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THE REBEL

THE GREAT APPEAR GREAT TO US ONLY BECAUSE WE A RE ON OUR KNEES— LET US ARISE.

T. A. HICKEY, Editor and Owner.

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No 111

These Are Our Enemies.

We take this extract from a sermon preached in St. Louis, Mo., June 30, by Priest D. S. Phelan, Editor of the well known Romanist church paper, The Western Watchman, of that city (official organ of the diocese of St. Louis). Father Phelan said:

"And why is it that the Church is strong; why is it everybody is afraid of the Catholic Church? And the American people are more afraid of her than any people of the world. Why are they afraid of the Catholic Church? They know what the Catholic Church means. It means all the Catholics of the world; not of one country, or two countries, but all the countries of the world.

"And it means more than that it means that the Catholics of the world love the Church more than anything else, that the CATHOLICS OF THE WORLD LOVE THE CHURCH MORE THAN THEY DO THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND MORE THAN THEY DO THEIR OWN DISPOSITION, more than they do their own people, more than they do their own fortunes, more than they do their own selves.

"We of the Catholic Church are ready to go to the stake for the Church. Under God, she is the supreme object of our worship. Tell us that we think more of the Church than we do of the United States; of course we do. Tell us we are Catholics first and Americans or Englishmen afterward; of course we are.

"Tell us, in the conflict between the Church and the civil government we take the side of the Church; of course we do. Why, if the government of the United States went to war with the Church, we would say tomorrow, TO HELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES; and if with the Church and all the governments of the world were at war we would say TO HELL WITH ALL THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD.

"They say we are Catholics first and Americans absolutely backward. There is no doubt about it. We are Catholics first and we love the Church more than we love any and all the governments of the world.

"Let the governments of the world steer clear of the Catholic Church; let the emperors, let the kings, and the presidents not come into conflict with the head of the Catholic Church. Because the Catholic Church is everything to all the Catholics of the world; they renounce all nationalities where there is a question of loyalty to her. And why is it that hope is so strong? Why is it that in this country, where we have only seven per cent of the population, the Catholic Church is so much feared? She is loved by all her children and feared by everybody.

"Why is the Pope is such a tremendous power? Why, the Pope is the ruler of the world. All the emperors, all the kings, all the princes, all the presidents of the world today are as these altar boys of mine. The Pope is the ruler of the world. Why? Because he is the ruler of the Catholics of the world; the Catholics of all the world; and the Catholics of all the world would die for the rights of the Pope. He is the head of the Church and they would die for the Church.

"And the Church is the Church of Jesus Christ, and they need not have any misgivings on that score; there need be no misconception there — the Catholics of the world are Catholics first and always; they are Americans, they are Germans, they are French, or they are English afterward."

* * *

And this the crowd that fights *only* one political party in America—the Socialist party. This the crowd that falsely, insidiously and industriously seeks to fasten upon the Socialist movement the very actions the Hierarchy itself is guilty of, namely "free love", "anarchy" and "breaking up the home."

If we are to be judged by the enemies we have made we are satisfied.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that this is the same Priest Phelan who boasted in his paper two weeks ago that he has "a beautiful letter from the Pope DOBBING HIS WRITINGS. And every papal church paper in the land applauds Phelan.

Farmers Unions OLD AND NEW

(By Clarence Ousley.)

In 1900 Newt Gresham and myself met in the Banner office at Greenville, Texas.

Realizing the deplorable condition in which the workers were placed under this system and knowing that without organization there could be no possible betterment of their lot in life. I suggested to that faithful soul the advisability of organizing a union of bona fide farmers in the hope that they would band themselves together in such an organization and thereby secure their emancipation from the exploitation that is inherent in capitalism.

As a result of this discussion Newt Gresham went ahead and worked with might and main to organize the Farmers Co-operative and Educational Union. This union was organized to teach the principles of class solidarity and co-operation among actual farmers all over the United States.

Through the efforts of Gresham and other devoted men, the union was gotten under way in 1902. The first charter was taken out in Point in Rains county.

The constitution was supposed to be so drawn that none but an actual farmer could be a member and the constitution was so drawn and so interpreted, as long as Newt Gresham and men of his type were at the head of the Union.

Protection of thought was tolerated and every lecturer on the platform was teaching class solidarity and co-operative industry to the membership.

The union grew until it took in practically all the Southern states and some of the northwestern states and we were all delighted to see that no other movement grew as fast on the industrial field as the Farmers Union, as long as it remained on this firm foundation.

Unfortunately in latter years the original charter was abolished and the great principles for which the original union stood were perverted.

Today there is no organization in the United States on the industrial field for the actual farmers who work and produce the wealth of the country, other than the Renters Union.

The Farmers Union, so-called, is now dominated by the Commercial Secretaries, the railroads, the banks, the express companies and the capitalist class generally. It is now a Union of speculators with all that is thereby implied.

Society is divided into two classes; the exploited class and the exploiters. The capitalist class are the exploiters of society, the laboring class, on the farm and factory are the exploited.

A union to be of any benefit to the farmer or wage earner must necessarily be based upon this line of demarkation.

The Farmers Union as it exists today includes as its membership both the exploiter and the exploited.

Their economic interest being antagonistic the Farmers Union as at present managed and destined to fail, insofar as being of value to the working class upon the farm it has fallen.

Necessarily the active farmers must have a Union that will reflect their own economic interest and political powers.

