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THE REBEL

The great appear great to us only because we are on our knees—LET US ARISE.

T. A. HICKEY, Editor and Owner
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HALLETTSVILLE, TEXAS, JUNE 1, 1912.

Issued Weekly.

SOUTRERN SOCIALIST NOTES.

Tennessee—The Memphis Social Democrat last week says: "The Red Rebels are going some in Tennessee." Say, son, you ought to see them move in Texas.

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Arkansas—Geo. E. Mikel, a coal miner of Jenny Lind is candidate for governor on the Socialist ticket in Arkansas. If the workers elect him when the next strike breaks out in the coal mines the slaves of the pick and lamp will find themselves behind the rifles of the state instead of in front of them.

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Oklahoma—Stanley J. Clark of Sulphur, Oklahoma, had a debate with Ben Bogard, a Baptist preacher in Ardmore, Okla., recently. What happened to Bogard was something like what happened to the dog one time who was foolish enough to tackle a buzz saw in full blast. The poor dog only lasted one round.

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Maryland—The Public Ownership, published at Baltimore, points out that at a hearing before the chief of the bureau of industries last week eleven stevedores submitted their pay envelopes showing that they received less than $7.00 a week. One man with 6 children received $1.98 for a week's work. What kind of lives do these poor slaves live and is it the Socialists that are breaking up their home?

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Louisiana—The Weekly Record of New Orleans, La., has for associate editor, a Roman Catholic named Robert P. Fleming, who is assisted by another of the faith as associate editor, name T. J. O'Hara and the boss editor is another of the faith named J. N. Breen. The Record is official organ of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, is Socialist from cover to cover These Catholics take the hide off of a Catholic Priest named Father Dietz who came to New Orleans and assailed Socialism on moral and religious grounds. Editor Fleming replies to the priest in a two and a half column article and in another portion of the paper gently remarks: "It may be of no particular significance, but McNamara, the dynamiter, was a pure and simple trade unionist, a Democratic politician and a member of the Militia of Christ."

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Tennessee—J. E. Voss, Jackson, Tenn., State Secretary, has the right spirit about him. Writing from Jackson he quotes James Russell Lowell:

"The are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think?
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

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Florida—One of the delegates from Florida to the National Convention reported that a crook from the North had come to Florida and organized a local of the Socialist party and used it to sell some land at exhorbitant prices. The exposure at the convention has put the fellow out of business.

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Georgia—Andrew Mulcay from Augusta, Ga., national committeeman reports the movement in splendid shape and growing in spite of Tom Watson and other bourbons.

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Kentucky—We learned at the National Convention that the Kentucky tobacco war had opened the eyes of thousands of tobacco farmers to the light of the Socialist philosophy. They are commencing to realize that there are no republicans or Democrats in the blue grass state. The tobacco trust, the whiskey interests, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and the great land and mine owners are the absolute owners of the elephant and the donk.

Mississippi—The Socialist Party of Mississippi held a magnificent state convention last month at Jackson. M. E. Fritz chairman of the Socialist state [illegible] committee sends us [illegible] following resolution which [illegible] that the comrades in old [illegible] have a thoroughly clear [illegible] what is troubling them.

"That today [illegible] than 75 per cent of the [illegible] of Mississippi, i. e., the actual [illegible] of Mississippi, have [illegible] eliminated from their right to [illegible] of land needed for the cultivation of the means of life and for the erection of homes, except upon such payment of usurious rents and interest, and as soulless speculators and alien landlords see fit to impose.

They therefore declare that use and occupancy should be the title to land.

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Missouri—The Hamilton-Brown Co. of St. Louis, Mo., one of the larest shoe concerns in the United States, has a strike on their hands. Several thousand employees are out. The slaves are receiving $9.00 a week and found it impossible to live, owing to the high cost of living. They are turning towards the Socialist party in droves.

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Alabama—Alabama has more child slaves than any other state in the union. More even than Pennsylvania that has nearly three times its population. The census shows 122,653 children under 16 years are employed in gainful occupations. Pennsylvania follows with 119,583 This doesn't include the children that are employed in the cotton patch. This herod like destruction of childhood is a burning disgrace uspon the fair name of Alabama. But it was ever thus, where the donk party rules, there the cradle is robbed and yet the scoundrels in control of the party have the audacity to talk about their chivalry and respect for woman and childhood.

Texas—The delegates to the national convention were amazed when they heard of the immense Socialist growth in Texas. One hundred and eighty-one locals in the last 60 days, two with over 50 names and four with over 40 was the statement that Ed Green made to the delegates and John M. Work proved it. Great is the Texas program of decentralization. Cliques are abolished and the workers instead of fighting among themselves has only the common enemy to fight.

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West Virginia—H. W. Houston of Parkersburg, W. Va., informed The Rebel at the convention that the movement is spreading like a prairie fire through that state. Strong papers are being started, organizers routed, locals formed daily and the rebels of W. Va., will be heard from in no uncertain way on next election day.

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Virginia—Some active spirits in the Socialist movement are agitating Renters Union in Virginia. The Industriali Union of land renters will be an invaluable aid to the Socialist party in that state as well as in all the other states in the South.

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North Carolina—The last two southern states to be organized had delegates on the floor at the national convention. They acquitted themselves creditably.

The June number of the Metropolitan Magazine, New York, one of the largest magazines in America appears as if it was edited by a red card Socialist. There is a very comprehensive article under the title of "Haywood and Haywoodism," by Carl Hovey, author of the "Life of J. Pierpont Morgan." Some splendid photographs of the great industrial fighter accompanies the story. There is an excellent article by Keir Hardie, the great Socialist English member of parliament, entitled "Labor's Victory in England." Next month it will contain the first six articles by Morris Hillquitt, under the title "Socialism up to date." There will also be a sketch of the editor of The Rebel taken by a staff artist at the Indianapolis convention.

The Jesuit's Oath.

Like Banquo's ghost, the Jesuit's oath will not down and The Rebel rejoices in that fact. It is strange that men who can discuss calmly and coolly subjects of different kinds, fly off at a tangent, become wildly mad, paw the air and beat their chests when they enter the realms of religious discussion. The following article in which The Rebel is directly attacked, appears in last week's issue of the Menace. Although cramped for space, we publish it in full because we welcome the opportunity it gives us to make our position thoroughly clear upon this very important subject:

IS THE ROMAN BRIDLE ON?

"Mr. T. A. Hickey, editor and owner of 'The Rebel', a weekly newspaper, published at Hallettsville, Texas, gives us this valuable information in No. 42 of his paper, that he clipped the 'Jesuit oath' from The Menace when that paper first published the 'oath' and sent it to Cardinal Gibbons and that the cardinal, through his secretary, wrote The Rebel stigmatizing this alleged oath as a fake, and said the publisher of it would be made to suffer in due time. He also, for the benefit of the A. P. A., published the 'Jesuit vow' and wound up by saying that the next move is up to the Menace.

"I do not answer for the Menace, but as I am a reader of both the Menace and The Rebel I will call Mr. Hickey's attention to his own inconsistency and do it so plainly that he will have to admit that he is either ignorant of historical facts or that he is a tool for somebody, or both. In No. 41 of The Rebel Mr. Hickey relates the San Antonio boiler explosion, and I believe every word of the story, but why does not Mr. Hickey content himself with the statement of the railroad official about the condition, of the road, the same as he has done with the statement of Cardinal Gibbons in regard to the 'Jesuit oath?' Why should Cardinal Gibbons' statement be regarded as the truth and the railroad officials' statement disregarded?

"Is there a tender chord, or obligation, between the publisher of The Rebel and Cardinal Gibbons?

"Mr. Hickey is apparently not acquainted with the history of the inquisition; therefore, I advise him to get the 'History of the Inquisition,' and read it with the 'Jesuit oath' in mind—when he will at once see on the one hand, the promise, and on the other, how it is carried out in practice.

"Mr. Hickey, in his article says this oath is a most villianous production. What will he call the 'inquisition?' Why should Mr. Hickey write to Cardinal Gibbons for information regarding the 'Jesuit oat?' and why should Cardinal Gibbons open his heart to the inquirer and say the publisher of it would be made to suffer in due time, except the inquirer was looked upon by the cardinal as a trusted man? Is the church of Rome working its way into the Socialist movement? If so, whom have they chosen to pave the way? Can it be Mr. Hickey, with his paper, The Rebel?

