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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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JEHOVAH BOANERGES AGAIN.

The editor of the Baptist Standard, the Rev. Jehovah Boanerges Cranfill, and Elder L. J. Killion, a minister of Christ at Sweetwater, Texas, have been having some interesting correspondence over the McNamara brothers. The Reverend Mr. Cranfill first published an editorial in the Baptist Standard denouncing the McNamaras as Socialists and for about all the bad things he could think about. Mr. Killion wrote him a reply setting forth the well known fact that the McNamaras were democrats and showing him that his wild accusations against Socialism were false. Cranfill filled with the spirit of the lowly Christ (?) declined to publish a retraction, refused to meet any Socialist in debate and like a Christian gentleman (?) said that he was not afriaid of Mr. Killion and that he had heard it thunder before, as forsooth that settled the matter.

Elder Killion writes: "When a preacher publishes such a batch of pure slander as the following and then when his attention is called to the want of truth in his imputations, and replies that he is not conscious of having done anyone an injustice, that he is not intimidated by my militant epistle, that it is only thunder, etc., there can be no moral defense made for him.

"What will every Baptist that has any regard for truth, and is not so narrow as to hate everyone who may differ with them, think of this their Goliath. If he were a backwoods farmer and did not make such high pretensions to morality, wisdom, Christian piety, etc., it would not look so ugly."

Now let every Baptist that reads this consider the following: Cranfil charges that the McNamaras are Socialists. As Socialists we deny it and demand the proof. He has refused to substantiate his charge or to apologize for his slander.

Once and for all The Rebel wishes to make it plain that Cranfill, Rankin, Toomey, of the Dalles News, Ousley of the Ft. Worth Record, Bailey of the Houston Post and all the other gutter shipes of the muzzled press have thoroughly lied about this McNamara case from the beginning. As editors they should know the written record is not questioned. And that record is: First, that neither of the McNamara brothers have ever held a card in the Socialist party, never owed any allegiance to our movement in any shape, form or manner, but on the contrary they were Democrats, voted the Democratic ticket and for years in Cincinnati and Indianapolis they walked shoulder to shoulder, side by side and cheek by jowl with the Cranfills, Rankins, Toomeys, Ousleys and Baileys of these cities, further they went so far as to join Catholic anti-Socialist organizations, paid out their good money to the same and took an oath to use every means in their power to destroy the Socialist movement. In the face of these acknowledged facts, these journalistic jackals have the effrontery to charge as Cranfill has done that the McNamaras were Socialists.

The question springs to the lips of the uninformed people of the South, whom these editorial rascals have fooled, "Why did the Socialist party spring to the defense of the McNamaras?" The answer in a flash is this: The Socialist philosophy teaches us that there is a class struggle raging in the nation, honest workingmen combine in their union to defend their economic interest in that struggle, they pay their money in dues, they picket, they parade, they fight, their women and children suffer, burned into their very soul is the impress of this conflict, the leaders they elect are honest—the record shows that at least ninety-nine per cent are honest but unfortunately, having to go to work at an early age, living in miserable surroundings in the great cities they read life's story through the pages of a prostituted press. The McNamara boys were intellectually doped in their youth by Harmon's Democratic organ, the Cincinnati Enquirer, the official organ of the red light district of Ohio. They learned in its pages that capital and labor were brothers and that the Democratic party was their chief defender and that the Socialists were hair-brained freaks. Believing this lie J. J. McNamara when secretary of the Bridge and structural Iron Workers fought with all the vigor of his big manhood against his "brother." He did not realize that this is not an individual fight but that it is a tremendous fight between two great economic classes in a nation. Hence in his fight McNamara makes use of dynamite to kill off his "brother." The Socialists with their footsteps lighted by the lamps of science knew what would happen. In the flash of the Times explosion they but read a little clearer the story of the class war and when the McNamaras "brothers" jailed them we did not pause to question why but sprang instantly to their assistance for they were of our flesh, blood of our blood, they were our kith and kin. What mattered it if they used dynamite in this struggle? Did not the capitalists use dynamite in the whiskey distillery war in Chicago in 1887? Did not the private detectives employed by the railroads burn the cars on the rip track in Chicago in 1894 in the Debs A. R. U. strike did not John D. Rockefeller Jr., and Senator Simon Guggenheim of Colorado employ private detectives to destroy life and property in that state during the Coyorado labor war? (Read Chapter 20 of Senate Document 122, 58th Congress, 3rd Session) Read Chas. Edward Russell's story in in Hampton's Magazine on the Millionaire Gambler's war in Chicago where forty-three buildings were dynamited in eighteen months and not an arrest was made. In short the official record reveals this fact that the McNamaras simply learned how to dynamite from their capitalist "brothers" who control, because they own the courts, the congress, the pulpit and the press of the nation. Knowing this, man like, we went to the assistance of our erring brothers. We knew their heart was right, they were not degenerate or depraved, they fought a brave battle by the light as they saw it. while these cowardly, whining lickspittle Cranfills, Rankins, Toomeys, Ousleys and Baileys continue to hurl their poison shafts at the men who are down and out because they believed in their wretched lies.

I am writing this at the gateway of Ft. Worth and by the honor of all I hold dear I would rather walk into the T. & P. railroad yards and strike that 614 miles of track that leads to El Paso and walk every foot with blistered feet and then go through Mexico and Arizona under their glorious mackerel skies and on into California where the sun dies down into a blaze of glory into the Pacific and then cross the bay to that lowly penal fortress in San Quentin and lean over the bedside of poor J. J. McNamara, who is stricken with consumption, and pick up the wasted form in my arms and say to him: "Boy the beast got you, you tried to tread the ways of the jungle but they got you, son, they got you." I would sooner do that and then stay by his side until the shadow of death encompassed us both, sooner than be a Cranfill, a Rankin, a Toomey, an Ousley or a Bailey, the kept ladies of the capitalist class against whom the McNamaras blindly fought and suffered and died.

Now you know why the Socialists fought for the McNamaras.

Rev. J. C. Vansickle, former county secretary of Tarrant county writes: "For ten years in ignorance I protested strongly against the material side of Christianity, although a minister of the gospel. I openly admit that I was looking only at the spiritual side of the word of God. While I realize that Socialism does not claim to be a religion its principles are the very essence of Christianity."

How A Socialist Fought The Bullwhip.