Such an organization will include such as are actual workers on the farm, tenants and small home owners—that is to say the actual farmer.

For such a Union Newt Gresham fought, worked and suffered and died.

For such a Union D. J. Neel fought and lost.

Such a Union was the Farmers Union in its original state and such a Union is the Renters Union now and as soon as the real farmers understands the situation they should and will desert the old economic hull, known as the Farmers Union and join the Union of their class—THE RENTERS UNION

The Tenant Problem.

By Jas. B. Goode.

I hope you will allow me to emphasize my appreciation of the great work your paper is doing for the downtrodden tenants of Texas. When you first began your agitation for the organization of the Renters Union, I was afraid that it might be unsuccessful, because the farm tenants are so badly scattered that meetings could not be held successfully; but the wonderful growth of the Renters Union now convinces me that my fears were groundless.

The history of all ages cannot produce the equal of farm tenant conditions in Texas. The nearest approach to same is the age-old rack-renting system of Ireland. But the Green Isle never approached the damnable conditions of farm tenantry in Texas, in size, in depravity and in exploitation.

Let us state the conditions here in a nutshell: Texas has about four million population, divided into four classes, as follows: About one million population on small farms owned by them, on which the money lenders own mortgages amounting to about one half of the value by them; about one million valley of the lands owned and rented out about one million city tenants whose rental charges equal one third of their wages— this includes the small traders who make less profits than a fair wage would amount to; and about one million wholesale and retail traders, stock and bond holders, professional men and others who produce nothing but who are still living on the fat of the land, through their rents, exploitations and profits all taken directly from the producers of Texas.

Who are the real producers of Texas? Everybody realizes that the city and farm tenants do very nearly all of the productive work, hence these two classes are our producers. This article is intended to treat on the condition of the farm tenants and their Union. They amount to more than one fourth of our Texas population and they cultivate about twenty million acres, out of a total of about twenty-seven million acres in cultivation in Texas. In other words, their labor carries with it more than three-fourths of all the food consumed by the people of Texas.

In the face of the high cost of living, these workers, who produce nearly all the food consumed by the people of Texas, should be the prosperous class of our citizens. They should be riding in automobiles, living in mansions and dressing in silks and satins. Economically, they are the most important class of our citizenship, for they produce the actual necessities of life of the people of Texas.

What are the conditions of these tenants of Texas? Let us examine this matter dispassionately, as follows:

1st. The farm tenants of Texas are forced to pay from four-fifths to one-half of all they make to their landlords, as rent on the land they till, and these landlords hold about thirty liens on all they produce; many share-tenants are forced to pay from two to five dollars per acre bonus, out of their share of the crops, besides the landlord's share of one-half.

2nd. In order to get food for their families the tenants are forced to mortgage their shares of their crops to grasping merchants, who charge them twice the real value of the supplies furnished; so this really leaves the share tenants less than one-fourth of their products, on which to live the six months they are not working, to make and gather their crop; as well as to buy for clothing, schooling and other expenses during the entire year. As a short crop is made, this means that the tenants must go half-naked half-starved and altogether unclothed in Texas, for the landlords and the merchants then will take all the crop the tenant makes and leaves a big debt hanging over him to be paid next year. And short crops seem to be the rule here in Texas these last few years.

3rd. All farm tenants are forced to live in very poor houses, many of them old shacks in which human beings can only eke out a miserable existence at best. Our landlords refuse to make any repairs. Even the cave-dwellers had more comforts than have the Texas tenants. The tepees of the Esquimaux are palaces beside our tenant houses. No more desolate spots can be found on earth than the "homes" of more than one-fourth of the people of Texas. Even the worst of these conditions is insanity intensified. Here is the greatest problem before our Texas people. These tenants are increasing about ten per cent per annum. Ere long, the mortgages on our so-called home-owners will be foreclosed and most of this one million people will become dependent farm tenants. These mortgages are held by foreigners and speculators and we will soon have rack-renting in its most detestable form, in fact we have it in many Texas now.

Education among the children of farm tenants is on the decline and will soon become a dead letter in Texas. Five full months of the public school each year is a farce. The big business interests dictate the teaching that is to be taught and these poor children learn only that little that is of any value to them in after life.

Society among these down-trodden workers has no meaning and pleasures are almost unknown. The future holds out nothing better than serfdom for them. Life is becoming one continuous struggle for a more existence. Religion is made the leading theme of all teachers and preachers, among these poor tenant workers, solely because it teaches them to work hard for their masters in this life and look for their own reward in the hereafter. As long as they keep the workers looking for mansions in the skies, their exploiters will enjoy mansions on earth right now.

What is the remedy for these damnable conditions? Education and free thinking among farm tenants. This can be obtained by organization and understanding work that will open the eyes of the farm tenants to the awful fate which capitalism has in store them and their children—a fate more direful than slavery, because slavery carries with it the care of the slaves, while capitalism casts them as long as it can use them and then turns them out to starve; as it does with all farm tenants six months in every year, when it does not need them to make and gather it's crops.

How can this system of capitalism be changed so as to free these farm tenants from this slavery? By co-operative ownership of all the land they till. This can only be secured through political action, by voting and electing their own legislators to change the laws to give them legal titles to the lands they till. This can only be secured through the Socialist party, which is the party of all the workers, and which will pass laws in the interest of the workers when it wins out.

But we must have industrial organization, as well as political action; for what would be the use of making laws for the workers unless they were there on hand and well organized to enforce them?

