, detection and prosecution of crime, thus tripling the amount of wealth that we as a nation could produce annually.

Enough is said here to indicate that an enormous waste is caused the methods the present system ...rs for its maintenance. ...ere is another side of this ... capitalist system holds ...ng powers of the na... lowest level. ...ernor Colquitt ...ently in an ...me that ...acres ...ferred ...ers ...ers ...ers

REBEL YELLS.

C. Smith, chief hustler at El Paso, writes: "Find enclosed a money order to pay for my sub as well as campaign funds until Barnes is out. Your lecture on land question was the best ever delivered on that thought."

* * *

A. Lambert, yells as follows: he plutes say the Socialist party gotten up to catch suckers. This write, 'Sis boys all under 18 years of age organized one local at Johnstown. Our membership is twelve and eight of them are under 21 years of age, with Marshall Gabbraith secretary. Who said we would have the same old stuff to make the Socialist party out of?' (The rising generation is everywhere more favorable to Socialism than the older people. The Russian revolution did its might thing to interest the young people.—Ed.)

* * *

Wm. Scheth, Rock Island, Tex., writes: "You are a very busy man to possess time to look through this and see what you think of it: An eminent Catholic of Chicago recently urged the young men to whom he spoke to join some secret society, approved by the church. Here is an excerpt from the obligation exacted from each member of one present day secret order (Knights of Columbus) which appears to be openly endorsed by Catholic priests and prelates of the United States:

"'I do denounce and disown all legiance and due to any heretical ruling, prince or state named, protestant or liberal, or obedience to any of their laws, magistrate or officers;

"'I do further promise and declare that I will have no opinion or of my own or any mental reservation whatsoever, even as a corpse or cadaver, but will unhesitatingly obey each and every command that I may receive from my superior in the militia of the Pope and of Jesus Christ;

"'That I will provide myself with arms and ammunition that I may be in readiness when the word is passed to go forward unarmed to defend the church either as an individual or with the militia of the Pope.'"

* * *

The above is copied verbatim from the Progressive Thinker of July. 13, 1912, a paper of world wide circulation.

* * *

"You are a prominent and a very outspoken man. Whenever the word is passed by the Catholic hierarchy you are a marked man; you will be one of the first to get the knife. The monopolists of all nations are working hand in hand with the Catholic priesthood for the old parties, and then watch the destruction of the American republic. Sincerely yours for better times.'

* * *

A bookkeeper for a leading Texas mercantile firm who does not want his name mentioned mails us a circular that is being quietly sent out to all the larger business men of the nation by the National-One Cent Letter Postage Association. The organization for the membership among others the president of the Encyclopedia Britannica Co., of New York, the president of the National Hardware Jobbers Association, the president of the Wright-Willhelm Co., and other big dealers. They are fighting for a bill introduced in the house and senate reducing letter postage from two cents one cent, which would of course cut their immense postage bills in half, and they are soliciting the membership of every big business man that has a similar selfish interest. On the face of it, it may not look so bad to reduce letter postage to one cent, but those many plutes are at the same time knocking the present rate on second-class (newspaper) matter, citing the report of the postmaster general to the effect that letter postage shows a gain while second class matter shows a loss in net receipts. Of course they conveniently forget that if it were not for low secondclass rates there would be no cheap newspapers and no well-read common people, which simple fact accounts for the immense letter receipts and which also accounts for the graft of the members of the O. C. L. P.. Thirty-one-ceiling bonds does not cost a ticket's damn how much the present second-class rate serves to educate the common people of how little a reduced letter postage rate would benefit them; all they care for is to get from the government a subsidy of one cent per letter. This same bunch sets up the dismal howl of "nationalism" when the Socialists attempt to do something for the common people.

RESOLUTIONS.

Passed by Socialists of Alexandria, at their meeting July 30th, 1912.

Whereas, As a result of a one-sided investigation of the "Grayson riot" of July 7th, our comrade and and fellow worker, A. L. Emerson, with a number of other members of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, were indicted on charges of murder, by the Grand Jury of Calcasieu parish.