For more than half a century the bullwhip has been used on the naked backs of state prisoners in Texas penitentiaries. Hundreds of men, white and black alike, have been stripped, thrown onto the ground face down and lashed into bloody ribbons by savage, ignorant guards, for trifling infractions of prison rules, or for no worse offense than being too sick to do as much work as the prison guards required to be done. Man after man has been so badly beaten that death resulted from his injuries. The legislative investigation keld in 1909—the last of several—revealed a condtion of brutality in the convict camps and prisons that would have shamed a gang of black savages in darkest Africa. White men, guards, sergeants and captains, told how they beat up helpless prisoners as a matter of daily routine; how they used huge leather bats an inch thick, three or four inches wide and five to seven feet long. How some of them could lay open the flesh at every stroke, and could knock a man insensible in three or four licks. Some told how they drew the bat under their foot on a sanded floor to grind sand into the leather and make it cut the flesh more keenly and deeply. Convicts—a large number of them—bared their backs before the investigating committee and showed rolling ridges of scars left by the lash—scars that nothing could take away. *One man was found to have been whipped more than twenty times in two years; guards got a grudge against him; they set out to 'break his pride"—make him "crawl." He was a man of wonderful stubborn spirit—but they got him at last—made a pitiful cringing wretch of him, a horrible parody on a human being. And they regarded their handiwork with pride.*

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The investigating legislators were sickened by what they saw and heard. They were determined, when they got near the finish, to abolish the whip in the prisons; they realized, as the prison management of Texas had never realized, that it was a ghastly crime for the state to make vengeance the main aim in prisons, and not reformation. So they went back to the next legislative session and started to draw up a prison law that would make reformation and not vengeance the main aim of the prison system.

They endorsed the central idea of Socialism by ordering the prison system to quit leasing convicts to private exploiters for private profit. This private profit graft was responsible for most of the slave-driving brutality—not all of it; some of it was due to the efforts of politicians to "make a good financial record" in building and operating a state railroad and state iron foundries. And they drew the bill to abolish the whip.

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Then the grafters got busy. They fought to save their convict leases, and fought to get authority for the new prison commission to make new peases. Failing in this, they set their brutal mark upon the law by fighting the bullwhip back into it. They got a majority of the legislature to consent to a limited use of the bullwhip—a limit of twenty licks when they well knew that men had been cut to pieces with less than ten and killed with less than twenty. These grafting savages couldn't understand how prisoners could be "handled" without the gun and the lash and the bloodhounds and other instruments of fear and of torture. And the legislature let them have their way, *and governor Tom Campbell signed the bill to make it law, with the bullwhip still in it.*

The result was a great disappointment to decent people all over Texas who felt that the state was shamed before the world by the use of the bullwhip.

Governor Colquitt came into office and appointed three prison commissioners—Cabell, Brahan and Tittle. The use of the whip was permitted, as before, or order signed by one or more of the commissioners. It has been used often, but less frequently than when guards, sergeants and captains laid it on bare backs every time they got mad at a prisonr.

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Convict leases were terminated as fast as they expired, and Colquitt's prison commission refused, by his orders, to make any new leases. Some improvements were made in the treatment of the prisoners, but most of them were and still are being deprived of the major portion of the humane betterments ordered by the new prison law. The new prison commission seems to be lacking in business ability. It has spent a million dollars without getting anything like what it should have got to show for so much money. It has evaded the spirit of the law forbidding convict leases by leasing privately owned plantations on which it will employ convict labor. The state owns 30,000 acres of rich farm lands. This is more than enough, if properly worked, to occupy the time of all the prisoners the state will ever be able to send out of the penitentiary walls for farm work. But the friends of the new prison commissioners had lands which they wanted to lease. They wanted an income without working for it. So the commissioners leased this land, and will try to make the convicts earn not only the cost of their own support on it, but the cash rental for the private owner besides. The private grafters die hard. They hate to let go. They regard the convicts as fair prey for anybody that can by hook or crook get a chance to sweat them for private profit.

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Frank Putnam of the Houston Chronicle, a Socialist and a member of Houston local, was with the 1909 legislative investigating committee as a staff correspondent. He wrote articles which made his name generally known throughout the prison system. Thus, when convicts had served out their terms, many of them went to Putnam in Houston to tell him how the new law was not being obeyed. Some of them showed him their scarred backs and told him the scars that had been put there since the new administration came in—although the new law expressly forbids a prison officer, whipping a prisoner, to break the skin or draw blood.

Comrade Putnam wrote down the story told him by one man that went under the lash. He didn't know whether the man was telling him the exact truth in all details, but he knew from a look at the man's back that somebody had beaten him most brutally, whether it was under the old or the new administration. Putnam resolved to let the people know just how a sensitive white man feels under the bullwhip, with a negro convict holding down each arm, others holding down his legs and a fifth man sitting on his head, face down in the dirt of a cotton patch. The story he wrote sent a thrill of horror across the continent. It was republished verbatim, with flaring headlines in daily papers in Washington, New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago and other cities. It stirred Governor Colquitt and his prison commission to prompt action. Governor Colquitt had an investigation made and learned the records show the man in question was whipped before Colquitt took office. But the governor wasn't satisfied with this. The more he thought about it the worse he felt. He first ordered his prison commission not to whip any more men except on a written order signed by all three commissioners. Then, ten days later he made public an order to them to abolish the whip entirely, and make a trial of getting along

(Continued to Page 2.)

POLITICS, THE PRESS AND THE STRIKE.

(By Nat. L. Hardy.)

At my desk as editor of the Laborer I come in contact with many union men and officials of various unions. They have all expressed great amazement at the amount of inside information on the Harriman strike and the San Antonio boiler explosion that The Rebel has carried, when the Dallas daily papers have said so little, and some have hinted at dynamite, but it was easy to explain to them that it was only proof of the Socialist theory of economic determinism.

The Dallas News, Dispatch and Times-Herald are capitalist papers. Their purpose is to support the capitalist system and they have no other reason for existence and no matter how honest and sincere their editors are and how hard they try to truthfully chronicle the day's happenings it is inevitable that they publish the news and interpret it for the benefit of the capitalist class

As they seek they find and so it is with Socialist papers. They are published for the benefit of the working class and draw their support from them and they, very naturally seek and publish news that is of value to the working class. That is why the editor of The Rebel, traveling all the time, making seven or eight speeches per week and working under all sorts of difficulties has been able to scoop every daily paper in Texas on the biggest news story of the year.

Here is the situation as I see it in Texas: There is a strike of the federated railway employees on the Harriman lines afecting over 5000 miles of railroads and the traffic on these lines is congessted the pasenger service is badly crippled and trains are invariably from two to six hours behind time, and what is more important one takes his own life in his hand when he travels over the affected lins. There are hundrds of men who have families to support that are compelled to travel over these roads when they know that it is a toss up as to whether they will reach their destination alive or not. Thousands of mothers and children must ride these trains behind scab repaired engine that are liable to blow off the track at any moment and the anxiety and mental strain caused the public by these conditions is enough to justify the state to take control of them to say nothing of the actual loss of life and limb that has taken place. And with these conditions the Texas Railroad Commissioners give the company ten days warning when they go on an inspection tour, ride in a private car the guest of the railroad officials and stop only fifteen minutes in a division town and then issue a statement to the public that all is safe on the Harriman lines and there is not a daily paper in the state but what prints their statement as the result of a bona fide inspection and hasten to assure the public that everything is all right. Then when these conditions culminate in the terrific explosion at San Antonio the Dallas News and other bought sheets hint at dynamite but go no further in trying to put the facts before the people.