And here is where the Renters Union becomes a great power, for it carries with it the germ of unionism so as to make it possible for every tenant to own the land he works. Every tenant farmer ought to be a member of this great union of farm tenants so that he can take charge of the land he needs and secure that these laws are enforced.

The Socialist party is not only the political party for the workers, but it is also the party of the great industrial union of all the workers and all their unions. In other words: The one great political party and the one great industrial union of all the workers of the world.

The Rebel presented the land petition to the people at the Commencement and secured about 200 signatures without any trouble.

BRYAN AND THE AVERAGE MAN.

If Secretary Bryan can not live in Washington on $1000 a month, can ag ovrnment clerk do so on $900 a year? That is the question one clerk wants answered. He has put his query in poetic form and signs his effort, "H. E. Norfleet, Pr., Department of Justice."

The latest issue of the Official Register commonly known as the government Blue Book, shows that when the witness was issued Robert E. Norfleet, Jr., of Virginia was a clerk in the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts of the navy department at a salary of $1000 a year. Mr. Bryan's salary as secretary of state is $12,000 a year.

Here are two verses of the five in which Mr. Norfleet complains against the Commerce's recent declaration:

Of course we are only jay hawkers
And must struggle and toil for our toll,
While Bryan can follow Chatauquas
In order to fatten his roll;
But still we must labor and suffer,
And there's something decededly queer.
If Bryan can't live on a hundred a month,
Can we on nine hundred a year?

And thus in the days that are pleasant,
And thus in the time of our ills,
To the rich and the poor, the physician
Shows up with the same kind of bills.
While the cost of "grape juice") may be soaring.
We all pay the same price for beer
If Bryan can't live on a thousand a month,
Can we on nine hundred a year?

Government clerks say that their salaries have been revised only once since 1857, and then their average pay was reduced ....?

Do those who feel in need of information about the I. W. W. desire to understand that organization, why to get at the bed-rock facts, they should send 25 cents to the Decentralizer, published at Hallettsville, Tex., and go on the list for one year.

This week we fill one date which is the last for sometime to come. Then we shall be at the desk seven days in the week turning out a bigger and better Rebel all the time. Think of this fact and rustle to subs.

Growth of a Man and an Idea.

"GREAT SOCIALIST SAINT"

A special election to fill a vacancy in the legislature has been held in the Huntsville, Texas, district. S. S. Mottram was the Socialist candidate. He carried the precinct by a vote of 96 (Socialist) to 89 (Democrat). He also carried other precincts in the district by city. The returns are not all in, so the total vote cannot be given, but it is estimated that the Socialist vote at last fall is quadrupled.—Party Builder.

The Party Builder is correct in its estimate of the growth of the Socialist party in the home of the Rebel. There is a reason for everything in this case there were two reasons: First, the program and second, the man. As to the Program, it declared that use and occupancy should be the title to land; that all land should cost of use for speculative purposes should be taxed to its full rental value; that all things used socially by all the people such as, railroads, telegraphs, telephones etc., should be owned by all the people, while all things used privately such as horse, mules, wagons, clothes, furniture, homes etc., should be privately owned. This was the program, on which S. S. Mottram ran.

Now as to the man: S. S. Mottram is a South Texas product. He was reared in the community in which he ran for senator; he went to school a barefooted boy with hundreds of those who voted for him; all his life he has been a student of industrial conditions. He had the elements of greatness in him in this that although it meant enmity, social popularity and official honors to stay with the Democratic party he always stood for unpopular side when his principles were at stake, first as a Populist, then as a Socialist. All this favored him, regardless of politics, admit this to be a fact.

The majority of men chase "with the hare and run with the hound" as did S. S. Mottram. He stood out from boyhood for one great principle even though all the powers that be were against it and that principle was just this: *That the Creator did not put the world here to be monopolized by a few.* Believing this he has fought through his paper, and an ever increasing number of people has agreed with him until now his paper, The Semi-Weekly New Era, is recognized as the greatest and most influential country newspaper in South Texas, although always with a straight Socialist editorial policy.

This year our comrade on being nominated for senator, heard the call of the rostrum, left his desk and went out to meet the people face to face and tell them where the path of success ultimately lies. The results are indicated in the news story printed above. Needless to say those results in his home district are immensely gratifying. It logically follows that he will proceed to carry his message into other portions of the state, for surely he believes that inasmuch as he has almost broken the back of the Donkey in his own county he can do likewise in every landlord ridden district in Texas.

He is young (32); he is forceful; those that have heard him speak say he has the mastings of a great orator and those that know him most intimately regard him as a genius in organization work; he knows Texas as thoroughly as probably no other man subject as probably no other man in the state does and when he goes out for a month or two later on, The Rebel hopes that he will be as successful in his work in East, Central and North Texas as he has been in the South Texas, where his name is something to conjure by.

Frank H. Little, a member of the general executive board of the I. W. W., went to Duluth, Minn., two weeks ago to take charge of a strike of iron ore workers. A number of private detectives heavily armed kidnapped him and rushed him out to a cottage in the woods where they held him for ten days. Then determined I. W. W. men armed themselves with Colt's automatics and went to the place where the labor leader was unlawfully confined. They fought a pitched battle with detectives, whipped them and released their chief. James J. Hill and big U. S. Steel corporation officials employed things. The Rebel would like to know when these plutocrats will be indicted for the crime. Talking about the I. W. W. being lawless what do you think of this lawless act?