Whereas, The same grand jury has seen fit to return "No true bills" in the cases of certain mill owners, their flunkies and their scabs, who are known to have been the aggressive element and responsible for the whole occurrence in question and,

Whereas, It is evident that in this instance, the laws against conspiracy, highway robbery and murder, were interrupted to apply only to the members of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers. Therefore be it,

Resolved, (1) That we, the thirty-five working class members of Local Alexandria, No. 1112, 1-2 by partial and unjust; as a result ing persecution of innocent men solely because they are members of the said grand jury, as glaring in defiance of State laws, and all human decencies.

(2) That we pledge ourselves to aid in the defense of our accused brothers, in every way possible, and to the utmost of our powers. And further, to subscribe funds for the employment of capable counsel, to the end that the true circumstances of the alleged riot, be brought out and given wide publicity. And that, hereafter, all members of labor organizations may know whether or there is any way to secure just treatment under the laws, or wheth- ers is a mockery and has been contituted to the service of corporate capital.

(3) That, for the working men of Louisiana, to permit without protest, such treatment of Emerson and the Timber workers, would be base cowardice, and stamp them forever as traitors to the best traditions of southern manhood. Be it further,

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to our accused comrades and to the Labor Press of the state for publication.

(Signed)

F. A. Prendergast,
L. Lonbinieux,
R. M. Tenvson,
A. L. Guillory,
F. F. A. Shakleford,
Jay Smith,
L. B. Middleton.
R. L. Townsend,

J. W. Plunkerr, Sec. Committee

LISTEN COMRADES.

I make neckties for 10 and 20 cents. Splendid poplin wash ties at 10 cents and elegant silk four-in-hald at 20 cents. You pay the expressman or merchants double the prices. Send 10 or 20 cents for sample. You will be doubly pleased. Write for price list color of tie wanted. Address M. Tucker, Station B. Kansas City, Mo.

'Gene Browne writes from Center, Colorado: "Find subs enclosed. I had hoped to secure more but I find the comrades here as badly exploited as in the "Lone Star" state. Mrs. Brown and I have been working in this state for a few weeks, and have had splendid meetings. Capitalism has ridden fields of useful toil until they are ripe for revolt. Have had big crowds at our meetings and one of the bankers made the statement that 'Browne is getting them all crazy,' so we are wearing the smile that won't come off. I have a paper forwarded from Amarillo, and I want to compliment you on "The Breakdown of the Law," which is masterpiece, and many of the "long horns" must be sitting up and taking notice of the truths you are telling."

$68.75 PROFIT IN ONE DAY

Address: 150 Fourteen Mile Creek Bldg., Chicago, or 25 E. 26th St., Dept. 1, New York, N. Y.

WHAT IS A DEMOCRAT?

(Written for The Rebel by John Mason.)

Millions of American voters style themselves democrats. If you, reader, number yourself among those that take pride in that boast will you pay me the compliment of reading this article entire? If you will do so I will promise you I will carefully read anything you may say in reply. I appeal to your spirit of fair play as an honest man and to your reason as a thinking one.

What is a democrat? Champ Clark says a democrat is one who supports the democratic party. The correctness of this definition would depend upon whether or not the democratic party stands for democracy. The true definition of a democrat (and the one to which we can all subscribe) is: "One who believes in democracy." The significant question is: "Does the Democratic party stand for democracy?"

Before we can answer that question we must first get a clear idea of what democracy is. We state as our standard of measure apply it to the universally recognized principles and practice of the democratic party as laid down by its founder, Thomas Jefferson, and endorsed by all its chief advocates down to Bryan and Wilson.

Back to the question, what is democracy?

Take all the definitions of the word democracy in all the dictionaries and boil them down to one sentence and it would read: Democracy is the rule of the people by the people—governmental self rule. That is, by all the people, or, in case of a division in the people it will be expressed at the ballot box, then, by a majority of all the people.

In order that real democracy may prevail the people must not be hampered in initiating and enacting such legislation as they deem good for their welfare. There can be no such thing as democracy aside from and without direct legislation. Universal suffrage (manhood and womanhood suffrage) the initiative, referendum and recall are absolutely essential in a democracy —in the rule of the people by themselves.