The railroad managers and the enemies of organized labor generally are stumped by the System Federation strike. The railroad employees hitherto struck one at a time and it was like a man going into a pugilistic encounter with one finger instead of his clenched fist. But the men have learned to clench their fists and the five crafts have struck together and Mr. Julius Kruttschmitt and his class have felt a terrible blow and the end is not yet. The secretary of the Machinists union in Dallas told me the other day that plans were on foot to pull every railroad man west of the Mississippi off the works or win this struggle. "The railroad men have learned a lesson, he said: "They have learned that Debs was right when he told them twenty years ago that they must all strike together." He added that this was making Socialists and that very soon the railroad crafts would not only know that they must strike together but that they must also vote together.

Are you going to stand for the railroad corporations murdering the men, women and children of Texas with the aid of the state administration through rotten politics. **Where do you stand? with the Rebel and the people or with Kruttschmitt and his Texas hirelings?**

FIVE MINUTE SERMON.

"Art thou called being a servant? Care not for its but if thou —mayest be made free use it rather."—1 Cor. 7:21.

Here name is given to the two conditions in which is bounded the whole cope of man's mortal life. That of servant and the antithesis—one free in choosing to direct his mind, feeling and actions.

We believe man was free in his first or created state. He being the highest in the order of creation, no limits could oppose his natural liberties until he could be associated with other beings of the same high order of creation. This, in the destiny of man, has happened.

To balance the inevitable loss of absolute freedom man was (by chance?) created a social being Philosophers are delighted to think on these endowments of man. Yea, skeptics approach them (with lighted candle) to view the plan. The argument becomes too etherial for [illegible] purposes and so we must now move to a more common ground.

We know that man, at the last, is left to work out his own salvation. Even with the light from Heaven to guide him in the path to happiness here, and his hope for eternity revived in a resurrected Christ, he is yet living in the midst of despair, disorder and hatred where there should be joy and harmony and love. Of all animals he lives in greatest dread of coming to want for his daily bread.

Christian, in this fair land of ours with its productive soil, and the political freedom we enjoy in government, you have a large share, if not all the blame to bear.

You know you do not live the "Christian life". We have slavery in this land! and, too, in the most vicious, soulless and pernicious form that ever blotted the pages of history. Where there formerly existed kindly feelings between "master" and "slave" due to property interest, both of these are now eliminated by the **heartless thing — Corporation; Trust.**

All power over labor is in their hands. The wrath of the Almighty abideth on any government so long as, and to the extent it is shapened to slavery.

Don't think now Socialism seeks to destroy your government. Don't let a false patriotic zeal hide these conditions from you.

Don't say it would destroy a heaven-born religion. Read the old prophets. Isaiah 58:6: "Is not this the fast I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

Christian, do not fret your mind with the fear that grace from earth will go and leave you here. I know there are higher planes of peace and joy than man-made laws can reach—and, surely, Socialism is of man.

If you think, after you have thought at all on the subject,—that religion requires that you suffer to become righteous then you should do all you can to make yourself and others as wretched and miserable as possible that righteousness fill the earth (?), but mostly, I think, to be consistent with yourself. Paul taught the opposite, "if thou mayest be free, use it rather"; and he "kept the faith."

Dan Gandy.

NUMBER 40.

First Skirmish Successful.

When Napoleon won at Austerlitz and Washington at Yorktown, and Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville they felt relieved when the echoes of the battle died away and knew that the victory was won.

The Rebel feels in that mood today. Just as the above mentioned were but foreruners of epochal con- so ‹oes The Rebel at the conclusion of the first forty weeks of its life, feel relieved because it has lived up to all its contracts and filled its field so well that it has smashed all circulation records in the South for the length of time it has lived.

The Rebel staff has been so busy that we scarce felt the swift passing of the days. The office was always athrob with the pulsing energy of vigorous life. It is true that sometimes the staff was overworked and exhausted nature cried out against the strain. I have one picture in my mind which I will never forget. It was that of a strong man who had kept at work continuously on the linotype, at which he was not experienced, until he broke down. He was my partner, Arnold Meitzen. Not to mention the dvoted services of E. O. Meitzen, and even the mother and younger "kids."

At the beginning we had to fold every copy of The Rebel by hand, we had to write every address with pencils, we had no mailing galleys with each individual name set up, so that it would make an impression forty times, we had no folding machine or Dick mailers. It was nothing but work, work, work, nothing to do but work until the daylight died in the sky and still keep on until the light of the dawn came up from the gulf.

Today we have the Dick mailers, and mailing galleys, a folding machine, two linotypes where we started with one, and we are anxiously looking forward for the big press that will grind out editions of 100,000 and upward. In this connection let me say that this lack of mechanical equipment never hurt us more than when we ran that splendid land edition of 40,000 copies on an old ramshackle Babcock press and failed to fill our orders by 10,000. Just as we have supplied our other mechanical necessities through the splendid work or The Rebel army we will get the press that can print six figure editions and then you can all swear that the "cats got loose in Dixie."

In spite of these handicaps The Rebel has made good by breaking new ground continuously with the Socialist intellectual plow. It is not by accident that in forty weeks we smashed all Southern records and today stand proudly on twenty thousand paid in advance subscribers.

"How did you do it?" is the question of every live newspaperman I meet. The answer is simple—just told the God's truth. When I read in the Bible that the land should not be sold forever I printed that fact and a thousand landlord preachers squirmed like maggots when a stone is turned off them and the rays of the sun strikes them.

In the very first issue I called the hands of the prohibition fakirs in the article "The Fake of Prohibition.' In the next issue I exposed the fake of the antis. In that issue I printed what is alleged to be the Jesuit oath in which they are supposed to say that they will "flay, strangulate, burn and boil heretics, rip open the wombs of the women and smash their infants skulls against the walls," I put this squarely up to The Menace, which published the oath and the general of the Jesuits and Cardinal Gibbons, the prince of the Catholic church in America. The Cardinal replied to The Rebel on these questions and thus broke the silence of the century. The general of the Jesuits did not reply and The Menace backed off from the fight. The Rebel, having made the isue clear, which is this: that the Jesuits had to leave America if this oath was true or the editor of the Menace had to go to jail, still stands waiting to see the issue joined. Our reason for doing this was that we knew that in the light of pitiless publicity a foolish religious war such as the A. P. A. of the 90's almost provoked, could be prevented.

The next issue of The Rebel contained that historic call for the organization of the Renters Union, in which occurred that famous passage: "Your clothes are shoddy, your bacon is rancid and your coffee is chickory." In succeeding issues we quoted from the Old Testament, ringing with the inspired voices of the prophets, from the New Testament the words of the Christ and the apostles. We showed their communistic life and proved that the only place in the Bible where private ownership of land was granted was when Judas sold the Christ for thirty pieces of silver, then hung himself in shame and then the money was used to buy a potter's field.