THE CHARLOTTE SCHOOOL AFFAIR.

The Roman Catholics, aided by the secular press, have raised the cry of intolerance, bigotry and religious persecution over the failure of the Charlotte, North Carolina, School Board to re-elect the female public school teachers who are Roman Catholics. The impression which the newspapers and the speakers at a public meeting to protest against this action have spread abroad is that the discrimination against these teachers was solely on the ground of their religious faith. As Collier's Weekly, owned by Romanists, puts it: "No charge is made that their teaching was inefficient, or that hey brought a proselyting spirit into the classroom. The mere fact that these teachers were of the older communion was enough to persuade ten of the fifteen School Commissioners to vote against their reappointment."

The statement that no fault was found with these women as teachers is false. The "Presbyterian Standard" of July 30th, published in Charlotte, referring editorially to this affair, says: "Affidavits, afterwards published in one of the city papers and signed by several of the pupils, proved conclusively that these teachers ridiculed the reading of the Bible, and tried to discredit it in the eyes of the pupils, and that for this reason, for a year the parents had been protesting to the School Commissioners against their retention." This shows the true state of the matter and the justice of the decision.

In this connection it is well to call attention to the foul slander of two great states by Priest Phelan of St. Louis, who is noted for his hatred of and defamation of everything savoring Protestantism. Referring in this school affair, and to the fact that the people of Tennessee recently stopped a purely sectarian appropriation of public funds to a Roman Catholic institution, this editor-priest in the "Western Watchman" of June 26th, says: "North Carolina and Tennessee are the two most benighted and at the same time the two most Protestant States in the Union. The men have neither religion nor morality. We were astounded a short time ago to learn from a prominent lady of North Carolina, who is a convert of some years, that the men of that State are notorious libertines. She told us that the wealthier class of men drink like fishes but drink whiskey on the sly and multiply mulattoes. God help any girls who depend for their livelihood on these immoral wretches."

This is the same priest who, in a sermon preached last year, as reported in his paper, said: "Why, if the government of the United States were at the mercy (the Roman) Church we would say tomorrow: TO HELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES!"

Evangelical in American Citizen.

We wish to call the attention to our readers to our double column article on the front page of this issue, written by Clarence Nugent of Stephenville, North Central Texas. He is one of the best posted men on Farmers Union affairs in the entire South. His distinguished father, Thomas L. Nugent, was elected governor on the Populist ticket 20 years ago, but was cut out by the crooked deal. He was in at the birth of the Farmers Union and now he stops its rebirth. When he says the Farmers Union has come to take the place of the Farmers Union and will carry through the principles of that organization in an autocrate twentieth century style this is a statement of vital significance— coming from him. The Farmers Union is dead. The Renters Union is here to stay and live and grow until such time it carries out its mission, which is the emancipation of those who till the land in the South.

The S. D. Herald congratulates a branch of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburg on being "cleaned up" of grafters, stating it is always where Socialists get control, but fails to mention that the "cleaners" are men it has fought and maliciously dubbed as anarchists. This method is a continuous policy of the Herald.

The S. D. Herald and allied papers continue to cultivate division in the ranks by speaking of an element in the party opposed to political action, just as if such an element existed. Any one opposed to political action would not be in a political party and the Herald knows it as well as anybody.

We Need Lawyers

Realizing the tremendous benefit of such a step to the Socialist movement of the state, the undersigned has agreed to act as Texas manager for the American Correspondence School of Law, of Chicago, the most noted and efficient school of that kind in the world, and will shortly begin to organize the work in this state to the end that in every county comrades of ability and integrity are engaged in the study of law.

The state management was accepted by me because I realized that the time is here when Socialist lawyers are needed at every county seat in Texas to look after the legal side of the working class movement for emancipation; for even the next election will witness the capture of many precinct and quite a number of county governments and the next few years will witness the capture of the entire state by the Socialist party.

We can not hope to recruit much of a following from the lawyers that are now Democrats or Republicans, for they are too throughly entangled with the old party and big business machines, and such old party lawyers that we do recruit are often not to be trusted, because they will join the party for selfish political reasons. *It was lawyers (that foe of labor) Kennedy, Avery, that seduced like Delilah the Socialist party.*

For these reasons we must train our own lawyers from the ranks of able, tried and trusted comrades. We must do this because even now our political and industrial activities are everywhere hedged in and circumscribed by the law, and we must understand the law ourselves in order to properly function as a political and industrial movement. We must be able to act independent of the advice and assistance of capitalist lawyers in the courts, in the administration of county and state governments, in the legislative halls, in the legal fights that will be increasingly forced upon us as the workers of farm, mine and factory grow more and more militant and are dependent more and more upon the Socialist movement for moral and legal support.

In short the time is now here when we must be able to put forward trained, tried and trusted, class conscious comrades to meet and fight the shrewd lawsters of capitalism on their own ground, politically, industrially and finally as lawmakers, law interpreters and legal executives.

The American Correspondence School of Law has at its head as dean,one of the most noted and eruditeSocialist lawyers in the nation, namely Stephen Marion Reynolds, late of Terre Haute, Ind., the friend and biorgrpher of Debs) and it was at the personal request of this great leader I have agreed to take up the work in Texas. In a letter to me Dr. Reynolds has the following to say of the school:

AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LAW

Office of The Dean. Chicago, Ill., August 16, 1913.

Mr. R. E. R. Mutteen, Hallettsville, Texas.