Many writers, through ignorance or carelessness, confuse democracy with the republican form of government. The terms are not synonymous. A republic (which we have) is a representative government in theory and a misrepresentative government in fact. Our government in theory is a democracy than monarchical England is.

In a democracy we would not line up on party platforms which we had no part in the making and which we had no power to compel its being carried out.

But we do now. In a democracy we would not vote for or against platforms, but on laws.

In a democracy a good bill would not have to run the gauntlet of two houses, then run the risk of being killed by the veto of an executive before it became a law.

But it does now.

In a democracy there would be no reason or excuse to thwart the will of the people by declaring a law which they had enacted unconstitutional.

But there is such a court having such power now.

Now, the legislators, the executive and the supreme court are the servants of the people and the greatest of these is the supreme court. They are the masters; the people the servants. Have you forwarded from Amarillo, and I want to compliment you on "The Breakdown of the Law," which is a masterpiece, and many of the "long horns" must be sitting up and taking notice of the truths you are telling."

In a democracy a law enacted by the people would be declared unconstitutional by no court. Such power would be unknown.

Now, the people do not rule—they are just ruled.

The democratic party has always stood for, and to-day it stands for the above named hindrances to the expression of the popular will. That is, it endorses the present representative, two-house method of enacting a law, the veto power of the executive over the legislature and the right of the supreme court to kill a law on constitutional grounds.

The democratic party has never advocated, as a party principle the initiative, the referendum or recall. A few of the states, republican as well as democratic, have incorporated the initiative, referendum and recall with certain limitations, but the democratic party as such has been done by the people irrespective of party, and in spite of party.

(To be Continued.)

AN UNABATED INFAMY.

(By Mary Boyle O'Reilly.)

A scene of extraordinary significance occurred in Tallapoosa, Ga., a few days since when the woman speaker at a street meeting, assembled to protest child labor in the cotton mills, was ordered under arrest by the mayor. On the city marshal's refusal to obey, the speaker and her audience were drenched and dispersed by powerful streams from fire department hose.

This is a free country where the right of assemblage and of free speech are constitutional rights.

In the decades-long fight to free the children that incident should become historic. For it drags into an open street the forces usually content to slither through legislative lobbies. The mayor of Tallapoosa, himself a mill owner, personifies the cotton industry that the child offender against wage earning children. Eighteenth century Eng land fed her unwanted almshouse waifs to the spindles; New England of the Pilgrim fathers heard sermons in praise of Rowley, Mass., where the establishment of a fulling mill "caused all the little ones to work diligently." But the new south has reached the bed rock of social responsibility in the slaughter of the innocents, as cheap, tractable labor.

In 30 years the value of southern manufacturers has trebled, almost quadrupled, while the number of her spindles has increased 1,500 per cent. Here are some of the reasons why a woman protesting the exploitation of childhood should be assaulted with fire hose in the street of a Georgian city.

Children have a moral right to a healthy, happy childhood and to the possibility of efficient, useful living. Every child has a moral right to adequate opportunity for play, learning and development, a legal claim to protect against the many conditions bound to cause bodily, mental and spiritual degeneration. Yet even in Massachusetts, where we "brag" our school children for 1,000 hours annually, we confine our factory children almost three times as long—for 2,912 hours. There are, approximately, 3,700 hours of daylight in a year (exclusive of Sundays.) Hence the working child in Massachusetts is deprived of the outdoor daylight that makes for physical wellbeing.

In Georgia, where woman advocates for child labor laws are chivalrously drenched into silence, 49 per cent of the mill children of school age are unable to read and write. In Alabama the percentage is 65 per cent; in Virginia, 70 per cent. Yet such boys will enter a decade be assumed fit for self-government.

Fourteen years of child labor attention in the south has not brought about the abolition of night work with its dreadful physical and moral dangers. Three years ago half the investigated cotton mills in North Carolina operated at night, a majority of the workers being women and children. Such a state policy spells industrial suicide. Efficiency implies mental training. Toil ers in the night shifts reach the point of extreme fatigue before morning and go home, perforce, to small, noisy homes where there can be no restful day sleep. Sunday is, of necessity, spent in bed. There is neither time nor strength for intellectual or church life. When life becomes a long effort to supply fare physical needs the overstrained nerves and wearied vitality crave for the relaxations that brutalize; the saving of souls grows dangerously difficult when disinclined children, dull-minded and broken-spirited sullenly resent the dreadful injustice of their fate.