"What has Cardinal Gibbons in mind when he speaks of a 'suffering in due time?' Are the princes of the Roman church planning an inquisition in this country?

"The time has come when all right-thinking people will work in harmony to prosecute, according to law, the instigator of crime and to educate the poor, blind and mislead used as tools in the instigator's hand to carry out Rome's diabolical scheme. Mr. Hickey, if you are a man with a clear conscience, with christian and American principles to do unto your fellowman as you want to be done by, clear your skirts in the sight of God and man; if not, be forever silent."

'A Texas Socialist."

Let us keep the record straight. This is what has happened:

In the second issue of The Rebel, under date of July 8, 1911, I clipped from the Menace and published under a double column head on the front page, what the Menace alleged to be the Jesuit's oath. I stigmatized this oath as: "The vilest product of a corrupt brain that has ever been written since man carved the first hieroglyphics on Egypt's stone." I went onto say that no one that ever stood within the pale of christianity for a moment could take such an oath; that I could not believe that any decent man would swear that he would wage relentless war, secretly and openly against all heretics, protestants and liberals and that he would spare neither, age, sex or condition and would "hang, burn, waste, slay, strangle and bury alive these infamous heretics, rip up the stomachs and wombs of the women, crush their heads against the wall, in order to annihilate their extorable race;" that they would: "secretly use the poisonous cup, strangulation cord, the steel of the poinard, or the leaden bullet" any time they may be directed to do so by an "agent of the Pope, or superior of the brotherhood of the Holy Father of the Society of Jesus."

So far we are clear, as witness number 2 of the The Rebel.

I then went on to say: "If the Menace has criminally libelled the Jesuit order, there is a nice cool prison cell awaiting him and if on the other hand, the editor of the Menace has told the truth, then the Jesuits may prepare to pack up and leave the United States, and let me assure all our Protestant friends that the Catholic citizens of the United States will be first to assist in their departure. Copies of this article will be sent to Cardinal Gibbons, also the General of the Jesuits at Baltimore and other distinguished Catholic digniaries. The Menace will be supplied with the article also and the columns of The Rebel are open to both sides."

"TURN ON THE LIGHT."

• • •

All this is clear, as witness number 2 of The Rebel. Now then let's see where the difference of opinion comes in.

I sent The Rebel containing this article in registered letters to the General of the Jesuits, Cardinal Gibbons and the editor of the Menace. Up to date, neither the General of the Jesuits nor the editor of the Menace have replied to The Rebel. Cardinal Gibbons, through his secretray, L. O'Donovan, promptly replied and in no uncertain language. Here is his letter:

(Envelope)
Cardinal's Residence
Secretary's office
408 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, Md.

(Postmark)
Baltimore
July 8,
6 p. m. 1911.

Mr. T. A. Hickey,
Hallettsville, Tex.

(The letter)
Cathedral, Balti., July 8.

Mr. T. A. Hickey:

Dear Sir:—Since 1852 the Cardinal has seen this old "fake" oath printed again and again till he is tired of saying that it is a calumny that some one will have to suffer for when final justice is dealt.

Respectfully,
L. O'Donovan.
Secy.

In commenting on this letter in The Rebel of July 22 I said: "It is now up to the Menace. Our columns are open. Free field for both sides and no favors. And then with a square deal to both sides, the truth will come out and the guilty punished. All this means that the

(Coninued on page 2.)

CONVENTION IMPRESSIONS.

(*By E. R. Meitzen.*)

On the whole it was a great convention. More history was made in seven days than in the past seven years. Calm, close observers of all parties are agreed that it was no futile "talkfest" this time. Epochal issues were skilfully joined and fought out and where such issues were not settled a basis was laid broad and deep for their future settlement. However at no time during the entire session did the sergeant-at-arms take drastic steps to maintain order—in marked contrast with old party conventions that usually cannot keep the peace without the aid of police or militia.

• • •

What impressed me above everything was that compact bunch of "reds," the militant, clear-headed proletarian element within the convention, who wanted no more straddling on industrial unionism or any other great question. They had one third of the delegates but through sheer mental and moral force drove the conservative majority into unexpected radicalism. Most of the "reds" (Haywood named them that) were not much over 30 or 40 years of age, who had learned the lesson of the class struggle in the bitter though reliable school of experience. They were the incarnation of the real spirit of revolutionary Socialism. In only a few years they will be fully in the saddle; they will have brushed aside the red tape and traditions of officialism and standpatism.

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The difference between the "reds" and the conservatives was not so great after all. Boiled down it amounted merely to a question of courage. The great mass of the delegates, standpat and radical alike, believed that the principle of industrial unionism was good. But there were varying shades of opinion as to how far to give voice to that belief, the fear of hurting the feelings of a large body of craft unionists who were not Socialists being uppermost.

The "reds" among other things contended that since industrialism was admittedly a good thing for the working class, the Socialist party must stand and fight for it honestly and openly or fail in its historic mission of becoming a party of by and for the workers, degenerating into a mere dogmatic time-serving sect without the confidence of the workers and without power to enforce its aims when the occasion arose.

• • •

Of course there was no little friction. The one set was dubbed the "yellows" the others were called "reds." However, after things had cooled down and harmony reigned supreme we were all "comrades once more." Seidel emphasized this at the close when he said it was all "merely a question of tactics." Had it been a question of belief in a principle this foolish talk of "split" would likely have come true. However, nearly all delegates were agreed in a more or less abstract sense on the principle that the industrial plan of organization was better than the present anarchial craft-union plan.

As before indicated the difference came in just here: Berger, Barnes, Berlyn, Behrens, Cassidy, Goebel and others of the official and semi- official element who led he majority, were either card members of craft unions or closely tied up with them and thus could, or did not, rise above their environment. Most of them, for reasons of political expedience, or because they did not realize its importance, wanted to ignore industrialism regardless of their private beliefs; in truth many of them wanted to go so as to endorse the A. F. of L. straight out. The "reds" who belonged to both craft and industrial unions, by the way, contended that industrial unionism was the living issue of the present day that could no longer be honestly or even expediently ignored, as it had been ignored in the past. The upshot was that the proletarian element convinced the conservative "leaders" against their will, and got nearly everything they wanted.

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卐 For President — E. V. Debs. 卐
卐 For Vice Pres.—Emil Seidel 卐
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This leads us up to the true inside story of the most dramatic and important fight in the convention in the most important committee of the session—the committee on The Relation of the Socialist Party to Trade Unions.

It transpired that on the action of this committee hinged the peace and well-being of the entire convention, if not of the Socialist party in general.

Members of the committee were six conservatives, Job Harriman, W. E. Rodriguez, Oscar Ameringer, Algernon Lee, J. H. Maurer and Dan White, and three "reds," better known as the "Three Toms," Tom Clifford of Ohio, Tom Hickey of Texas and Tom Lewis of Oregon.

At the first session of the committee Tuesday night Behrens of Missouri handed in a standpat trade union resolution without a word about industrialism. In fact, Behrens stated that he believed in an unqualified endorsement of the A. F. of L. The conservative six sided with Behrens and the three Toms opposed. The forensic battle lasted until 1 a. m.

At Wednesday night's session, the Behrens resolution was not in evidence; instead, the majority brought forth another one (by Rodriguez) which again avoided the main issue and was again shot to pieces by the "reds." Hickey then arose and stated: "This is no kindergarten; we can't agree on a report; Clifford, Lewis and myself will make a minority report to the convention."

This minority report was under three heads, one being the Wheeler resolution endorsing industrial unionism, the other one on "violence" published in another column; the third was on the Harriman trade union deal in California.

On Thursday afternoon the committee's majority and minority reports were to be presented to the convention with T. A. Hickey as chief spokesman for the minority and Job Harriman for the majority. However, at 1 p. m. another meeting of the committee was hastily called on the stage in the rear of the hall. An entirely new resolution was presented by the majority, which Victor Berger is said to have written. The "three Toms" liked it at once. It was far and away ahead of any previous resolution offered from the other side. It came practically, to the position for which they had fought two nights. However, they did not wish to immediately accept it until they had conferred with the other leading "reds."