Dear Comrade:—

Your fine letter of the 12th and am glad to know that you will take up our organization in Texas. When I accepted the office of Dean of this School I felt that I was undertaking something which would tend toward the emancipation of the working class.

For this reason I realize the importance of a legal education to the members of our Party. A great number of them have been unschooled for offices and have been disappointed in many instances because they realized their lack of this sort of legal knowledge. Hundreds of others have been elected and have at once found that they were incompetent and unable to contend with other officials who had the advantage of a thorough knowledge of Law.

You furthermore realize that if our Party is to accomplish its purpose in capturing political power it would find its representatives in a very embarrassing situation when their election has been accomplished. We know that this is the case in every state and territory; we also know that the rank and file of the Socialist Party-realize this condition and are anxious to undertake their own development so that they have not/knows how they stand. We know that our Course will very fully and easily supply this need to the members of the working class.

The American Correspondence School of Law has a very complete and simple plan of teaching law by correspondence to students in their own homes. The School is a member in good standing of the Home Study Council and was established in 1886, and incorporated under the Laws of the State of Illinois in 1908. We bring a knowledge of Law to a man's home, where he can spend a few hours each day in the course of three years, and thereby get a thorough knowledge of the entire field of American Jurisprudence. The Course is thorough and practical and has been successfully followed by thousands of students. Our students are most successful in passing Bar Examinations and in every State in the Union we have graduates who are leading practitioners, also one or two towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants we have 5 graduates who are practicing attorneys.

The Law Course, including Text Books, Lectures, Talks by the Dean, etc., are so written and arranged that it is the only Course now in existence that the Socialist Party can endorse, for in fact as a matter of record, the Text Book, from Volume 1 to Volume 12, shows the close relationship between the development of industry and the changes made and necessary to be made in the laws. There are 12 Lectures by the best legal talent/one each month on special topics. Lectures are in preparation also by Seymour Stedman, on Criminal Law, by C. Thaxton, on Rights of the Poor, Job Harriman, on Wills and Trusts, Arthur LeSueur, on Habeas Corpus and Injunctions, and others are to be arranged for the special purpose of educating the working class as to their rights.

The third year Course is on special subjects — Pleading, the Statutes, and general drill and preparation for Bar Examinations. Legal advice is given during the three years upon all matters within the scope of the Course.

The total cost for the Three Years' Course is so low that even the poorest workingman can afford it. There is a small payment down and monthly payments thereafter. The student receives his entire 13 volume set of Text Books at once, expense charges prepaid, and the 24 Lectures, 24 Talks by the Dean, Examinations, etc., are sent to him each month. The Text Book is retained when he is given a Diploma certifying his work.

Inasmuch as we wish to get started in the State of Texas right away I wish you would wire me that you will accept our proposition and I can immediately send out the necessary literature. You can then write me fully and I can send out the Appeal to Reason in going to take up our Course in connection with their law classes and advertise our name quite extensively. This gives you at once a great efficiency of service.

Fraternally yours,

STEPHEN M. REYNOLDS, Dean.

In a short time further announcements will be made as to thd work in Texas. Watch for them. If however, anyone wishes to have immediate particulars, they will write to the undersigned who will at once send full information as to this great study system, though he would advise those that write to him to consider well if they have the necessary latent ability to take up the work. They should know within themselves what it takes to make at least a fairly able legal defender of the Texas working class.

R. R. MUTTEN, Hallettsville, *Tex.*

ENLISTING IN THE ARMY VS. ENLISTING IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

A soldier enlists in the army as a rule because he is out of work, cannot find work, half clothed and generally hungry. He walks along the street seen a lithograph in flashy colors, reading, "Wanted young men between the ages of 18 and 35 years" and it goes on to tabulate the pay of a few, that are well paid "common" soldiers, the fellow tired of job hunting and being turned down on account of not having had years of experience in some special line of work, seeks Old Glory, holds up his right hand and is given transportation to some barracks to serve time as a "rookey." After having served an enlistment or two, he generally becomes of a don't care disposition and usually comes to where he could not make a living for himself much less anyone else who was dependent upon him for support.

Suppose "Uncle Sammy" would post bright lithographs with indocements which would be sure to make a man a good citizen, one who is a genuine producer, (which would not necessitate our railroad companies having to import immigration agents abroad to encourage foreign immigration.)

The posters to read as follows:

"Wanted any kind of men, young or old, who are seeking real employment, to enlist in the National Co-Operative Commonwealth; all tools provided for each and every man. Assistance given by the government to those who prove themselves worthy and efficient, also instructions in farming and agricultural cultivation free. Salary or remuneration, all you can earn, minus what is advanced by the United States Government."

On the contrary, in a government Co-Operative Colony that would be self-supporting, with a limited extent, voluntary assistance from other members would be sufficient to prevent any member from making a total failure, for they would have more pride than to want to see any member of the colony make a complete failure, (that is to anyone who was a true co-operative,) and 99 per cent of the people who take up the Co-operative movement, are generally sincere and thoroughly understand voluntary Co-operation.

Suppose "Uncle Sammy" would try this out on some of his semi-waste land. He would just put "Cozzy's" army out of commission.