I could go on to quote at length passages from The Rebel enough to fill three issues, proving that Blackstone, the great authority on law, absolutely scorned the idea of a private title to land save that which is given in Holy Writ when He gave dominion to man over the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air. Spencer, the great philosopher, was next called to our columns and his unanswerable arguments about private ownership of land helped fill our glorious call for emancipation from landlordism. The successful launching of a Renters Union that will ultimately dominate the councils of the South and make the question of the private ownership of land the living issue in Dixie is the one great white feather in The Rebel's hat as we reach out forty week birthday.

Space forbids me dwelling at length upon our other achievements. The "Miserable Mistrot" articles have already smashed the sweatbox in the jail at Waco and having walked through the fire of that merciless exposure the stupid politicians that control the jails through the South are putting the soft pedal on their medeival methods.

We took the side of the McNamaras in spite of the deplorable fact that they were active members of the Democratic party. The Rebel did this and were the same kidnapping to happen we would do it over again, and will continue to defend other McNamaras just as long as the owners of the old parties continue in their role as dynamiters, coward like—always behind the scenes.

I might go on to tell about a number of other big deeds that The Rebel has accomplished but as space is limited I will narrow down to the two bigest things that are happening in the nation now. First I will mention the fact that no paper in America has so large a circulation without any advertising. We have sought earnestly to secure honest advertising, but we could only get "I cure fits" secret diseases and other fake advertisements, including Coca-Cola which we have refused to take. For instance one doctor sent us an advertisement with four column wide and six inches deep with twenty-six diseases recorded and all that a Rebel reader had to do was to fill the blank and get cured. We knew that this was a fake, although the advertising agent stated that he would guarantee it. Just as we know most mail order ads are fakes and we have made it our policy to have The Rebel die rather than to be a party to such robbery. It is the fact that the advertisers control the newspapers that causes the voice of truth to be silenced in the nation. In these forty weeks we have learned this immense fact that as long as we are free from the department store owners, bankers, railroads and other capitalist interests we are free to teach the truth as we see it. And thus this remarkable thing happens that the owners and editors of the Record, Houston Post, Waco Times-Herald and other big dailies in Texas sits at The Rebel's feet like the man sat at the feet of Gamaliel when an explosion occurs at San Antonio and The Rebel scoops them all and tells the people the news and wins the commendation of the striking shopmen as officialy portrayed in the letter from the secretary of railway employes as published on another page.

The last thing I will mention is our fight on the National bureaucracy in the Socialist party. It is true that it is a pitiable small thing as yet but nevertheless under the incentive of the seventy-five thousand dollar a year income it is tirelessly working to increase its power. It has succeeded in destroying the great democratic principle of rotation in office, something that even the old parties accepts. It keeps office holders on its National Executive Committee, something that the old parties deny to their state organizations. It has tried to start a daily Socialist paper that will be in the hands of a few officials. It puts through a fool national referendum vote for a fool N. E. C. that has for its result this amazing contradiction that a Haywood runs third and a Hilquitt runs fourth. Entrenched in power as it is The Rebel has already driven enough spikes in the coffin of that bureaucracy to bury it so deep that the harder it kicks to get out that the closer it will get to hell.

In closing I wil say that not one of The Rebel staff has bought an automobile and not one of their wives has worn more than a two dollar hat. They do not expect to and neither do they want any luxury. They want to live clean and decent and gain a quarter of a million subscribers in the South. Then under the impact of The Rebel's blows we will feel sure that the citadels of capitalism will crumble in the South.

Will every Rebel reader who has studied the above story of our forty weeks life and knows it to be true get busy and send in a club of ten, twenty-five, fifty or hundred subs to The Rebel and we will in the future as we have in the past forty weeks give you the very best that is in us.

HOW A SOCIALIST FOUGHT THE BULLWHIP.

(Continued from Page 1.)

without it. He told them if they found they couldn't maintain discipline without the whip, after a fair trial, they could begin using it again.

They will never again use the whip in the prisons of Texas. If the men now in charge haven't enough brains and enough humanity to manage the men without the whip, the whip won't be brought back but the men in charge will have to get out and make way for abler men, for men who can get along without the whip.

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Some people criticised Putnam harshly for refusing to print the name of the convict whose story he told, or of the man accused by the convict of doing the whipping. Putnam in a letter to The Rebel says:

"I wasn't after any man. I wasn't playing politics, as some men charged. I tried to make people see and feel the terrible brutality of the prison whip laid on the naked backs of helpless prisoners—not for crimes against the statute law as in Delaware but for petty infractions of prison regulations, or because a grouchy, brutal guard might take offense against a convict. I believed if Governor Colquitt could be made to see and feel the shame of this thing as I saw and felt it, he would do away with it. I do not agree with him on anything in politics, but I know him to be a kindly-natured man, to whom brutality is abhorrent.

"Governor Colquitt did not disappoint me. I urged him as a fellow man and as my governor to do what a man ought to do, and he did it. It was the biggest, best act of his administration. He will be remembered for it long after everything else he did or said has been forgotten. And he will be remembered as the governor who by an extra legal act wiped a foul blot off the escutcheon of Texas.

"Some people are saying the credit for abolishing the prison bullwhip in Texas belongs to me. It doesn't. It belongs to Governor Colquitt. He turned down a large number of his active political supporters when he ordered the whip put out of business. It will cost him a good many votes, among that class of men who are brutal by nature. Nevertheless he did it. Give him the credit for it, as history will do. I wasn't looking for any personal glory, or notoriety, or gain. All I wanted was to save helpless prisoners—my brothers and yours—from the degrading lash swung by slave-driving taskmasters. The man who lives for himself alone doesn't really live at all.

"I didn't write a line in hatred of any man—only in hatred of the system which brutalized both convict and keeper. I feel almost as sorry for the guards and sergeants who have been brutalized by the system as I do for the convicts that have been scarred and maimed and killed by it. When a man loses his natural human sympathy for his fellow man, in or out of prison, he has lost the best part of himself. What remains is a mere animal. In helping to save prisoners from the lash, Governor Colquitt has also saved prison officers from the necessity to use the lash—and that means more than he may realize right now. He has done those men a tremendous service.

"There are still in the prison service several keepers—guards, sergeants and captains—who by their own testimony given in 1909 have used the lash brutally, unnecessarily, vengefully, and who believe in using it. Those men ought to be turned out of the service. They won't give the governor loyal backing in his effort to get rid of the whip. They will sneer at him and defeat hin humane purpose if they can, just as they sneered at the new prison law, and have sneered at me all along. The governor can get the names and records of these men by reading the record of that 1909 investigation. I hope he will do it and will then quietly separate these men from the service. Two of his commissioners also believe in the use of the lash. They are not the men he needs to establish the new system. They are by their belief in the lash disqualified for creating a system that dispenses with the lash. The governor should put aside his personal feeling for them and place other men in their jobs. Maybe that is asking too much of him. Maybe he can induce them to play fair with him and with the men. I hope so.