Time was short; the convention tense with anticipation of a mighty struggle, was ready for the committee report. Hickey decided to spar for time; he appeared before the convention and asked that the discussion of the labor union question be postponed for one hour, until the minority report could be printed. The request was unanimously granted. During that hour some fast work was done behind the scenes. An informal conference of leading industrialists was held in the corridors of the hall and the new majority resolutions were promptly and unanimously approved of, when it was seen that they granted everything that the "three Toms" had fought for. Then another informal meeting of the committee and the minority agreed to sign the majority report. Then came the most dramatic scene of the convention. The mass of the delegates, ignorant of what had happened during the past hour, sat in dead silence when Harriman began reading the majority report, only to break forth in wild applause when he told them that it was unanimous. With joy unspeakable they suddenly found themselves united over a question that seemed beyond solution. They called insistently for an immediate vote and with difficulty could Harriman get the floor to make a statement in behalf of the majority.

(Continued to page 2.)

THE JESUIT'S OATH.

(Continued from page 1.)

working class will not be split up in warring camps and then with clear minds we can turn our attention to the greatest problem of all which is the industrial emancipation of the working class through the democratization of industry. Next week we expect to print the reply of Menace to Cardinal Gibbons. The Rebel feels proud of its work as this is the first time in America that the prince of the Catholic church has broken silence on this stupendous question. Big developments may be expected to follow this new attitude of the Cardinal."

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With all the above there is no disagreement between my correspondent and myself. This is simply all record. Now watch what follows. My prediction that the Menace would come across with an answer to the Cardinal's direct threat turned out to be a mistake. To my surprise the editor of the Menace ignored the Cardinal and simply satisfied itself with republishing the oath. If the editor of The Rebel were in the shoes of the editor of the Menace and found the prince of the Catholic church publicly declaring that the oath that I had published was a "fake" and a "calumny" and that I would have to "suffer when final justice was dealt." I feel that the mere republication of the oath that had been branded as a fake would not be sufficient and that I, the editor of the Menace, feel that it was my duty in defense of the reputation of myself and paper, to pick up the gauntlet that had thus been boldly thrown down by the Cardinal and say: "Sir, you have threatened me with punishment. You have branded my publication as a fake and a calumny. I here and now challenge you to make this an issue of law and I will produce the proofs in the courts of the land that will prove you a liar and thus help to drive your Jesuits out of the United States."

I repeat that if I were the editor of the Menace I would have sent a letter like the above to the Cardinal and compelled him to back down, with the eyes of the civilized world centered upon him.

Because the editor of the Menace did not take that position, I said in No. 41 of The Rebel that the editor of the Menace backed off from the fight and in the light of the above written record, I dare you to deny that my position is not correct. And that position is: That the mere republication of the oath after Cardinal Gibbons had joined the issue, was a backdown. The Cardinal made it personal with the editor of the Menace, he should have replied in kind.

In the light of the above record, I can afford to ignore the cheap inuendo that I have a Roman bridle on. Have you a particle of evidence to that effect? The fact is, that I spent several hours while at the Indianapolic convention, securing data from the famous historian, Gustavus Myers, relative to a row that I am in with a Catholic priest from Brownwood, Texas., over Cardinal Gibbon's connection with the American Tobacco Trust. When I have licked the facts, that I have gathered abont the matter, in shape, you will not be so quick to insinuate that I have any connection with Rome. For 20 years my life has been lived in open day; it is an open book; my speeches, writings and record in the Socialist and labor movement are known to all students of the movements and you are the first to intimate or dare to insinuate that I had any friendly connections with Catholicism. On the contrary because I broke with the church 20 years ago, I have been ostracised by my relatives, who even refuse to take The Rebel out of the United States Postoffice.

If a "Texas Socialist" will cool off and reason this thing out calmly, so far from attacking me, he should, if he believes the alleged Jesuit's oath to be true, send me a letter of thanks for having joined the issue and made it possible for the Menace to strike the deadliest blow at the Catholic church that it has ever received since La Salle walked upon the shores of the Mississippi.

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Now, a final word as to my reasons for publishing this Jesuit's oath originally. I took the position then that I take now, that I do not want to see any religious war in these United States; that the history of mankind bears me out in the statement that religious wars are always destructive of working class interests. I believe that nothing would suit the American plutocracy better than that a situation should develop in the United States where the Catholic and Protestant working men would be set at one another's throats. In the flames of religious fanaticism the working class movement would be burned to cinders, while the trust magnates, Protestant and Catholic, Jew, Atheist and Turk, would lie back and watch the fight in solemn satisfaction. And this has always been the position of the Socialist party in every civilized nation of the earth where it has flown its flag of defiance to the breeze! It is true that the Socialists of Portugal, France, Italy and other countries have fought the Catholic hierarchy when they opposed working class interests but the Socialists have never taken up the cudgels for one brand of religion as against the other. Let me cite to you the attitude of the Socialists. In our convention of 1908, we said: "The Socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

In the national convention just held, the delegates unanimously decided that the insertion of such a plank was superfluous now, as all thinking men knew that our attitude was that of keeping our hands off all religious affairs.

It may astonish "A Texas Socialist" to know that the Socialists have actually gone so far as to defend the Jesuits, as witness the attitude of the Social-Democratic party of Germany when Bismarck endeavored to have the Jesuits expelled from that country because of their antagonism to the growing industrial capitalist class and their support of the Junker or large feudal landlord class. It was at this time that Bismarck uttered his famous defiance of Rome when he said: "Wir gehen nicht nach Cannossa " (We will not go to Cannossa.) The Socialists pitched their position upon the lofty plane of absolute freedom of speech regardless of how reactionary might be the teachings of the Jesuits. In his memorable speech in support of this position the immortal Leibknecht addressing the Reichstag said:

"We hate all priests. But, we hate all the more the anti-priests whose only business is to curse the priest in order to get an excuse to more effectively exploit the proletariat."

Again, in Germany there is a strong, compact political party with representatives in the Reichstag, known as the anti-Semites. They make a religious issue of Jewish capitalist supremacy. Ever and always the Socialists are found incessantly struggling against these anti-Jews. Too well does the Socialist know the correctness of Sir Walter Scott's lines in Ivanhoe:

Strive with the Hyrcanian tiger in its lair,
Wrestle with the half-starved lion for his prey;
But, touch not the wild fierce fires of religious fanaticism."

So now, "Mr. Texas Socialist," we understand one another.

You know my position and I have stated frankly my reasons therefor. I want the editor of the Menace to be promptly placed in jail and made to suffer for a vicious libel or if he has told the truth then I want the Jesuits removed from the United States. I want clearness in this matter and have my face set like flint against any religious war.

If the editor of the Menace is correct in that oath, then the Catholics themselves will have to run the Jesuits out. If he is wrong, then he should be punished.

Turn on the light.

CONVENTION IMPRESSIONS.

(Continued from page 1)

T. A. Hickey was then recognized in behalf of the erstwhile minority. In a brilliant five-minute speech he epitomized the situation. "The impossible has happened," said he. "The chasm has been bridged. For twenty years I have fought Job Harriman and now within the past hour we have shaken hands. It is a splendid sign of the times. For two nights we battled into small hours of the morning and now we find ourselves in thorough accord. This unanimous report, pitched on the lofty plane of industrialism as it is, is a proof of the high intellectual level to which the Socialist movement of America has risen. Flying the standards of peace in our own ranks we can now close up and face the enemy from Maine to Oregon and from Florida to Michigan. Anticipating that this report will be received unanimously by this convention I can congratulate you on the harmony that now prevails among you."

Hickey received an immense ovation from the delegates not only because of his speech but because of his intense labors for a peaceful solution of this question. Then came insistent calls for the big chief of the industrialists, Wm. D. Haywood. He too stated that the convention had at last taken a high and statesmanlike position and that now he could go to every worker no matter how unskilled, poor and downtrodden with the message of Socialism, concluding with the remark that "if Tom Hickey can shake hands with Harriman, I can shake hands with every man in the house.'

After Haywood's speech, a vote on the resolution was taken and it was adopted with a rousing "aye", no dissenting vote being heard. Then following a love-feast and a demonstration the like of which I have never seen. "Marseillaise" and other revolutionary songs were sung, and enthusiasm indescribable reigned. The Socialist party again took an advanced step and managed to do it altogether.

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For the benefit of those that have not seen the labor resolutions so adopted and who therefore do not fully realize wherein the position of the industrialists was endorsed, Icite the following passages:

"The Labor movement of the Unted States has of recent years made marvelous progres in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were formerly unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and *increased its efficiency* by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and *industrial unions.*

The above is a plain indorsement of the industrial union principle as is also the following:

"That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection, and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist Party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membershiu and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong, class-consciousness and closely united organization on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy."