The maximum labor for millions of adults is now eight hours a day. No man could adequately support himself by the "hard labor" of well-contented prison. Yet in the southern states where one-fifth of all the wage earners are under 16 years, where 10 out of 100 are 12 years of age, children are employed hour periods, exposed by their very immaturity to dangers and accidents spared their elders. A child not literally worked to death tending the warring wheels may easily be slaved to the demoralization that ends in disease or drunkenness.

Well directed forethought guards the gateway of citizenship, demanding that the emigrant show promise in age, health, efficiency and capacity to care for himself. But what of the unguarded gate of childhood which the children of the nation find entrance into industry?

The child of today should begin at once where his parents leave off if our civilization is to be progressive; but the emaciated little elves in a cotton mill, with minds dwarfed and vitality drained, often end where their parents began. Robbing the child of its life and robbing society of childhood are twin sins that cry to heaven for vengeance. Eight per cent of the child workers in the country are but 10 years old, 9 per cent only 11. Adding one group to the other proves that one in every five of our little wage earners are 11—or under.

To prolong childhood's period of development is to insure a living civilization; to deny the claims of the child is to slip back ourselves.

How far we have slipped back is proven by the fact that the pixel for the protection of the children on the base ground of expediency. The United States Senate has made the condition of women and child workers in the south proves that a thousand little ones under 11 years old are at work in the cotton mills' machinery—babes of 7, children of 9, little partriarchs of 10, children whose parents at times with a club of cold water, kept awake —in kindness—with midnight coffee.

Yet a protest against the conditions caused an American woman and her hearers to be drenched with fire hose in the streets of an American city.

LETTER FROM T. A. HICKEY.

Stamford, Texas, Aug. 10, 1912

My Dear E. R.:

I am in fine health and spirits. Had a very nice trip to Enid and had a pleasant time. The four day encampment was broken up by a regular water spout that rained the banks of the lake of teh Brazos fifteen feet and actually washed away our platform. My wife has gone home in a covered wagon and I have stopped off at tSamford to dictate the enclosed stuff. Every body is fervent and Gene and Foley and Clifford cannot understand why people are standing up to kness in water and rejoicing.

Carl Wolf visits the like of four years drouth is broken and that there will be immense crops in West Texas this fall and as a result the Socialist movement will be on its feet in this part of the state.

I will make one short trip into Oklahoma and be back at the desk on September 1st.

Your friend to the end in the righteous cause.

T. A. Hickey.

MAY JAIL REBEL EDITOR.

The Rebel has information that the S. P. Railway officials are quite sore on the editor for telling the people the truth about the shopmen's strike and the boiler explosion at Big Springs, and the sheriff is liable to be arrested any time now for his activities in behalf of the shopmen on some charge or other."

If this be true, and we feel sure there is something to it, you may expect the like of this to rest in Texas this year. I am ready for anything, but I feel that The Rebels will not be long in reaching the crisis. Just give us the circulation and we'll do the rest.

J. B. Mittel, of Big Springs, sends in a club and writes: "I am 64 years of age, and have studied Socialism the last 15 years, but have never found anything that suited me any better than The Rebel. It has the right name and it captures the farmers, herefore neglected who we must look for help we can win. Keep the land question before the people—it's a good one." Comrade Mittel also suggests a new design for the Rebel flag —a white dove on a red background, signifying that we stand for a peaceful revolution.

* * *

"As some of my mail has been delayed on account or removal will say that all correspondents should now address me at R. No. 2, Neches, Texas. J. C. Misslidine, Texas, Assistant County, Secretary, Anderson County."

The Tremendous Influence of The Rebel.

(By Pendragon.)

Democratic chieftains acquainted with the facts freely admit that The Rebel is responsible, in the recent democratic primary, for these results:

1—The defeat of William F. Ramsey in the race for governor.

2—The defeat of Associate Justice Dibrell in his race against Hawkins for election to a place on the supreme court which Dibrell held by appointment from Governor Colquitt.