To make a long story short, place the whole thing under the supervision of the United States Department of Agriculture, and instead of our supporting expensive, non-dividend bearing agricultural experiment stations, let them "Kill two birds with one stone." Let them operate United States Government experimental co-operative farms and inaugurate the National Co-Operative Commonwealth (limited) and which will be backed up by voluntary co-operation. With the proper backing and support by "Uncle Sammy" (to a limited extent) you would see very few complete failures, nevertheless some would thrive where others would appear not to, but at the same time our brother next door could profit from the example set by other pioneers, etc.

Country life would then take on a new phase and there would be some attraction to it, you would then see the unemployed and down hard working men seeking this offer for double quick, who lack a small amount of backing to undertake this proposition, instead of having tolive from hand to mouth, only earning between employment and unemployment, to keep the "Wolf from the door."

Then on the other hand "Teddy would have have no excuse to yell "race suicide" and every man and old America" alike would feel safe in taking unto himself a wife and raising his boys to be expert farmers and agriculturists, a credit to this country instead of a burden which you well know a set of idlers to be.

Everything comes from the earth, so they could not help being otherwise than natural born producers and not natural born paupers.

This sort of an institution would do more to correct existing evils, make better christian men and women, a heartier, sturdier, better satisfied United States of America, than all the charitable religious and educational institutions that the country could be endowed with.

(Signed.) Rob. P. Cloud
2708 Rusk Ave., Houston, Tex.

THE LAND PETITION.

(NOTE—Send all petitions to R. O. Mutteen, Secretary-Treasurer, Renters Union, Hallettsville, Texas, who will transmit them in bulk to Governor Colquitt.

To O. B. Colquitt, Governor of Texas.

We, the undersigned citizens of Texas, hereby join with the Renters Union of America in a petition to you to call a special session of the legislature, who shall be requested by you to submit to a vote of the people an amendment to the State Constitution, providing for a tax equal to the full rental value on all lands held for speculation—excepting homestead reservations only. And also providing that the legal voters of any city or county or of the State may by majority vote exempt certain kinds of property and place the burden of taxation on other kinds of property.

Texas has 167,000,000 acres of land; 27,000,000 acres are improved. Out of the balance there are over one hundred million acres suitable for cultivation—a supply so great that the people are suffering from the scarcity of products, and high cost of living.

So we have four-fifths of the State locked up in the hands of the speculators while tenantry has increased 129 per cent in the last twenty years.

The State Chamber of Commerce has published that only two and a half per cent of the lands in the Panhandle are in productive use. It is overrun with land speculators—each work less, to the homesteaders than when overrun by the buffaloes — or even by the hostile Indians

East, South and West Texas are in as deplorable a position as the Panhandle.

This situation can only be grappled with and Texas turned loose for home builders by such a constitutional amendment

Instead a state of rebellious tenants we should have a state of patriotic home owners.

Realizing this to be true we respectfully ask you to heed our petition and act.

Here follow the names. Booklets with strong card board cover containing this petition with ruled spaces for 500 signatures and with the petition clearly printed can be secured from this office for 5c each, 10 for 25c. Order now and go to work for more than 100,000 names.)

P. S. Already over 50 requests have been received for one or more of these petition booklets and still they come on every mail. Join the army of petition circulators and help start a peaceable revolution in Texas this fall that will live forever in the state.

SOCIALIST COUNTY MEETING

To all all whom it may concern.—By virtue of my office I hereby call a county meeting of the Socialist party to be held at the court house in the town of Nacogdoches on Saturday, the 13th day of September 1913, at 10 o'clock a. m.

County Chairman

"Shave Yourself With Ease"—Barber's secret; tells you the secret of razors, hones, strops, etc. Explains and illustrates their proper care and use. Saves dollars and suffering. 25c postpaid. Agents wanted.

R. D. Part'n. Practical Barber. Raymondville, Texas.

BOOSTER FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY AT WHOLESALE PRICES ASSORTED SIZES AND COLORS.

Silk hose	.....50—	.75—	.50—	.35
Lisle hose	.....50—	.35—	.30—	.25
Cotton hose	.....50—	.35—	.18	1/2— .15

Silk and lisle in all colors. Cotton in black, tan and white.—Select any sizes or colors and send me the cash total order.

LEROY BRANT & Clinton St.
NEWARK, N. J.

WANTED:— A Socialist school by a Socialist teacher of experience. Address: W. A. Wilcox, Lufkin, Tex.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

(Believing that no one event in the labor movement of America was of greater historical significance than the gigantic A. R. U. strike of 1904, the Social Democrat is not out of place to reproduce herewith Comrade Debs' masterly article, written some years ago.—Ed)

In the July issue of McClure's Magazine ex-President Grover Cleveland has a strong article on "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894." That there may be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection, it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the Federal government, of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the State government of Illinois, or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overridden and set at defiance by the executive authority, enforced by the military power of the Federal government under the administration of Mr. Cleveland.

Cleveland Vindicates Himself.

The ex-President's article not only triumphantly vindicates his administration, but constitutes the author upon the eminent service he rendered the republic in a critical hour when a labor crisis jarred its foundation and threatened its overthrow.

It may be sheer coincidence that Mr. Cleveland's article upon his patriotic administration and upon himself as its central and commanding figure appears in the form of a National convention composed largely of his disciples who are urging his fourth nomination for the Presidency as the very reason set forth in the article on the Chicago strike.

His Knowledge Second Hand.