This abolishing of artificial restrictions in membership inherent in most craft unions, as well as the organization of the unorganized, unskilled and immigrant laborers, is, by the way, a point for which the industrialists strongly contended.

REBEL YELLS.

"By all means put the Squeezed Lemon in pamphlet form as it is the best answer to the "Evils of Socialism" that I have seen," writes C. McMurrey, Vernon, Texas.

J. F. Stebbins, Soldiers Home, Tenn., writes: "I hope the physical energy of Debs will be conserved and that he will not be rushed to a collapse in the midst of the campaign."

W. D. Cribbs, Newcastle, Texas, writes: "We are going to have a three day encampment here this summer. We love the way you go after the donk. You keep him kicking and braying and sleeping close to his stall."

"We like The Rebel because it tells the truth. It is getting a good many peoples eyes opened around here," writes John Overton, Cisco, Texas.

"The boys are hungry for The Rebel. Send a big bundle to Wood Co." M. M. Atkerson.

QUESTION BOX.

L. W. Sweet, Chamal, Tam., Mexico: The Socialist party has never gotten out a book or pamphlet dealing with the political structure of the United States. If the membership understood the political structure, they would not stand for centralization ten minutes.

• • •

J. Klahr, Wichita, Kas.—Your letter was referred to State secretary.

W. L. B., Owens, Texas. Your correspondence received and filed. Will reply later.

T. J. E., Alamo Beach, Texas. You will notice that I have replied to the St. Louis Republic two weeks ago.

To all Rebel correspondents everywhere: If you have not had your communications replied to recently, believe me that it was not my fault. I have been away from the desk at the National Convention and have correspondence piled up until I am swamped. From now on, I will try and reply to as many as possible.

The Rebel has a feature article each week that is worth a year's subscription. It's printed at Hallettsville. Texas. Send a quarter and get it for 40 weeks.—Oklahoma New Century.

TO MY POETS.

Last winter I notified you all that I had secured a beautiful graveyard to which I consigned sundry poets from time to time. After the very severe winter and the passing of the meningitis epidemic, I have been literally swamped with the poems that were written in the glad spring time while the flowers were gaily blooming. My graveyard is now full and I must ask you for the love of Mike, please let up, unless you can send me poems as good as the one that I print in this week's issue.

The minority also contended for moral and financial support of *all* labor unions which is granted in resolutions No. 3 and 4, as follows:

"3. That it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

"4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist Party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations."

• • •

(Next week I shall tell of the sham battle over "sabotage" and "violence", also of the influence that the Texas Program exerted in the moulding of the new national constitution.)

RENTERS UNION.

E. O. Meitzen, Sec.-Treas., Hallettsville, Texas.

Landlordism must go, is the cry that is arising under the impulse of the Renters Union agitation not only in Texas but in all parts of the South and from as far north as Colorado.

From Rocky Ford, Col., our office has been notified that the melon growing renters are in desperate straits. As much as three fifths of the crop is demanded by the lords of the land. This goes as high as $15.00 an acre rent; needless to say the unfortunate slaves are groaning under the exactions, as the fellaheen groans on the black land of the Nile.

A union was formed at Post Oak school house near Petteway, Robertson Co. last week. The secretary is W. R. Robbins, Bremond, Rl.

• • •

Albert Haynes, Sr., of Bay City, wants to get busy organizing and writes for information. He got it and soon will be ready for the fray.

• • •

The last census report shows over 98,000 renters in the state of Oklahoma; considering the smallness of the state and the ease with which renters can be approached, it is surprising that successful organizing work has not been pushed as it should be pushed. Get busy, you you renters in the Indian state.

• • •

Dan Hogan of Huntington, Ark., who made such a phenomenal run for vice president, is getting alive to the fact that the labor movement will never be on its feet in Arkansas until the Renters in the Boston Mountains and in the bottoms are organized on industrial Renters Union lines. If the coal miners can organize, why not the renters, asks Dan, and he is right.

• • •

H. S. Askew of Commerce writes: "I have talked with a great many farmers since hearing of the Renters Union and find that the great majority of them are renters and there is much sentiment favoring the union principles.

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The question of a uniform system of rent in the truck raising sections has been called to my attention at various times. I wish some of those directly interested would send me their suggestions so we could get the best plan before the membership.

• • •

Rev. J. N. Hadaway of Wolf City writes: "The landlords are and have been so bitter against the renters that they have almost lost their influence. I think the renters as a whole are ready to organize."

• • •

Now brothers, we have nearly six months until our second convention will take place in the city of Waco. This office is thoroughly equipped for handling a great movement, so far as appointing organizers, issuing charters and such other executive work is concerned. When you read this, whether you are a farmer or a renter, sit down and write me, tell me how conditions are and whether you need an organizer or not. If you want constitutions or literature free of charge, write now, but don't write unless you mean business. Finally remember this great truth that: THEY WHO POSSESS THE LAND ARE THE MASTERS OF THE MEN WHO DWELL UPON IT.

• • •

If once the truth which the Renters Union is trying to make clear, is understood by the masses, it is easy to see how a political movement strong enough to carry it into practice becomes possible.

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The Renters Union is struggling for the restoration of all the people to whom of right it belongs.

• • •

The poverty of the masses is a natural consequence of land and tool monopoly by a few. No movement for the benefit of the masses can be fully successful unless this one great underlying wrong of pauperizing the masses is first corrected. Therefore, the Renters Union movement is of vital importance and should be urged forward by every possible means that can be brought into action. Weekly meetings should be held in school houses everywhere; the public invited and a regular program rendered; literature distributed and Renters Union books and papers kept in stock.

POINTS FOR FIGHTERS

They who possess the land are the masters of the men who dwell upon it.

So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist; and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen.

THE FARMERS PROGRAM.

After Delegate Hickey of Texas had presented his report on the organization of the Renters Union the discussion of the Farmer's program was brought before the convention by the chairman, A. M. Simons. In reporting for the committee he declared "that he had come with this same proposition before every convention of the Socialist party since its establishment. "It is time that we struck out on some lines nationally," declared Simons. "It is time we laid down principles that would apply to this class as the other divisions of the working class.

"We must go to the farmer and show him that he cannot be relieved while he is being ridden by the capitalist class and that we alone come to him with the gospel of freedom, of liberty, of emancipation, of social ownership, of everything necessary to the production of wealth and the satisfaction of life."

Delegates Wills, Oklahoma, Wright, Nebraska, and Rhodes, Texas, supported the farmers program. Delegate Slobodin, New York, contended that the Socialist party should address itself only to the farm laborer and leave the tenant farmer alone. The report of the committee, however, carried the convention by an overwhelming majority.

The convention ordered that a committee of nine farmers be selected from the delegates to issue a supplementary report. The chairman of this committee was Comrade Wills of Oklahoma, one of the brightest minds in the convention and was adopted unanimously.

That the Socialist party favors the retention by the Government of all land already owned, the same to be improved and the same to be operated by collective agricultural enterprises. That the government shall insure against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities. That the party favors the abolition of farm tenantry. That the party indorses movement to organize renters and wage workers on the farms.

THE SHEPPARD AND THE SHEEP.

In next week's issue of The Rebel, No. 49, we shall publish some very interesting correspondence that will deeply interest Woodmen of the World wherever found and incidentally a few thousand Texas democrats. This correspondence will consist of three letters, one from Sovereign Commander Root of Omaha, Neb., of the Woodmen of the World and a letter from Sovereign Banker Sheppard. If ever you had tears to weep for the widows and orphans prepare to shed them now.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist local at Vance Texas April 27:

"Whereas, our committee on organization, together with Mr. Maxwell Gordon, has done good and faithful work in carrying out the purpose for which they were elected and have accomplished much good throughout our county, we, the Vance local, take this means of expressing our sincere congratulations and appreciation of their services. Aside from the near tie of friendship which now exists between us, we shall ever cherish with feelings of gratitude the remembrance of the much good accomplished, and

Whereas, the work of Mr. Maxwell Gordon is without compensation except the satisfaction of helping down-trodden humanity: it is our earnest prayer that he may live and continue his work until he may have the pleasure of seeing the desire of his life, the producing class emancipated.

(Advertisement.)

TO THE N. E. C.

Here comes the red hot summer
When in the cool we'd bask—ah
Now national organizers will hike
To the ice peaks of Alask-ah.