"But I serve notice that if the reform is not honestly made if any attempt is made to bunco the people of Texas, I shall return to the attack and never rest until I have exposed every last man responsible to the scorn and contemp t and just retribution of the people of this state."

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Mr. Putnam sends The Rebel three letters which he received from Comrade Eugene V. Debs during the progress of his twenty-day campaign to abolish the bullwhip. The first letter, aluding to Putnam's first article, is as follows: z

"Girard, Kansas, March 14, 1912.—Frank Putnam, Houston, Texas—My Dear Frank: Lats night when the village was asleep I read your wonderful article in the Chronicle in rebuke of Texas and Delaware for preserving that relic of the middle ages the whipping post. I can not tell you and I shall not attempt the vain task of telling you how your article gripped me and how every word of it went straight to my heart and sent my blood in streams of fire through my veins. I only have time to tel you that Iread the article, that I am full of it and that I am sure your courageous and noble protest will be heard and heeded. This one article from your pen were enough if you had not another thing to your credit to place you high among the liberators and humanitarians of this age. I thank you with all my heart for this great service you have rendered God's suffering and outraged poor and I shall always love you for it. Your comrade and brother,

"Eugene V. Debs."

The second letter:

"Girard, Kansas, March 19, 1912.—Frank Putnam, Houston, Texas—My Dear Putnam: I have your note and your page from the Chronicle. You have surely won already and your victory will have a more far-reaching effect than even you can realize. This letter of explanation by the governor in connection with your own masterly exposition which preceded and followed it is one of the most striking and significant pages in the Chronicle's history. Thousands of the lowly whose flesh you have saved from being scarred by the lash will love and bless you and make you rich indeed, as you deserve to be. Keep on, my brave brother, you are doing great work and you are doing it in a great way. Yours always,

"Eugene V. Debs."

The Third leter:

"Girard, Kansas, March 25, 1912—Frank Putnam, Houston, Texas,—My Dear Frank: Congratulations! You have won a very distinct victory and I do not know of any I would rather have to my credit. You have literally stepped between the lash and its bleeding victims. You have intecepted the cruel blows and that without striking one. Your words come up out of the deeps of your own great human heart and the governor was touched and the legislature will respond and wipe out that barbarous infliction. If it must survive yet a brief period for some inscrutable purpose let it be in the little blue-law belt of Delaware but not in the great grand state of Texas.

"I have been talking to Warren in regard to your article and I think the Apepal and Coming Nation will put it in permanent form to be used in the propaganda in the fight to humanize our penal institutions.

"I wonder if the human race will live long enough to make restitution for it s crimes against the unfortunate; against those of its children society brands as criminals to conceal its crimes against them? Yours with love,

"Eugene V. Debs."

Putnam writes: "I would rather have those letters from Gene Debs, the biggest-hearted, biggest-brained man alive than have an appointment as ambassador to England. Any credit other than that which belongs to Governor Colquitt and The Chronicle should go to Socialism, because it is the inspiration of Socialism which makes men otherwise obscure and useless become constant fighters for the under dog everywhere and always."

MILWAUKEE ELECTION.

The loss of the city of Milwaukee by the Socialists was needless to say, regretted very much by all members of that party. By a vote of about 40,00 to 31,000, the Socialist ticket was defeated by a combination of the Republican and Democratic parties. Last election, these parties were divided, each putting out their own candidate which accounts for the success of the Socialists in 1910.

However, when the returns are analyzed the Socialists have every cause to feel pleased over the immense gain in votes. Where 20,000 votes were polled by Seidel and his associates in 1910, they polled from 10 to 15,000 above that figure this week. The old party combination of Milwaukee can well say, with Pyrrhus: 'another such victory and we are undone."

Socialists may expect to win and lose cities; they may win and lose counties and states, but when you count it all up you will find they always make head; always hold the captured ground, in point of votes, and always reach out for more. They will soon do the same for the United States that they did for Milwaukee—namely, drive the two old parties together that are now fooling the people with fake issues and instead, force them to fight us on our own ground.

A broader, more comprehensive view of the Milwaukee situation will appear next week.

BUSINESS AND POLITICS.

The Chamber of Commerce of Dallas mailed to every voter in the city yesterday (Saturday March 30) a letter containing three articles. One of them, a lengthy editorial from the Dallas Morning News giving their reasons why the proposed initiative referendums should not be accepted by the voters, another was a report of the committee sent out by the Chamber of Commerce stating that these propositions came from Geo. C. Edwards, the man without a party. After presenting their objections to the initiative and referendum they swiftly passed ov swimming pools and comfort stations and finally suggested that there were other ways and mtans of spending the city's money than building swimming pools and **comfort stations.**

This illustrates the gross stupidity of our *elite.* The Chamber of Commerce from Los Angeles to Boston is made up of a collection of vulgar dollar grabbers who see nothing in life but the long green. To get this money they must have the political power. Clothed with that power some of them rent rotten shacks to white and negro macereaux, they run factories on upper floors without fire protection for their slaves; they control railroad commissions through their commercial secretaries up to the point where wholesale murder occurs as in San Antonio. The Houston Chamber of Commerce for instance has recently denounced the Federation strikers; the retail branch of theChamber of Commerce handles poison food with fake labels, short weights their customers, short changes the children that enter their dumps; in short, leads the life of graft. This cattle must go to work if the political power is taken away from them. They know it well and consequently send out a communication to the voters on the eve of the election such as outlined above.

HOME AGAIN.

The Rebel has cancelled his dates and came back this week to the old desk. As the sawdust king of Battle Creek says: "there is a reason."

On the road I found the comrades insisted wherever possible in demanding two speeches a day. I had to jump to five different cities and write 14 columns a week on the side. This was the greatest working stunt that any white man in the south has pulled off in this generation. I realize that I had to meet the Rebels face to face and at first hand learn the conditions that exist in the state. I am not sorry that I undertook the termendous task. As a result of my tour, I have been able to learn at first hand through a personal interview with the prisoners in Waco, all that went on in that medieval bastille in that town. The result was my Miserable Mistrot story has aroused the city and smashed the horrible sweat box forever.

Still bigger was another story that I secured and that I could never have gotten at the desk in Hallettsville. That was the story of who blew up the engine in San Antonio and how it was done. As a result of this publicity, the strikers will win their fight and the multitude can learn the pow- easily get 30 to 40 members.

I would like to keep on traveling through the state knowing well that I could proceed to get similar storiss from time to time. But the task of speaking and debating, as well as writing, is to much for one human. I have learned this, however, that when the Rebel secures 75,000 subs, we will be in shape to send a competent man continuously over the state who will have nothing to do but write the great stories that are coming up all the time. In the meantime, I am going to do one man's work at home in this quaint old southern town.