However this may be, it is certain that of his own knowledge ex-President Cleveland knows nothing of the strike. He assumes that the evidence upon which he acted officially and upon which he now bases his conclusions was properly obtained wholly from the railroad interests and those who represented or were controlled by these interests, and it is not to be wondered, therefore, that he falls into a series of errors beginning with the cause of the disturbance and running all through his account of it, as may be proved beyond doubt by reference to the "Report on the Chicago Strike and Labor Troubles of the United States Strike Commission" of his own appointment.

What Was the Chicago Strike?

Simply one of the many battles that have been fought and are to be fought in the economic war between capital and labor. Probably Homestead, Buffalo, Latimer, Pana, Coeur d'Alene, Cripple Creek and Virginia were but a few of the battles fought in this country in the world-wide struggle for industrial emancipation.

When the strike at Chicago occurred did President Cleveland make a personal investigation? No.

Did he grant both sides a hearing? He did not.

In his fourteen-page magazine article what warrant, or what representative of labor, does he cite in support of his statements or his official acts? Not one.

I saw this article received every particle of his information from the capitalist side, that he was prompted to act by the capitalist side, that his official course was determined wholly, absolutely, by and in the interest of the capitalist side, and that no other thought or consideration was given to the other side— the hundreds of thousands of workingmen, whose lives and whose wives and babes were at stake— than if they had been so many swine or sheep that had balked on their way to the shambles.

The Object of Federal Interference

From the Federal judge who sat on the bench as the protege of the late George M. Pullman, to whose influence he was indebted for his appointment— as he was to the railroad companies for the annual passes he had in his pocket— down to the last thug sworn in by the railroads and paid by the railroads (p. 340 report of Strike Commission) to serve the railroads as United States Deputy Marshal, the one object of the Federal Court and its officers was, not the enforcement of law and preservation of order, but the breaking up of the strike in the interest of the railroad corporations, and it was because of this fact that John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, and John P. Hopkins, Mayor of Chicago, were not in harmony with President Cleveland's administration and protested against the Federal troops being used in their state and city for such a malign purpose.

This is the fact and I shall prove it beyond doubt before this article is concluded.

Cleveland Omits Reference to Judge Woods.

The late Judge William A. Woods figured as one of the principal judges in the Chicago affair, issuing the injunctions, citing the strikers to appear before him and sentencing them to jail without trial, but President Cleveland discreetly omits all references to him; and although he introduces copies of many documents, his article does not include copies of the injunctions that passed between Judge Woods, from his home at Indianapolis, and the railroad managers at Chicago, before he left home to hold court in the latter city.

Judge Woods had the distinction of convicting the writer and seventeen others without a trial and of releasing William W. Dudley of "Blocks of Five" memory in spite of a writ of habeas.

Judge Woods is dead and I do not attack the dead. I have to mention his name, and this of itself is sufficient.

Pullman's Contempt of Court.

During the strike the late George M. Pullman was summoned to appear before the Federal Court to give testimony. He at once had his private car attached to an eastbound train and left the city, treating the Court with sovereign contempt. On his return, accompanied by Robert Todd Lincoln, his attorney, he had a tete-a-tete with the Court, "in chambers", and that ended the matter. He was not required to testify, nor to appear in open court. The striker upon whom there fell even the suspicion of a shadow of contempt was sentenced and jailed with alacrity. Not one was spared, not one invited to a "heart-to-heart" with his honor, "in chambers."

A Challenge to Cleveland.

In reviewing the action of ex-President Cleveland I wish to adduce the proof of my exceptions and denials, as well as the evidence upon which my affirmations, but I realize that in the limited space of a single issue it is impossible to do this in complete and satisfactory manner; and as the case is important enough to be reviewed, after a lapse of ten years, by Mr. Cleveland, and as the side of labor has never yet reached the people, I am prompted to suggest a fair and full hearing of both sides on the public rostrum or in a series of articles, and I shall be happy to meet Mr. Cleveland or any one he may designate in such oral or written discussion, and if I fail to relieve the great body of intelligent men who compose the American Railway Union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I can not produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were instigated by the other than the side in whose interest President Cleveland brought to bear all the powers of the Federal government— I will agree to publicly beg forgiveness of the railroads, apologize to the ex-President and cease my agitation forever.

The Cause of the Pullman Strike.

It is easy for Mr. Cleveland and others who were on the side of the railroads to introduce copies of documents, reports, etc., for the simple reason that the Federal power at Chicago compelled the telegraph companies to deliver copies of all our telegrams and copies of the proceedings of the conventions and other meetings of the American Railway Union, including secret sessions, but the Federal Court did not call upon the railroads to produce the telegrams that passed among themselves, nor between their counsel and the Federal authorities, nor the printed proceedings of the General Managers' Association for public inspection and as a basis for criminal prosecution.

Had the Strike Won.

Nevertheless, there is available proof sufficient to make it clear to the unprejudiced mind, to the honest men who seeks the truth, that the United States government under the administration of President Grover Cleveland, was at the beck and call of the railroad corporations, acting as one through the "General Managers' Association," and that these corporations with the Federal Courts and troops to back them up, had swarms of mercenaries sworn in as deputy marshals to incite violence as a pretext for taking possession of the headquarters of the American Railway Union by armed force, throwing its leaders into prison without trial and breaking down the union that was victorious, maintaining, brow-beating and persecuting its peaceable and law-abiding members and putting the railroad corporations in supreme control of the situation.

That was the part of President Cleveland in the Chicago strike, and for this enforcement of the railroad combine and the trusts in general remember him with profound gratitude, and are now willing and but anxious that he shall be President-elect of the United States forever.