National Convention

The greatest American Socialist onvention ever held has passed nto history. The 291 delegates rom 48 states represented 140,000 ues paying members and 650,000 otes that has a political expression n the form of 1000 elected officials.

Last week we presented the platform, the farmers program and he resolutions on industrial unionm. This week we complete our ork by presenting a thorough review of the convention by publishing our demands for collective ownership, our attitude towards unemployment, industrial and political demands, our demands for health aws and our attitude towards the ourts.

At the beginning of the convention the conservatives believed they ad complete control of the convention because of their majorities on he committees. They soon found hat these committee minorities epresented the great fighting pirit of the convention, with the esult that the militant reds fighting like tigers for their position rove the majority on the committees back from the swamps of conservatism on to the high ground of intelligent radicalism. The yellow f the conservative mass was hanged to the red of the coming dawn.

I have attended Socialist conventions for 20 years and am in hear y accord with John Spargo when he says: "I have attended every international convention and every American national Socialist convention for the last 21 years and this exceeds them all in personal, mental caliber, dignity of conduct and effectiveness in the transaction of business." I agree with Fred Merrick of Pittsburg Justice who ays: "The Socialist platform is a masterly document and the body of it may well be compared to the classics of Socialist literature, even with the Communist Manifesto."

This is the second time that the Socialists held a national convention at Indianapolis. The first one in 1901 united all the warring factions in the Socialist movement. This one in spite of many dire prophesies of a split coming from the capitalist press and some conservative Socialists, came through a terrific ordeal of battle over vital principles and and at the close found the Socialist ranks united as never before and every delegate in possession of a clear understanding as to the red radical steps that must be taken so that we may keep our skirts clear of La Follette reformers who would dope the working classes into a belief that salvation lies in other paths than the thorny one that the Socialists trod. This happy ending of the convention, it is now generally admitted, was due to the wise, far-seeing conduct of the reds who, while never surrendering an iota of their principles, lashed the conservatives on with the whip of logic and evidence of social evolution to the radical position that the economic development of the times demands.

A splendid illustration of this attitude of the reds was seen in the committee on the relation of the Socialist party to labor organizations. The committee was split 6 to 3; 6 favoring the old craft form of organization and Tom Lewis, Tom Clifford and Tom Hickey fighting every inch of the road of industrialism. One of the majority, Lee of New York, introduced a resolution in the committee in which the working class was warned against violence. One of the three Toms indignantly roared to the conservative Lee: 'Why don't you warn the capitalist class against violence? It is they who practice violence all the time." This position was so sound that Lee withdrew his resolution and the minority introduced one of the most striking resolutions ever presented to a convention in America, dealing with the Socialist party's attitude against violence. We tated our position in the following loquent terms:

"We condemn violence in any rm. To us there is nothing more iolent than the starvation of little ildren; we condemn the violence at causes the death of 35,000 instrial workers in preventable acdents, annually; we condemn the olence that causes permanent inry by avoidable accidents to 750,0 workers each year; we condemn e violence of a system that every ar consigns 60,000 women to the marked graves of prostitution; condemn the violent treatment ted out to helpless inmates of isons and penitentiaries, 95 per t of whom are offenders against nothing more sacred than private property.

"We condemn the wanton violence of war and its cost of blood and tears; we condemn the misuse of police authority and the outrageous attacks upon the inalienable rights of the people; we condemn the methods of the capitalist class adopted to secure control of government by debauching courts, bribing legislaters and purchasing votes, thus removing the pillars of a free government.

We condemn the violence that has resulted in the dynamite wars in Butte, Montana; the blowing up of 58 buildings in Chicago and the dynamiting at Cripple Creek; we condemn the dynamiting of oil refineries and whisky distilleries; we condemn the wanton destruction of property which resulted in the killing of thousands of sheep in the cattle wars of Wyoming; we condemn such violence as the incendiary destruction of four million dollars' worth of cotton.

"We deny that the working class has ever resorted to violence.

"We assert that the working class has always been meek and law-abiding though they have at all times been the sufferers through the violence of the capitalist class.

"We now call upon the working class to unite their forces on the industrial field, in the mines, on the railroads, in the mills, factories, on the farms and on the high seas and to use all their political power and every weapon at their command to prevent further violence.

"By power of organization, miners can prevent the terrible loss of life that annually occurs from explosions; the railroad workers can prevent wrecks; seamen can prevent "Titanic" disasters; mill workers can prevent child labor; farm laborers can unite to prevent the violence of exploitation.

"We condemn the violence of the capitalist system.

"We hereby record ourselves as opposed to violence.

"Tom Hickey, Tom J. Lewis, Tom Clifford."

It was this kind of intelligent work that enabled the minority of reds to drive into a radical position the majority of conservatives. This situation is beautifully summed up by Fred Merrick in this week's issue of Justice, published at Pittsburg, Pa. In describing the report of the committee on Thursday, he said:

"Thursday was by all odds the greatest day of the convention. The committee on the relation of the Socialist Party to labor organizations had battled for three days and nights over the question of industrialism. The three 'Toms,' Tom Hickey, of Texas, Tom Clifford, of Ohio, Tom Lewis, of Oregon, made an extremely strong minority on the committee which forced concession after concession from the conservative element. Even at the last moment it was presumed that the minority report would be brought in on the floor. Then Job Harriman representing the committee read the report and finally the names of every member of the committee showing that it was to be a unanimous report. The convention was at first stunned and then broke into hysterical cheering and applause. It was realized that the crucial test had been made and safely past. Harriman then made a speech manifesting a spirit of joy over the happy solution of the action. Before the conclusion of the speech Tom Hickey representing the radical element of the committee also spoke and said that as a result of the committees' work he had 'shaken hands with Job Harriman for the first time in 20 years.'

"The convention realized that such a great convention would not be complete without hearing from the Colorado miner of whom so much credit must be due for the action of the convention. Calls for Haywood came from all over the convention and as he nimbly mounted the platform he was greeted with wild applause. Haywood stated that he could now go forth to the working class and tell the full message of Socialism not simply to those who vote but also to the disfranchised aliens, women, miners and in all industries and advise the working class to use the political weapon wherever possible and to also supplement it with the industrial arm. He said he would take the action of the convention as authorization for him to carry on such a propsanda. This sentiment met with hearty approval on the part of the delegates."

The resolution on industrialism was published in last week's Rebel. It is the most positive statement as to the necessity of industrialism ever accepted by a national convention and when we realize that not one dissenting vote was cast against it, we feel justified in saying that the reds or radicals won and thereby placed the party on solid ground in line with the times.

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Our immediate demands or legis tive program was read and adopted at the Friday session. They are most comprehensive; as our readers read them, understanding that they come with the voice of authority from the greatest National convention ever held in American, they must smile to themselves when they think of of the ridiculous clerical liars who charge the Socia[illegible] with desiring free love and wis[illegible] to smash up the home. Here is our legislative program; that we feel confident 140,000 dues paying members will endorse within 30 days:

"1. The collective ownership and democratic management of rail roads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines, and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

"2. The immediate acquirement 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.

"3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

"4. 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 mines and oil wells.

"(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

"5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable and in cases where such ownership is impracticable the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

"6 The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

Unemployment.

"The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a work-day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the wide-spread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands.

"The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

"1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

"2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

"3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

"4. By forbidding the employment of children under 16 years of age.

"5. By the co-operative organization of industries and Federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.

"6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all un-inspected factories and mines.

"7. By abolishing the profit system in government work and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

"8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

"9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands.

"1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

"2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance eaxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

"3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

"4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

"5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation nationally as well as locally.

"6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the president.

"7. The election of the president and the vice president by direct vote of the people.

"8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constutionality of the legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of congress or by a referendum vote of the the whole people.

"9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters.

"10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

Favor Health Laws.

"1. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

"12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

"13. The enactment of further measures for the econservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health with such restrictions that will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

"14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a depatment.

"15. Abolition of all Federal district courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State Courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

Would Curb Courts.

"16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

"17. The free administration of justice.

"18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may be thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

On Friday the conservatives introduced a resolution denouncing sabotage; the reds poked fun at it and pointed out that it was not necessary to instruct the working class against violence any more than itwas to instruct them against free love, inasmuch as the working class did not indulge in free love or violence. The resolution was adopted and it will go to a referendum vote, when it will be probably voted down on the gorunds of being unnecessary. After this was disposed of, the nominations for president and vice-president was in order. There was only one man in it for the presidency, the hero of a hundred battles, our Gene. He was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 165 votes, Ex-Mayor Seidel 56 and Charles Edward Russel 54. The nomination was then made unanimous midst a scene of termendoudous enthusiasm. Seidel was then nominated for vice president against Hogan and Slayton. This nomination was also made unanimous.