I feel that if I turn out a Rebel each week, loaded to the gunnells with live stuff, I will be doing the very best thing for the sacred cause of Socialism. To all of you you who were dissppointed at not meeting me in the last few dates that I cancelled, these few words are written and you will understand.

OUR REBELS.

Our Rebs will read on another page the story of our 40 weeks battle. We are delighted to know at this end of the line that our labors have been crowned with success, and we know that the future will see success for us greater than any that has come to us in the past. We have been hampered by reason of theweather, as you all know that the winter just closed has been the most severe that Texas has experienced in the past generation, but now that the flowers are blooming in the spring and the zero weather and meningitis scare has passed away, we can be confident that ehe sub list will move in giant strides from now on. You will notice, Rebs, that the Rebel is doing things. It has the class to it, and that's why, with your assistance, we can't lose out. I would like to call your attention to the necessity of sending in large bundle orders at the rate of 50 cents a hundred, $5.00 a thousand. Get busy now and shoot through orders for the railroad edition of next week. As it will be one of the most startling numbers that has ever been turned out from a socialist press. We already have the cut of the explosion at San Antonio that the muzzled papers refused to run. We must get orders in before the paper is printed and will be in that shape until we have our new press, so rush in your orders now and you will be delighted with Number 41 when it appears. With the assistance of the Rebel army, I can thruthfully say on our 40 wek birthday that the unmuzzled Rebel will awaken the people of the South to the end that industrial freedom will dawn.

The following subs received this week:

H. G. Hill, Elgin, 5; W. D. Sansom, Sabinal, 5; W. F. Glasier, Heidenheimer, 4; A. B. Meador, Nacogdoches, 6; J. R. Hunt, Rockdale, 9; D. J. Holley, Kemp, 4; F. M. Blair, Megargel, 8; O. W. Lilly, Lelia Lake, 4; W. L. Lewis, Ryan, Okla., 4; G. M. Fox, Delia, 4; Monroe Wilson, Rochelle, 4; G. W. Metcalf, Coleman, 4; J. W. Stone, Glencove, 6; T. M. Curry, Rockdale, 4; W. G. Winslow, Phelps, 4; G. W. Northern, Holland, 4; Claud Davis, Acme, 5; S. A. Blankensly, Cameron, 4; Mike O'Brien, Terrell, 5; B. F. Alsobrook, Avoca, 4; Geo. J. Benson, Lampasas, 4; W. L. Franklin, Weesatche, 4; T. B. Miles, Milano, 4; W. D. Boydston, St. Jo, 4; C. W. Wilson, Beeville, 4; L. Schott, Robert Lee, 9; J. J. McCord, Opolis, Kas., 4; D. G. Phillips, Springtown, 4; S. W. Rose, Biloxi, Miss., 7; E. L. Bankhead, South Bosque, 4; W. A. Thompson, Mont Belview, 4; A. Graser, Palestine, 5; T. H. Fortner, Winona, 4; R. A. Mills, Enlo, 4; A. L. Stafford, Rosebud, 4; J. A. Davis, Joshua, 5; Ike Everson, Kirkland, 4; Jacob Vibrock, Muldoon, 8; A. F. Henry, Sherman, 6; J. T. Treat, Prucell, Okla., 4; J. A. Medlin, Como, 4; M. B. Mimms, Draper, 4; C. R. Hall, Carl, Okla., 4; John B. Yarbrough, Lufkin, 4; G. W. Henson, Dyer, Ark., 4; J. A. Daugherty, Kirbyville, 4; Ed. Conner, Philadelphia, Miss., 4; R. L. Kimbriel, McGregor, 4; S. B. Corbett, Dexter, 5; R. T. Estes, Arlie, 4; J. G. Wright, Miller Grove, 6; S. G. Pile, Wameley, Ohio, 5.

The comrades in Johnson county held a mass meeting at the court house in Cleburne last Monday. D. J. Pritchard was elected chairman and C. C. Pritchard, secretary. The purpose of a meeting was to put a county ticket in the field containing fifteen candidates; after doing so, they closed by electin W. E. Flatt, county secretary.

SOUTHERN NOTES.

G. H. Cromwell, Sour Lake ardin county, writes: "John A. rrie spoke to crowded houses on h and 30th here. A big hit."

• • •

B. D. D. Green, Sherman x., wants a list of all the large d owners in the state of Tex- and the Rebel will shortly blish it.

• • •

J. N. French, 218 Park St., yler, Texas, one of our most erous Rebels, will fill dates in illiamson county for collections d entertainment.

• • •

Organization is going on at owell, Texas, G. S. Boman was cted county organizer; they y have a county committee in l blast and Foard County will heard from in no uncertain way

• • •

Fort. Smith, Ark., April 2.—e first Socialist mayor in Ar- nsas was elected today when ter Stewart was elected to that sition at Hartford, this county, feating both a democrat and in- pendent.

• • •

Notice all Socialists in Free- ne county, Texas. If you want local organized in your neigh- rhood please write the county retary, F. E. Younger at ague, Texas. Thanking you in vance, I am, yours till the bat- 's over. F. E. Younger."

• • •

The National Convention will be held in the South. A re- nt national referendum vote has dered the convention to be held Indianapolis, instead of Okla- ma City. The votes stood, for dianapolis 22,501; for Okla- ma City, 11,521.

• • •

The Public Ownership, a so- list paper published at Balti- re, Md., correctly remarked t week:

"You cannot crush an idea by shing the person who holds it; n must first catch the idea,and ly if it be untrue can it be shed.

• • •

C. T. Echols, of Mullen Texas, ites: "With some other wage- ves I built a store for a Dem- ratic butcher in this town. He id us off in beef." That gen- man is in John H. Kirby's ss. He pays off his slaves in cheap and poisoned food of his mmissaries.

• • •

The Bennington Tribune asks if mocracy is to blame for acts of publicans. The answer is, that e elephant and the donk is a hy- ed beast that the plutocracy ns; you couldn't find the dif- rence between them with a mi- oscope.

• • •

E. F. Stanton, Hamlin, Tex., es up the present situation s way: The shephard asked the eep to lead goats to Christ. ey do so and he takes all this nor to himself. He gives enough the glory to the sheep to keep em in good working order. The eep do the work, the shepherd ts the glory. "This clearly il- strates the profit system."

• • •

G. G. Hamilton and Elder Wil- nson debated at Comanche, Ok- homa, last month, subject: "Re- lved that Socialism is Funda- entally Wrong, is Atheistic and ntrary to the Bible."

Mr. Wilkinson overlooked the ct that there is one verse in the ble, Leviticus 25:23, that de- roys the whole system of capital n, if its teaching is lived up to.

• • •

Pat Nagle of Oklahoma City, rites the Rebel: "And where e working class are roped with junctions; clubbed by police en, slugged by detectives, jailed; ll penned; mowed down by the achine guns; walk the plank, d ascend the scaffold. Why ve the industrial despots this emendous power in the political overnment?"