A Precedent for Future Action.

In the closing paragraph of his article Mr. Cleveland compliments his administration upon having cleared the way "which shall hereafter guide our nation safely and surely in the exercise of its functions which represent the "peoples trust." The word "people's" is not only superfluous but mischievous and false to the truth. Could that and the ex-President's statement will not be challenged.

Cleveland Still Loyal.

How did President Cleveland begin operations in the Chicago strike. Among the first things he did, as he himself states, was to appoint Edwin Walker as special counsel for the government.

Who is Edwin Walker?

"An able and prominent attorney," says Mr. Cleveland.

Is that all?

Not quite. At the time President Cleveland and his Attorney-General, Richard Olney, designated Edwin Walker, general counsel for one of the railroads, as special counsel to the government, for which alleged service he was paid a fee required to testify, not

Craft Unionism.

(By Rodney V. Dyer.)

The most important fact in all the world for workingmen to remember is that Industrial Workers are economically the interests of the working class in that struggle. The Industrial Workers declare that there can be no friendship between the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage-worker; that there is inevitably a struggle between them, and that this struggle cannot end until the capitalist class is overthrown, and the wage-system wiped out. Then and then only can there be an end to class rule.

Now, if you are a workingman, and if you believe that you have an economic interest in common with that of the capitalist who employs you, remain in the craft trade union. That is where you belong. If that is your conviction we do not want you to join the Industrial Workers. You do not properly belong to us. You do belong to the American Federation of Labor and to its affiliated organizations. But if you believe as I believe, that the working class have economic interests of the capitalist class, that you should, and sooner or later will have to, sever your relation with the old craft union, and join the Industrial Workers, the only union organized upon the basis of the class struggle.

And let me ask, have we a class struggle? The answer comes of itself. This struggle finds expression in, say, hourly, in strikes, in boycotts, in lockouts, injunctions, riots, assaults and bloodshed. It is not an imitated affair. Therefore in this great world-wide class struggle that is shaking the foundations of civilized society everywhere, there are being created out the most important problems of our modern civilization.

The working class are in an overwhelming majority. They have the numbers. They ought to have the power. And they would have the power, if only they were conscious of their interests, as a class.

Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The capitalist insists that there is no such struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unison they declaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognize it; that they must organize economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organizing, they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle forever.

Now, have not the workers had sufficient experience during the last few years? Have they not been defeated often enough to demonstrate the inherent weakness of the old trades union movement? Haven't they been enjoined by the courts often enough? Clubbed by the police and flung into jail often enough? Haven't they had experience of this kind enough to open their eyes to the fact that there is a class struggle going on in progress, and that there will never be any material change in their condition until they unite their class in every department of industrial activity!

Speaking for myself, I was made to realize long ago that the old trade union was utterly incompetent to deal successfully with the exploiting corporations in this struggle. I was made to see that in craft unionism the capitalist class have it in their power to keep the workers divided, to use one part of them with which to conquer and crush another part of them. Indeed, I was made to see that the old form of unionism separates the workers and keeps them helpless at the mercy of their masters.

Object lessons are presented to you every day in the week. You have hundreds of thousands of workers organized in Chicago, in every conceivable kind of union, and under the direction of an infinite variety of leaders. I will not say that these leaders are all incompetent or corrupt. That would not be true. But many of them are corrupt, and in that capacity have it in their power to betray and sell out the workers who trust them. In this position the workers will remain—where there they cling to the out-grown old craft union and its unefficient methods. We have had the proof of this over and over again. Take all the great strikes that have occurred in Chicago during the last few years. Have any of them been successful? Have they not uniformly failed?

The capitalists have not entirely stamped out the defeated unions, that is true. They have had the power to do this in the hour of the workers' defeat, but they have retrained from doing it, because during the Interborough strike in the city of New York, when several thousand union employes of that corporation, of which he is president, went out on strike because they were driven to that extremity by his persistent policy He proved that he was a loyal trade-unionist when he employed James Farley, the notorious strike-breaker and his army of Hessians to take the places of his former employes and disrupted their unions. he met at the hospitable banquet ing board of the Civic Federation with Sam Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and its allied unions, and there made good his claim that he was a true trade-unionist of the old school.

Do you think that a labor leader who has proved himself to the working class could sit at such a banqueting board with such a capitalist class politician? Do you think he would be the guest of such an organization as the Civic Federation, whose only purpose is by subtle means to keep the craft trade union movement to harmless impotency?

It is for this and this alone that the Civic Federation has been organized. This is its real mission. Upon this rock the ship of Labor has fallen within the fatal influence of this emasculating alliance, and has thus proven that it is not organized to subserve the interests of the working class!

A GREAT BOOK.

"The Tongues of Toil."—(And others.) William Francis Barnard. 192 pages, cloth with gold title. The Workers' Art Press, publishers, 2316 Southport Ave., Chicago, Ill. Price 60 cents by mail.

In the foreword of this widely read book, Mr. Barnard, the book's author says, "The red blood of a united race courses through his veins, and he sings him who sings the songs of toil, and takes pleasure in the singing."

We feel the thrill in Comrade Barnard's Quatrain, when he thus warns the powers of economic evil, and promises victory to the longsuffering toilers. "Let the storm clouds rise at the poignant plea of the child in "So Cold," and over the "Unemployed" let him who sings the songs of toil, and takes pleasure in the singing."

We feel the thrill in Comrade Barnard's Cosmic Sympathy