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The committee on International Relations, reported: The entire report of this committee, was adopted. It recommended:

That the convention declare against intervention by the United States in the Mexican revolution.

That the Socialist party of this country and foreign countries arrange to send fraternal delegates to their respective conventions.

That delegates to the International Socialist congress shall arrange for the discussion of the subjects, high cost of living, international labor legislation and that the Congress be urged to secure an international agreement amongst the Socialist parties, of the world against war between their respective countries.

De Lara called on the American Socialist party to use every means possible to prevent intervention by the United States Government in the Mexican revolution, which is threatened.

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Everything asked by the foreign language sections of the Socialist party was granted almost by unanimous vote. The prediction is made that this action will double the membership of these sections before another convention meets.

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Among the resolutions adopted without debate by the convention were those pledging moral and financial support to Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, now in prison in Lawrence, Mass., warnaway from the Pacific coast on account of lack of work and threatened trouble, and pledging the party to the policy of organizing all municipal employes wherever the party gets into power.

The delegates also adopted a resolution pledging the party to carry on an aggressive propaganda in the army and navy.

The recommendation of the committee on Co-Operativesto elect a committee of five to investigate this subject in more detail and to report at the 1914 Congress was adopted. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, made the report as chairman of the committee. A minority report sibned by Lindgren, New York, declaring that co-operatives are foreign to the Socialist movement and should be let alone;

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Below is one of the numerous telegrams that have been sent by the Free Speech Committee:

"To the Industrial Workers,
Spokane:

"San Diego, Cal., May 13, 1912—Eighty-four men deported, beaten and robbed Tuesday. Twenty-five more deported Wednesday. All I. W. W. men being arrested and deported. Socialists being black-ilsted by employers. Deep laid plot to murder all I. W. W. men last Tuesday night unearthed today. Raid on I. W. W. Hall and shooting was frame-up by Business Men's Vigilance Committee. Funeral of Joseph Mikolasek held in Los Angeles today. Gigantic procession on principal streets with red flag at head. Police stop traffic to allow funeral parade of I. W. W. Two men already dead and two seriously injured in hospital result of free speech war to date. Police refuse to arrest men contenting themselves with clubbing and deportations. Men in jail are being provided with legal defense by Free Speech League to prevent them being railroaded to penitentiary."

"Stanley M. Cue."

On Saturday the constitution was whipped into shape, the immigration question disposed of. And with the singing of the Marsellaise, the Internationale and Red Flag, the convention adjourned with a splendid feeling of harmony and a firm determination to put up the greatest fight that the Socialists had ever put up in the history of our movement in America, if not in the world. Now then, everybody take your coats off and get into the campaign and back up to the limit our gallant standard bearers, Debs and Seidel. Let us work like Trojans until election day. The tide has turned in our direction and the lesson of this great National Convention is that before many years have passed the working class united upon the industrial and political field, will accomplish their historic mission of emancipating society from all classes, by the seizure of of the means of producing the means of life, and thus emancipate society at large from all warfare, class distinctions and class struggles.

May the God of battles be on our said and may the day of final conflict be soon.

FOR SALE:—"The Fall of Babylon", and "What Socialism Is", written by Rev. E. F. Stanton of Hamlin, both for 50c at Rebel office.

OUR REBS.

The battle with the offs is on and gets severer every week. After the start of the Rebel on the first of last July, the growth was steady and continuous from week to week, many of the subs that we put on at that time are steadily dropping off as each week passes. Nevertheless there is a steady, healthy growth; from all sides we are receiving encouraging letters, saying "you are making good." You that read the Rebel closely know that it shows its class by making every issue fresh, new and different. Watch No. 49. We have a feature article that will turn the state upside down. No. 50 will be just as strong; 51 and 52 will find us completing the year in a blaze of glory. Don't fear to send for bundles ahead. Get the habit. It is the greatest method of propoganda. Fire in your subs and watch the movement grow in the south. These are some of the prominent sub getters this week:

W. B. Martin 5; C. M. Parkhill 5; Chas. Fisher 5; Arch Holt 4; J. W. Jones 4; W. D. Cribbs 5; C. H. Spellman 4; A. L. Youngblood 4; C. H. Carmichel 6; H. E. Watson 4; J. S. Watson 4; J. A. Wells 4; W. A. Ellard 5; C. J. Sandell 4; W. A. Holcomb 5; J. A. Allen 4; J. W. Boon 4; Gerald Hartman 4; J. K. Garner 4; J. M. Mobley 4; L. A. West 4; J. A. Davenport 5; J. M. Henry 4; W. T. Powers 4; G. W. Owen 6; J. S. Koonce 4; J. H. Chapman 4; B. T. Tackitt 5; John McCann 6; R. E. Billingsley 6; W. J. Orean 4; J. G. Cortes 4; John Newson 4; W. L. Franklin 7; W. Grimes 4; O. Welter 4; B. F. Godwin 4; W. H. Thompson 4; T. H. Hall 4; Thos. F. Hardeman 4; W. Z. Taylor 4; J. M. Lawless 4; N. H. Hunt 5; M. H. White 4; J. P. Potts 5; E. B. Boyd 4; R. D. Rodgers 4; C. E. Wilson 4; J. W. Austin 5; T. J. Stem 5; N. G Dinwiddie 4.

TO MY CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible for the editor of a growing Socialist paper to keep up with a vast tide of correspondence that flows to his desk from enthusiastic subscribers. Fred Warren told me last week that although he has 100 people working for him in the great offices at Girard, that he cannot keep up with his vast volume of correspondence. However, neither Warren or myself would for a moment discourage our people from writing to us. I want you to keep on pouring in your letters and articles. But do not get mad if you do not receive replies. Some times one article appears in The Rebel that is a composite of 20 different thoughts from as many different friends. If you want your article back, in case we do not publish it, send stamps and please remember that it is only lack of facilities and not discourtesy that prevents me from replying to all the good souls that write me from day to day. To the wise enough is said.

TO THOSE DESIRING DATES.

Comrades:—The Rebel is now 48 weeks old and during that period I have been without a doubt, the busiest man in America. I have tried and succeeded in making a great paper out of The Rebel and driving it over the 20,000 mark in that time, besides publishing extra editions. I have as well as this toured the state and spoken at points as far apart as Memphis in the Panhandle and Port Bolivar on the gulf, and took in Indianapolis on the side. I now realize that I can speak to a vastly greater audience each week by staying at my desk and devoting every ounce of energy to putting The Rebel on the 100,000 mark; consequently I have refused all invitations to speak anywhere. I have refused the nomination for governor. I have one sole purpose in view and that is to write such stuff in The Rebel as will make the Socialist party and the Renters Union a success, with the assistance of the devoted men and women who are battling for industrial freedom in the South. So please don't write to me for dates during the next three months. I may make a short trip to nearby points in the closing week of the campaign.

TO PUBLISHERS.

FOR SALE—Several hundred 10 em Mustang mailing galleys. Cheap. Good condition. Any quantity. The New Era, Hallettsville Tex

Send 5 cents for sample of leaf tobacco. 6m25
I. Wesson. Wingo Ky.

The Democratic State Convention.

By Pendragon

I watched the democratic state convention in Houston this week with keen interest. I attended the day and night sessions. I heard the debates and addresses, and read with care the platform adopted. At the end of it all I reach these conclusions:

The people have won another great "victory"—such as they can win in the old parties, by ousting one group of political bosses and setting up another in power.

Bailey's name was mentioned in this convention only once. A pompous ass from Llano, granted three minutes to argue against duty free wool, attempted to utilize a minute of his time in eulogizing the Standard Oil senator. The speaker was fairly hissed and hooted off the platform.

Four years ago at Fort Worth the democratic state convention to choose presidential delegates made Bailey its hero; his lightest wish was its highest law.

Since 1908 Bailey's true character as a political prostitute for pay from the monopolists has been revealed. They have made him do their dirtiest, most degrading work, such, for example, as defending the malodorous Lorimer on the senate floor, and voting to retain Stephenson of Wisconsin in the senate seat for which he paid $107,000, by his own confession.