• • •

The Dallas News once in a while s a flash of sense; writing edi- rially of the Milwaukee election says: "As a means of protest- g effectualy against the prac- ce of turning the city over to a nd of machine politicians, this periment with Socialism must be ought to have been highly suc- ssful. As a 'boogher' man with hich to frighten the politicians to some semblance of decent con- uct, Socialism seems to offer me rather valuable possibili- es."

The Rev. John Lipscomb of Batson, Hardin Co., Texas, who has been engaged in evangelizing work in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana for the past 26 years, writes us saying that it was the knowledge of the Golden Rule as recorded in Matthew 7:12, and a perusal of the Rebel that caused him to join the socialist party. Anybody who reads the Bible and the Rebel is bound to walk the straight and narrow path.

• • •

Nat Hardy, editor of the Dallas Laborer, a sends the Rebel this:

"The tenant farmer though is in a class different from all the rest of the proletarist. He is robbed of about five-sixths of his product when he sell his labor power and he must pay from one-fourth to one half to the landlord for the privilege of producing stuff to sell to the Capitalist. The landlord is exploited just as mercilessly by the Capitalist as is the renter but he takes part of his loss out of the hide of his poor tenant.

• • •

Dan Hogan, National Committeeman for Arkansas, has made the following motion to the National Committee: "The the sum of one thousand dollars be appropriated out of the National treasuhy of the Socialist party to relieves the distress of the sixty-five widows and 250 orphans at McCurtain, Oklahoma, whose husbands and fathers were murdered in the coal mine explosion there Wednesday, March 20th. That the money appropriated be transmitted to Fred W. Holt, district secretary of the Mine Workers. (Signed) Dan Hogan, National Committeeman for Arkansas."

• • •

Occasionally a candidate for office on the donk ticket almost displays human intelligence. John McLendon, candidate for the legislature on the democratic ticket from Hardin County says: "I am in favor of abolishing the state senate entirely. If there is any good on earth in that body, I ahve never been able to detect it." He also agrees with the Renters Union that the state should levy a tax on idle land. If the gentleman will proceed to read The Rebel for 40 weeks, he will kick that democratic donk around until the poor beast drops dead in Hardin county.

• • •

Summer W. Rose, the Rebel general of Biloxi, Miss., sends a list of seven and a most cheering message: "Dear Fellow Rebel: I have just returned from making a speech or two at Mobile, Ala., and while there showed the comrades copies of our Southern Socialist paper, and landed the following for a trial of the new "Rebel yell" for forty weeks each. I think these comrades, after reading one or two issues, will yet further extend your circulation where it ought to go. With the coming of good weather, Socialist work will begin in earnest, and there will be many opportunities to put your bright, hard-hitting paper where it will do the most good. Best wishes for you, your force, and all the Texas comrades."

• • •

RENTERS UNION.

Rasco, that livest of live workers, organizes another local at macedonia, Henderson county.

• • •

Four locals chartered this week. Soon we shall be swamped with applications; at least that is the way things are going.

• • •

The question is asked if a member of the Renters Union is allowed to continue to rent under the terms of contracts entered into this year. We answer: Yes. however, the contracts for 1913 will have to be in line with the Renters Union constitution.

• • •

Poteet, (Atascosa) Tex., Mar. 28
E. O. Meitzen, Sec. R. U., Hallettsville, Texas.

Dear Sir: We are a landlord ridden lot down here. The land around Poteet belonging to a very few landlords. We pay 1-3 crop on truck land and our rent last year paid landlord $60 per acre, while we went $4 in debt. Please send us an organizer or instructions how to organize. We can er of an unmuzled newspaper.

Respt. yours.
John Scarborough.

HOW THE LAND OF TEXAS HAS BEEN GIVEN TO CORPORTIONS.

Time and again The Rebel has stressed on the fact that the great public domain of the people of Texas has been recklessly given away to corporate and other land sharks. This great truth is further illuminated by the following extremely interesting official table. After reading it over The Rebel believes that our readers will agree with us that a thorough investigation of the land commissioner's office is extremely desirable. How many of these 35,000,000 acres have been honestly acquired and the terms of the gift lived up to would be valuable information. Read this table of grants over carefully:

	Acres granted	Miles built
Southern Pacific Company—		
Grantee and Terminal Points—		
Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado, Harrisburg to Alleyton	337,021	80
Columbus Tap, Alleyton to Columbus	49,280	2
Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio, Columbus to San Antonio	1,432,960	124
San Antonio and Mexican Gulf, Port Lavaca to Victoria	264,898	27
Gulf, Western Texas and Pacific, Victoria to Cuero	299,520	28
Houston and Texas Central, Houston to Denison	4,764,160	337
Washington County Railroad, Hempstead to Brenham	236,160	21
Waco and Northwestern, Waco to Bremond	481,480	43
Waxahachie Tap, Waxahachie to Garrett	113,920	12
Austin and Northwestern, Austin to Burnet	282,720	60
Texas and New Orleans, Houston to Orange	1,226,880	111
East Texas Railroad, Sabine to Beaumont	291,843	25
Texas Trunk Line, Dallas to Kaufman	107,510	53
Houston East and West Texas, Houston to Nacogdoches	787,840	138
Total	11,326.190	1061
Texas and Pacific—		
Southern Pacific, State line to Marshall	562,560	27
Texas and Pacific, Marshall to Texarkana		69
Texas and Pacific, Texarkana to Sherman	5,167,360	154
Texas and Pacific, Sherman to Fort Worth		93
Texas and Pacific, Longview to Sierra Blanco		634
Texas and Pacific, Jefferson to five miles east	258,399	5
Total	5,988.319	982
Internation and Great Northern—		
International and Great Northern, Houston to Palestine	3,331,200	151
International and Great Northern, Hearne to Austin		61
International and Great Northern, Troupe to Mineola		44
Houston Tap and Brazoria, Houston to Columbia	500,480	50
Houston and Great Northern, Hearn to Longview	2,307,200	141
Henderson and Overton, Henderson to Overton	143,360	15
Georgetown Railroad, Georgetown to Round Rock	98.560	10
Total	6,380,800	472
Missouri, Kansas and Texas—		
Dallas and Wichita, Dallas to Denton	411,520	40
East Line and Red River, Jefferson to Greenville	1,164,160	124
Denison and Southwestern, Denison to Greenville	214,400	52
Denison and Pacific, Denison to Gainesville	426,240	40
Missouri, Kansas and Texas Extension, Greenville to McKinney	272,000	30
Total	2,488,320	286
Santa Fe—		
Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, Galveston to Belton	3,259,520	226
Longview and Sabine Valley, Longview to Watterson	108,800	70
Central and Montgomery, Navasota to Montgomery	263,040	28
Chicago, Texas and Mexican Central, Cleburne to Dallas	225,280	53
Total	3,856,640	377
Cotton Belt—		
Texas and St. Louis, Tyler to Waco	942,080	200
Tyler Tap, Tyler to Mount Pleasant	458,240	67
Total	1,400,320	267
Texas Mexican—		
Corpus Christi, San Diego and Rio Grande, Corpusn Christi to Laredo	855,680	
Texas Mexican, finished the line	556,800	162
Total	1,412,480	162
Galveston, Houston and Henderson, Houston to Galveston	610,560	50
Texas Central, Waco to Albany		176
Texas Central (now Texas Midland, Ennis to Greenville)	1,471,360	72
Total	3,494,400	248
Roads now extinct:		
Indianola Railroad	171,520	
Galveston, Brazos and Colorado	157,440	
Rusk Transportation Company	76,800	
Western Narrow Gauge	428,160	
Total	833,920	
Grand Total	35,768,918	3,905

CONGRESS IS NOT REPRESENTATIVE.