3—The defeat of Railroad Commissioner John L. Wortham by Earle B. Mayfield of Temple.

Of The Rebel's exposure of the infamous Hixson case decision, written by William F. Ramsey when he was a justice of the appellate court, and endorsed by Dibrell his associate, was circulated widely in every large city of Texas among workingmen, and in ten or a dozen of the largest prohibition farming counties of North Texas among the farmers. The Rebel reached its own readers with these exposures, and sold over 100,000 copies, as its regular bundle orders, to democrats, individuals and committees who were interested in getting the facts about Ramsey's betrayal of the working people before the democratic voters. Leaders of the victorious democratic faction have told Pendragon his article in The Rebel beat Ramsey.

But the same numbers of the Rebel that were bought at regular bundle rates and circulated to defeat Ramsey, contained the ammunition that also blew Dibrell and Wortham off the map. And the victorious democratic faction is not pleased with these results, because Dibrell and Wortham were its own representatives. The Rebel was waging war on the whole outfit. We made a very good bag indeed — Ramsey the traitorous supreme judge, Dibrell his Big Business associate, and Wortham the railroad commissioner who betrayed Texas workingmen to serve the Wall street masters of the Harriman railroads in Texas.

Against these men personally I have never had one harsh word to say, in print or out of it. I presume they are good husbands and good fathers, good friends in their own circle, courteous, loyal to their group and obliging. I presume they have the usual virtues of average men.

IT WAS AS PUBLIC SERVANTS THAT I ATTACKED THEM. THEY SWORE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS AND TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF TEXAS, AND THEY DID NEITHER. INSTEAD THEY SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE CONFIDENT TO THEM, TO-SERVE THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE, AND TO DISREGARD A LAW WHICH THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE HAD ENACTED-BY COMMAND OF THE PEOPLE. FOR SUCH TREASON — AND NO LESS HARSH WORD ACCURATELY DESCRIBES THEIR OFFICIAL ACTS — RAMSEY, DIBRELL AND WORTHAM WERE EXPOSED BY THE REBEL TO THE GALLOWS OF THE DISGUSTED DEMOCRATIC VOTERS OF TEXAS, AND THESE HONEST DEMOCRATIC VOTERS VOTED THEM OUT OF PUBLIC OFFICE.

These traitorous democratic party candidates, during the campaign, indulged in wholesale denunciation of Pendragon and of The Rebel, at many places. They said we were the spawn of hell that we were anarchists; that we were lying about them (this notwithstanding Pendragon never wrote a line about them for The Rebel which he did not draw from official documents), and they said we were everything low and vile.

The member of their own party answered them at the polls. And now they have been read, and proved their confidence in the integrity of the Rebel—the only big free newspaper in Texas—when they did it.

Yes, comrades, considering that in the little democratic campaign just past, The Rebel won the hatred of a bunch of traitors, and the endorsement of the democratic rank and file of the state, and considering that The Rebel singlehanded drove three such notorious betrayers of the workers out of public life into well earned obscurity, we are well satisfied.

Incidentally, we are waiting to see how much of a crop of socialist voters will spring up in those cities and those counties where the democratic factions sowed that big bunch of over 100,000 Rebels containing the gospel of socialism, the only genuine democracy. Some of the democratic chieftains tell Pendragon that the democratic primary vote in those cities and those counties, in which The Rebel was sown down, was only about two-thirds of the normal vote. They are predicting there will be a tremendous falling in socialist votes in those cities and those counties at the November election. That is Pendragon's belief also.

Mayfield, who defeated Wortham for railroad commissioner, stated in his announcement that if he had been in Wortham's place during the past year he would have forced the Harriman lines to give the service they were chartered to give but did not (which would have made it necessary for the Wall street bosses to make peace with their striking shopmen), or he would have put them into the hands of a receiver. That is good talk. We shall wait to see whether Mayfield meant it.