So Bailey and his ring or gang of allies, dependents and sycophants has been boosted out of authority in the state organization of the Texas democrats.

Who has succeeded him and them?

I will tell you.

They have been succeeded by a group of abler and cleaner professional politicians whose major stock in trade is the still fervent fanaticism awakened in the breast of 300,000 Texas democrats by the recent statewide prohibition campaign.

Tom Campbell, Tom Ball, Cone Johnson and two or three others, their allies, ran this convention as handily as ever Bailey's ran a Texas democratic convention.

Any of these men is far superior to Senator Bailey in personal character but all, as Teddy put it, are practical men, mingling patroitism with the pleasant thought of personal aggrandizement.

That is the way I read them. If I do them injustice, time will reveal it and rebuke me.

This little group of powerful professional politicians—called professionals not to indicate that they give their whole time to polities and have no other means of livelihood, but to indicate their skill surpassing that of any mere amateur—have apparently resolved to capitalize the asset of statewide fanaticism, and to draw from its dividends in the form of offices and public honor. They refused to permit the convention to vote on a free raw materials tariff plnk, and dodged that burning issue, and they generalized on initiative, referendum and recall, declaring it not a federal but a local issue, because they feared direct, genuinely democratic pronouncements upon these, the fundamental issues of old-party politics, would split their statewide phalanx and so jeopardize their purpose to use it in boosting into high offices.

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Doubtless the democrats of Texas, since it is their fate to be ruled by a political machine, will prefer that this machine be officered by reputable men personally. Doubtless, since they must submit to machine rule, they prefer that this machine shall fly the white flag of prohibition rather than the black flag of corporate loot. But I think it will presently dawn upon the average thinking member of the democratic rank and file that this convention has promised nohing of material benefit to him which it cand deliver, and has neglected even to allude to the gravest economic ills of the people.

While Bailey personally has gone into the limbo of discarded things, his fame become shame, his name linked with the infamy of treason to party, to state and to his own character, the mighty corporate influences which he served in Texas politics and the United States senate have not passed, not lost their hold upon the machinery of the democratic party in Texas.

Charles H. Mills of Corsicana, son of Roger Q. Mills, and Cullen Thomas permanent chairman of the convention, were representative leaders of the party who wished the convention to declare positively for taking the tariff taxes off all imported raw materials and all necessaries of life. I have no doubt a large majority of all the delegates shared this wish, judging their wishes by the way they cheered certain men and measures.

But it was not the wish of the new bosses that there should be such a plain, direct, honest declaration of war made upon the protective tariff system. And the bosses prevailee. They placed before the convention for adoption a platform which in many glittering generalities declared the protective tariffs to be vicious **per se**, and protested against all protective tariffs, but did not strike the fair, straight blow at the tariff citadel that it could have struck and would have struck had it been honest and democratic.

This convention straddled on the tariff and on the direct legislation planks. It did so in order to preserve "harmony" among the statewide prohibition delegates who comprised a very large majority of the convention. It preserved "harmony" thus, at the sacrifice of entire candor on fundamental old-party issues, in order that the pro phalanx might be kept intact, to elevate the new bosses into offices and power, hereafer.

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In a word, the actions of this convention were not dictated by its rank and file for the benefit of the masses of the people, but were dictated by the new bosses for their own benefit primarily and mainly.

In this democratic state convention no word was spoken of or for the 240,000 white tenant farm families, landless and homeless. Only one vague, fleeting generality was uttered concerning the railroad shopmen who for eight months have been fighting heroically to establish decent wage and working conditions in the shops of the Harriman railroads in Texas.

It was a convention of little capitalists, not of or by or for the masses—the workers in city and country who produce all wealth. These were unrepresented except as the subjects of many platitudes delivered by politically ambitious lawyers and professional politicians who hope to enlist the votes of the workers at no more cost to themselves than the uttering of the aforesaid platitudes

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Insofar as the work and evident spirit of the convention foreshadowed future political events in Texas, it may be summed up thus:

It indicated that Judge Ramsey, the human icicle behind whom the pros have rallied, will probably defeat Governor Colquitt for reelection.

It indicated that Thomas Mitchell Campbell and Cone Johnson must be reckoned with in distributing the senatorial offices now held by Messrs. Bailey and Culberson.

It indicated—and in this is a certain grim irony—that had Cone Johnson remained in the senatorial race this year, he would easily have obtained a majority of the votes in the democratic senatorial primary and have been elected. Cone dropped, whether because of physical illness or faint heart, and threw away his chance to win before the people. It is, however, by no means unlikely that, should Wolters, Randell and Sheppard deadlock in the primary, neither obtaining a majority, Cone Johnson will be elected by the next legislature willy nilly. He was vastly the most popular man before this convention, and is no doubt the most popular democrat in Texas.

However, it is also quite possible that Randell, the terribly tenacious anti-Bailey, anti-prohibition candidate for the senate, may get a majority of the votes in the July senatorial primary. His popularity, and the popularity of his issue, before this convention, was surprising to those who have affected to regard him as "out of it." Indeed, when ex-Governor Campbell, reading the platform, read the brief plank which endorsed Randell's anti-graft plank, the convention howled its delight and insisted that the ex-governor read it again. He paused, in doubt whether to obey the call and read again, or not. Cone Johnson, sitting back of him on the stage, in gruff tone urged him to "go on with the report." It was distasteful to these distinguished—most distinguished—leaders of the new group of democratic bosses, whose rule is founded on statewide fanaticism, to learn that an outsider, an anti-statewider, a man with the temerity to run for office without getting their aid or consent, had so powerful a grip on the regard of the rank and file. Campbell took Cone's tip and did not re-read the dangerous Randell plank. He read on and on, to the end of the glittering platform with its impotent conclusion.

I say this convention foreshadowed the above results. It should be borne in mind, however, that the majority of fanatical statewiders, who place this fake issue brought here by Standard Oil to slay Bob Davidson above all other issues, is by no means so large outside of the convention as it was inside. It is, indeed, conceivable that when Judge Ramsey's hateful record as a labor hater and a money-grabbing judicial servant of the Big Rich, has been made better known, his present lead over Governor Colquitt, equally reactionary, will diminish.

What I hope to do, in future numbers of The Rebel, is to show the workingmen and farmers of Texas why they ought not to vote for either, but ought in their own interest to vote for the Socialist nominee in November.

There was but one enlightened utterance in the whole convention—one recognition of the fact that a revolution has taken place in the industrial organization of society, and that in consequence a revolutionary change must be made in society's political organization.

This occurred in the address made by Cullen Thomas of Dallas, permanent chairman of the convention. His keynote was:

"The battles of the past have been to give man political liberty. The battles of the future will be to win industrial freedom."

When he finished his speech I reached over, shook his hand and saluted him as "Comrade"—and he understood.

The ablest and least selfish men in the democratic party are becoming aware of the fact that Socialism is the ancient spirit of democracy, once more asserting, under revolutionized industrial organization, the supreme right of the individual man to enjoy equal opportunity with every other man.

TEXAS STATE NOTES.

By Noble J. Green, Rockdale Tex.

Back again, and the state secretary being absent I am the big IT, so if you see anything you don't like this week, charge it to me

Eighty six new charters this month. I am counting on you to see that at least one new local is organized in your county next month.

Comrade J. B. Gay writes that he wants to distribute 1000 copies Appeal to Reason every month. How much can you give to assist him to do so? Address J. B. Gay, Columbus, Tex.

County Sec. Nicodemus calls a county mass meeting for Williamson county, to meet at Taylor, June 22d.

Comrade Hudspeth wishes to hear from any one in Haskell county who will arrange a date for the Rev. T. B. Holliday and convey him from one place of speaking to next date. Comrade Holliday will begin work about June 7th.

Comrade Mrs. Isla L. Noyes, San Saba, Texas, Box 312 wants all who will send her books, papers etc to furnish a ladies free reading room, to write to her. Its object is the study of Socialism.

A comrade writes: "I see that J. N. Garner has no opposition for congress in the 15th Cong. Dist. He poses as a friend of labor. Just such friends have always retarded the interest of the workers. The 15th must be organized, a ticket named, and a fight made."

Comrades of the 15th here is my hand, get busy, no time to talk. Who will be the first to organize a local? We will see.

How about the encampment? Don't wait until the last day before you determine to hold one. Write us that you want an encampment, ask advice and we will give you our plan.