The odds, of course, favor Mayfield beating our socialist candidate, Joe Beer, of Houston, in the November election. I do not regard it as at all certain Mayfield will beat Beer, if only say the odds favor it. Joe Beer is going to make a remarkable race. As the leader of the Harriman shopmen strikers in Texas, cool, cautious, patient, resourceful, law-abiding, Joe Beer has proven himself a big man, a natural leader and a man every way fit to be railroad commissioner in Texas. His experience as a working railroad man has given him more practical knowledge of railroading than any dozen other commissioners have ever had. Mayfield is a lawyer; he will have to learn everything about the job if he is elected. Joe Beer is one of the plain people; he will see things from their point of view, and make his decisions for their benefit, rather than for the benefit of the favored classes.

It is entirely possible for the workingmen and the tenant farmers of Texas to elect Joe Beer, a man of their own class, and a man they would be proud of in office, next November. They can do it if they will just get rid of the slave idea that nobody but a lawyer is fit to hold a public office; that nobody of their own class is wise enough, or good enough, to serve them in public station.

WE REALLY OUGHT TO COMPLETE OUR YEAR'S CLEAN-UP, BY ELECTING JOE BEER TO THE TEXAS RAILROAD COMMISSION

A DEM. POLITICIAN.

Some weeks ago The Rebel contained an article directed against Ralph Korngold, who on his recent trip to Texas was reported to have said in a debate at Childress that "Hickey had lied" when I stated in a previous issue of The Rebel that three state committeemen in Minnesota had fired a local of 400 members. Now comes Comrade Korngold, and two letters from comrades of Childress who heard Korngold's speech at Childress, all denying that he had given Hickey the lie. The statement that Korngold had done so came from one J. R. Johnson, a mean little crooked Dem. politician, who wrote to The Rebel about it, posing as a Socialist, in the hope of destroying the effect of Korngold's speeches at Childress. Johnson's dirty little trick will do him no good: it will prove a boomerang.

It must be said that we should not have paid any attention to Johnson had it not been for an article previously written by Korngold in The Reason from which it appeared that Korngold was hostile to Hickey and others who stood for enforcing the principle of industrial unionism at the national convention. This he had a perfect right to do only it made it seem plausible that he intended to continue misrepresenting me in this state, when I received the letter from Johnson. So I deemed an answer necessary.

I trust that the comrades at Childress will make it everlastingly hot for the snaky Mister Johnsing.

D. H. Holloway, Merryville, La., frees in a line and remarks: "Please send the dear little Rebel to the enclosed names. It is little in size but big in words and meaning. I will try to get a bunch every two or three weeks; go after them, boys."

SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES.

(Written for The Rebel by Maude J. Ball, Chicago, Ill.)

Just now, when so many tactical questions are up for discussion among Socialists, and so much attention is directed toward the differences between us, it might be well to revert to some of the things on which we all agree.

We all agree that the Socialist movement cannot succeed unless it continues to demand for the workers all that his labor produces, and denies anyone the right to a share of the product who does not contribute to satisfy some social need or demand.

We all agree for example, that the Socialist movement had its origin in the fact that labor is robbed by an artificial process, of what it produces.

We agree that under a rational organization of society those who produce the wealth of the world would have the right to determine together any kind of individual effort is of value or a hindrance to society and will determine therefore what constitutes productive labor.

We all agree that Socialism depends not alone upon the number of converts to our faith, but quite as much upon their intelligent understanding of the nature and purpose of the organization, which is, to secure for the workers the product of his toil.

We all must recognize that the Socialist movement is growing very rapidly in this and other countries, and is attracting the attention and gaining the support of an ever widening range of classes.

Some are attracted to the movement because of their sympathies for those who are less fortunately situated than they. Others are attracted to Socialism as a promise of larger freedom and opportunity for individual self expression. Still others see in it only the hope of escape from suffering and starvation, and others are attracted through a sort of ethical sense of the eternal fitness of things, or through a concept of progress as a succession of social changes. It is much to be lamented, that still other see in the rapid growth of Socialism the possibility of immediate personal gain. Or the possibility of personal advantage as in their election to a lucrative and respectable position in society.

It has been demonstrated again and again in the history of the world that as a movement extends in popularity and increases the number of its adherents, it sacrifices at each step some feature of its original character.

Christianity originated as a humanitarian movement. Its sympathy was never more extensive than now. Yet practically every vestige of its primal character has disappeared. Few of its tenets are taught literally, and the spirit is gone from these.

The same is true of the vaunted principles of Jeffersonian democracy. They are still mouthed by the vote seeking politicians, but they have no where any application in the administration of public or governmental affairs.

Shall this be true of our own great movement? Shall we sacrifice the principles of democracy without which our movement has nothing to distinguish it from the old parties, for the popularity gained by concessions to the spirit of those we hope to attract?

Every time we abandon a precept or a principle, in order to avoid wounding the sensibilities of a possible convert, we take from our own inner core of the planks of the platform upon which the workers of the world stand united, and we draw to our ranks those who do not sympathize with our ultimate aim and who will therefore desert us and leave us stranded when the crucial time arrives.

This tendency has already been demonstrated in the history of our own movement. Let it be a warning to us not to depart from our original purpose for the sake of gaining mere popularity which ends in sacrificing the nature of our organization.

Let us stand by the principles on which all agree. Personality is insignificant in comparison with the great aim of our organization.

If we build up a following of dependents upon leaders, we lay the foundation for future disruption due to a shattered faith. Better never to create this faith and dependence, but to rely wholly upon the rank and file of the membership, who even though they make mis takes alone must govern the organization, be it well or poorly, and profit through experience and not through paternalistic care bestowed by those whose love for us is likely to decay in the face of opportunity for personal advantage.

Suspicion is unpleasant but it is healthy. Criticism is ugly but it is essential to preserving one integrity, and of course legitimate is the price of liberty."

LAND PAMPHLET.

The article on "The Solution of ... issue, together with State ... and National platforms of the So... cialist Party, will be published in ... pamphlet form by this office and ... sold at the rate of 10 cents each ... postpaid in small lots. 8 cents each ... for 25 or more books or to 100, or ... at 5 cents each in quantity of 100 ...

THE ETTOR-GIOVANNITTI CASE.

With the San Diego outrages in the west, with the arrest of Haywood and 60 other leading members of the Lumber Workers in the south and with the Ettor-Giovannitti case holding the boards in the east it does look as if the American oligarchs have deliberately staged these outrages for the purpose, so far as to divide the strength and attention of the working class in combating them.

So we Southerners who are so vitally concerned in saving Ameresson and his associates from the lumber trusts, are likely to forget that up in Massachusetts another judicial murder is about to be attempted that is even more vicious than the attempted railroading of Haywood.

Charles Edward Russell, who was in Halletsville recently, stated that he felt sure that the American woolen trust had everything framed up to send Giovannitti and Ettor to the gallows, and he almost doubted if anything short of a physical revolution of the working class of the land could save them. He said: "They have the infamous supreme court decision on the Haywood case on their side, that holds a person guilty of murder if who creates conditions that later result in the killing of anyone whether he is present or not, by the police or by rioters. The trial will occur in Lawrence, where the entire legal machinery is in the hands of the woolen trust. They elect the sheriff and he selects the jury. Make no mistake; the wool manufacturers of the East have been forced through the activities of Ettor and Giovannitti to give their employes increases in wages running into millions of dollars and that is an injury they will never forgive. They have everything ready, cooked and prepared, to send those boys to the gallows. Only an aroused working class can save them."

Mr. Russell, by the way, had heard little of the outrages in the timber belt before coming here, and he expressed his horror and indignation at the lawless acts of the timber thugs and thieves, at the same time admiring the way in which the entire working class of Texas and Louisiana, farmers and wage workers were coming to the rescue of the imprisoned timber workers. A similar spirit was being shown in the East and the West and he thought that an aroused and militant working class fighting with its back against the wall, surrounded by enemies East, West and South, would triumph over them all in the end.