Those who have written this office for speakers should not get impatient. The speakers have almost all been out of the state, attending the convention, but are now back in the field, shelling the woods for Debs and Seidel, so they will reach you soon.

All the old fighters, Andrews, Smith, Thompson, the Rhodes', Currie, Zimmerman and Kirkpatrick are working under state management. We also have quite a few new local speakers as well as Ralph Korngold and wife Janet Fenemore Korngold and Con Foley, national organizers, who will enter the state in a few days, so don't fool away your time with free lances whom you know nothing about. Any clean Socialist who does not want to exploit the comrades can get routing by the state office, providing he can deliver the goods. So if you employ a free lance to do your work, and he works you, please don't send your kicks to us. If you will use them take your medicine.

The comrades of Glencove write "We have 12 acres of cotton planted to assist us in our campaign for justice." How much have you?

—There is yet an opportunity to get Comrade Ben F. Wilson for your encampment, on the Appeal lecture plan. Write this office for particulars.

The following are the dates and names of places listed for encampments so far: Texarkana, July 24 to 29; Glencove, July 31 to Aug. 3d; Brownwood, August 5, 6 and 7; Wolf City, August 8, 9 and 10; New Castle, July 4, 5 and 6; Leaday, July 10, 11, 12 and 13; Murchison, July 24, 25 and 26; Grand Saline, July 28 to August 3; Goldthwaite, Aug. 8, 9 and 10; Golden, August 20, 21, 22 and 23; Gainesville, July 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26. Other places, dates not yet fixed: Hallettsville, Ellison Springs, Cherokee county, Haskell county, and Lamar county. If you are in let us hear from you so we can arrange these dates.

BUNDLE ORDERS.

In another column we publish a statement from the editor of the Oklahoma New Century to the effect that The Rebel each week runs a feature article that is alone worth a year's subscription. If you run back in your mind these big feature article, I think you will agree with the editor of the New Century. You remember a few of them—"The Fake of Prohibition," "The Jesuit's Oath," "The Call for Renters Union," "Miserable Mistrot," "The San Antonio Explosion,' and at least 40 others that have made history for our party in the South. Now I want you to know, Rebs, that I am in better shape to get these feature articles up than ever before and I want to insure you that the one that will appear next week (No. 49) is the greatest that has ever appeared in The Rebel. It will shake the state from end to end. I would like to print 50,000 copies at least. I believe that while public speaking is a necessary adjunct to our movement, that the real great force that does things is in the mass distribubution literature. It is by such means that victories are won. Now when you know that you are going to get a feature every week that will cause the donks to sit up, why not get the bundle habit, only a half a cent a copy, 50c a hundred $5.00 a thousand. Lee P. Deck of San Antonio is one of our bundle hustlers. When he read the National Convention edition, No. 47, he telegraphed for 200 copies. We have about 1600 of that edition left that contains the magnificent Socialist national platform just adopted at Indianapolis. We would like to move them out in a hurry. On all sides people are asking, "What does your platform look like?" Send us 50c for a hundred, $1.00 for 200, $5.00 for a thousand. They won't last long; first come first served. Then don't forget No. 49 and don't fail to get the habit, each week we stir your neighborhood as it has never been stirred before. 50c a hundred, $5.00 a thousand, order and do it now.

THE TAFT FARM.

A. M. Simons, the brilliant editor of the Coming Nation, recently commissioned our young Texas comrade, Nat Hardy, to visit the Taft farm and write it up for that great Socialist weekly. Simons made a wise selection in his man because Nat is not only a native Texan but is a practical farmer and knows the situation from every angle. Hardy went to the big farm and stayed there seven days and secured a story that is most instructive. I had the pleasure of seeing an advance proof and am sure that it will be of great value to students of the agricultural situation. The story is about 8,000 words in length and the first installment will appear in No. 90 of the Coming Nation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Texas Idea.

"San Angelo, Texas, May 22, 1912
My dear Comrade Hickey:

"I want to congratulate you on the miracle you have accomplished in establishing The Rebel. I have been a Socialist for eleven years and I know something of the problem that has been before the movement as to reaching the farmers. During that time, I have been a reader at different times of all the leading Socialist publications and yours is the only one that I have ever come across that really 'touches the spot' in this respect. The movement at large will do well to take lessons from the "Texas idea" with regard to the land question, and if I am not greatly mistaken, a record-breaking farmer's Socialist vote in Texas in the forth-coming election is going to make the movement in other sections of the country sit up and take notice. Yours for the revolution,

"Rev. Peter Molyneaux."

With the Organizers.

J. C. Thompson is moving west filling dates on the T. and P., thence to Scurry county. Reddin Andrews is moving on the enemy at Crowell, thence west to Cottle county. C. L. Kirkpatrick in Wise county. M. A. Smith, in a few days will finish his work in Collin county and move southward. Lee Rhodes will move on the enemy in Angelina and Nacogdoches counties. Uncle Jake will deliver the gospel to the political sinners in eastern Texas. Zimmermann moves first on the enemy in Erath, thence to Brown and Mills counties. Currie still skinning timber in Houston county. Korngold begins at Bowie, thence to Childress, Holliday in Haskell county.

WHAT THE LEMON DID TO THE DONK.

It was Artemus Ward who said: "Everything in this life of ours has its use, including measles and New England rum." And so with the squeezed lemon from Tyler. When he got out his book, he played one of the scurviest tricks on the followers of the donk that a man could play upon confiding ignorance. This was the job he put up on the Dems: He took a number of catalogues from which he picked at haphazard the works of a number of scientists and near scientists. He labelled them all Socialists, regardless of what particular school of thought they belonged to. He had Darwin and Carpenter and Nietsche, Morgan and others labeled Socialists, tore some extracts from their works, out of their context and then called the mysterious mixture the "Evils of Socialism." In spite of the fact that the word "Socialism" was unknown in English or any other language as late as 1820, it having been coined for the first time by Owen in 1821, he told his donk dupes that Socialism existed thousands of years ago: the poor fools in their ignorance believed he irreverend Lemon, bought the book and declared in the courthouse square and at the forks of the creek that Socialism had been destroyed. They could not understand the smiles of pity and contempt that well posted Socialists cast upon them. They did not know that in distributing the lemon book they advertised themselves as ignoramuses who were duped by the leary lemon. If there were any sensible democrats to put the poor dupes wise, they would have taken them aside and whispered in their ear something like this:

Forget that book and forget it quick, because you are getting stringed and stung and this is the reason why: If all these men quoted in the book were really Socialists which they are not, it wouldn't hurt the Socialist party for a moment for the reason that any man can join a political party and no political party is responsible for that individual's views. Supposing some Socialist wrote a book and called it the "Evils of Democracy" and took extracts from Jefferson's Bible and proved that Jefferson was an infidel, he took extracts from Tom Paine's Age of Reason and proved that he was a deist and then took extracts from Ingersoll's writing and speeches and showed him in the same light, and then took extracts from Lincoln and Grant and proved the same old thing, then suppose the Socialist writer in his book on the "Evils of Democracy" should proceed to take Darwin, Huxley, Tindall, August Comte and other brilliant scholars and scientists, none of whom belong to the Socialist movement and all denounced it. Suppose the Socialist writer then should label all these individuals who, like Lemmons supports the capitalist system and proceed to prove thereby that all democrats are infidels, deniers of God, smashers of the bible. don't you think that this Socialist would be laughed at by the Socialists themselves who would say: "This is merely the individual views of these democrats, republicans, whigs and tories. What does the official declaration of the old parties in national, state, and local platform say? and what is the attitude of their elected representatives? That is the only test whereby we can measure the attitude of a political party." Were there some democrats with sense enough to tip off the poor fools that are carrying around the "Evils of Socialism," Lemmon's book would long ago have been consigned to the ash heap and the democrats that handle it would not advertise their stupendous ignorance.

In ancient mythology we read about a man who incurred the displeasure of the gods. They punished him by decreeing that each morning he should brand his forehead with the word fool and when the letters grew dim, he was compelled to renew them. The man was not a fool but was compelled to brand himself against his will. The followers of the squeezed lemon brand themselves and in their ignorance know not what they do.

PRAISE GOD FROM WHOM ALL BLESSINGS FLOW.

We have just been notified that the National Lyceum Bureau has postponed its opening dates until Feb. 1, 1913. This will give us nice time to give the corpse decent interment. There is more coming. *A bas Bavaria.*