With respect to the Ettor-Giovannitti case, a comrade sends The Rebel a copy of one of the leading religious papers of the New England states, The Christian Register, of Boston from which it would appear that not all of the church papers are under the thumb of the predatory interests. It has an editorial in which it says: "It is a warning that is likely to be heeded by even the most conservative middle class readers:

"Few probably realize the seriousness of the issue that arises out of the trial of Ettor, the leader of the Lawrence strike. Many persons are liable to infer from these prejudices somewhat in this way: "Ettor is a dangerous man: he is a member of an anarchistic organization. If he is not guilty of the particular offense of which he is charged he none the less deserves in some manner to be put out of the way of doing mischief." Is not this an anarchical state of mind? Our whole system of jurisprudence is based on an ideal of social justice even towards the worst of men. However crooked or slippery the individual may be, society must always "play fair." However mu... may think ourselves of the ill ... of the accused, and we do ... sure may all guess that he is guilty, he can be convicted only by the demonstration of evidence. Neither can he be found guilty of a crime—murder, for instance,—however convenient it might seem to dispose of him in this way, when he can only be guilty of some other conduct, fool ... or, rather, reprehensible in ... expiration which the mob—if ... assembled—would be unable ... that the judicial crime against ... ciety is the more serious ... that he should die." The American people want justice, not expediency. In our treatment of all ... only this but we cannot afford ... even to seem to take advantage ... legal technicalities or any indirect ...

A LITTLE TEXAS EDITOR.

A Rebel reader sends us the following characteristic effusion from a little democratic editor in a Texas county seat. Read it carefully, brother and sister and then ponder for a moment or two upon the few gentle remarks that we shall make on the same:

"A good friend sent us a copy of a paper named the Rebel. We didn't know much about it, but to be on the safe side we would not take it in the house, it looked dangerous. At last time we went to the thing down and put a weight on it for fear it would contaminate and hurt the children. We left it there two nights and a day and then brought it down to our sanctum. There we decided to look into it. You see, our office has lots of room, and big doors rear and front. Besides, it couldn't hurt the wife and family if it should go off.

"Took out in where daughter fear to enter. The infernal thing had gone off already, had blown Ramsey into smithereens, and awakin ye Ottum peace we are willing to let it and re-leading automatically. The situation was critical; but we opened it up and set it down again, and with our courage rose sufficiently we took another look into its true character. There was a glimpse of state insurance and of Texas running cotton gins, and of our wife fixing her hair to go to work and we took care of the latest. We opened our ears and listened, and the thing became to ring like the echoes of the San Antonio boiler explosion. We instinctively gripped our goodaxe and wait ed. However, the thing became loose; but we had enough of projecting. We gently took the Rebel by the seat ground and touched a match to it. As the sulphurous fumes sank low we indulged a silent hope that its works would perish with its ashes."

The man who wrote the above can be found in any one of two hundred county squares in the Lone Star State. Yea, more in each one of the county seats in the entire South. He writes like a child. One reason: first he knows nothing of the newspaper man's art and second if he did not write in this style the court house ring would refuse him the county printing, the banker would cut off his support and the merchants would refuse to buy ads and job printing and thus the poor little fellow is muzzled, an unhappy victim of what a newspaper man should be, and what the little fellow cannot understand how The Rebel was able with its exclusively labor support to keep every daily newspaper in the State on the biggest story of the year, the killing of the twenty-six men at San Antonio on all fours. He cannot understand how we were able to publish the facts about Ramsey and Dibrell and Wortham who had stood for the hell-hat and killed the blacklisting law. He does not understand how we could run Ferguson and Mayfield and General's offices and Thorwell-Yay out of control of the Harriman system of railroads. He understand why The Rebel has been able to send John L. Wortham into the shades of political oblivion; hence he considers this a harmless piece to characterize his muddled feelings.

If the gentleman will proceed to sit at the Rebel's feet as did another man at the feet of Gamaliel in the olden time he may perchance learn the way to run a newspaper. We can tell him because we have learned it. He is simply just tis:

Be sober, throw away your muzzle and you will commence to walk in the light-and then you need not fear an explosion when a live newspaper is laid on your desk.

D. S. Hollowell, county secretary of old Milam, organized a local the 16th with 15 members, and captured a bunch of scalps for The Rebel at the same time. Comrade Hollowell is one of those live county secretaries for which Texas is famous.

A METHODIST.

A methodist, least of all in a time of more or less nervous and industrial stress. It is said that "it is better that a guilty man shall escape rather than that one innocent man shall be punished." It may also be said that it is better that a guilty man shall escape, than that a multitude of people shall carry an ugly suspicion, that in obtaining his conviction the principles of justice was strained."