(By Pendragon)

The New York World, one of the richest capitalist daily papers, asked a number of leading Americans whether in their opinion the congress of the United States represents the American people as well as the British parliament represents the people of Grat Britian.

This reminds me of one night when, we two sitting on a moonlit gallery in Hallettsville, Tom Hickey remarked (quoting some German Socialist whose name I do not now recall,) that in all countries "the government is the executive committee of the ruling class."

That was one of those extraordinary sentences which like a flash of sheet lightning on a dark night, illuminate a whole field hitherto obscure.

But what I wished here to do was to quote, for The Rebel's readers, the reply which Comrade Eugene V. Debs made to the World's inquiry. He wrote:

> "To the Editor of The World:
>
> "Congress represents the ruling class and not the people; the Senate especially represents industrial and financial corporations and not political constituencies. The very existence of that body is the denial of fundamental democracy.
>
> "From the viewpoint of the interests that control Congress the people are the mob, to which they refer with ill-concealed contempt. Congress is at heart aristocratic, not democratic; it represents capital, not labor, property interests and not the people, and this is the basic reason for the widespread agitation and unrest.
>
> "The people are getting their eyes open to the fact that Congress and the whole machinery of government is in control of predatory wealth. From my point of view the working class are the people. Without them the whole social fabric would collapse. They have built everything else in history, and now they are building an economic and political movement that in the near future will sweep away the Congress of the industrial plutocracy and establish the Congress of the people.
>
> "EUGENE V. DEBS."

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism is coming into power gradually, by winning control of our governments. Cities first, then states, then the nation. The workers of America furnish the skill and the brains, as well as the brawn, that runs all our industries for the private owners, the profit-grabbers. The same men can run them, and run them better, under public ownership. That wing of the party—a small wing, fortunately,—which advocates "direct action," that is, violence, and which scoffs at the "political action" majority, is either secretly in the pay of the master class, trying to discredit the whole working class political movement, or is too savage-minded to understand that progress must be made along orderly, peaceful lines.

As Socialism steadily and surely converts a majority in each and all of the trade unions, that majority will see the necessity of industrial unionism—of federating the separate unions for united industrial and political action. Presently—it won't be long—the solid membership of all the labor unions will be a Socialist phalanx. The separate unions will then quit scabbing on each other, industrially and politically. They will move forward solidly.

Meantime, every day brings hundreds of recruits to Socialism from the unorganized middle class, so-called. Professional men, small business men,, farmers, farm laborers, etc.

Socialism should cast 2,000,000 votes in the fall of 1912, and it should elect a president and a vice president in 1916.

It is up to the workers, in city and country, to say whether or not they want a government that will put an end to involuntary poverty, with its products—disease, crime, prostitution, drunkenness, ignorance and class-hatred.

It is not any longer a question of whether Socialism is coming, but of how soon it is coming.

Systems
S. P.
U. P.
O. S. L.
O. W. R. R. & N.
S. P. L. A. & S. L.
G. H. & S. A.
H. & T. C.

And Allied Lines

FEDERATION OF SHOP EMPLOYEES
Of The
HARRIMANN LINES.

American Federation

Of Labor

E. L. Reguin, Pres.
[illegible] Albion Ave
San Francisco, Cal

J. E. Grench, Vice-Pres
[illegible] W St.
Sacramento Cal
John Scott Sec-Tres
[illegible] St.
San Luis Obispo, Cal

Houston, April 1, 1912.

Mr. T. A. Hicke., Editor Rebel,
Hallettsville, Texas.

Dear Sir: We wish to thank you for the able manner in which you showed up the real cause of the boiler explosion in San Antonio in your issue of March 30th. With the railroad company importing detectives and the majority of the newspaper insinuating that the disaster was caused by strikers. It is very encouraging to us to find at least one paper that is not afraid to tell the truth and place the blame where it belongs. We also wish to thank you for calling the attention of the public to the fact that the railroad commissioners are not doing their duty as public officials and will state further you voice our sentiments. Perhaps a repitition of the San Antonio disaster will be necessary to wake them up or at least shame them into doing their duty and that is almost sure to come unless there is a radical change in the class of men employed in the shops. Hoping you will continue to stand by us in our efforts to get a square deal we remain with best wishes four your success.

Yours truly,
JOE BEER,
Sec. Local Federation of Shop Employees of the Harriman Lines.

Next Week.

Will be a sensational special Shopmen's Strike Edition. It will contain more inside matter regarding the situation, including a cut of the explosion that no other paper in Texas wil publish. This issue will win the strike is properly circulated. Order youd bundles now of No. 41, to make sure that you get them.

REBEL MARCHING SONG.

W. E. McWhorton of Cisco, Texas, fires in a stirring marching song for Rebs, composed on the spur of the moment after reading his first copy of The Rebel:

Come all ye husky Rebels
Get pen and paper down,
And every mother's son of ye
Make haste into your town.
Soon there's goin' to be something doin'
And you ought to take a part.
Take your neighbor by the hand
Plead with him hear to heart.
Rah! Rah! Rah! get subs I say.
For this young Texas giant
Before election day.

It's a young, but lusty giant,
Sprang out the Southern west,
Ang growed so fast he's busted
All the buttons off his vest.
He's called a host around him
Twenty thousand men and more
And they hustle and they rustle
Bringing subs in by the score.
Rah! Rah! Rah! get subs I say
For this young Texas giant
Before election day.

He's a buster, this young giant,
Yet he never has been busted
You can pin your faith onto him
And you'll not mistake your trust
Now he wants to get your sub
For he wants you by his side
On the inner warmer circle
As the lover does his bride.
Rah! Rah! Rah! get subs I say
For this young Texas giant
Before election day .

AWFUL TO BE POOR.

George D. Putnam, of Gordon, Texas, a young Rebel, who is inteligently helping to abolish the system that grinds him down, this wise:

I have always been a poor boy
And worked on the farm,
And every morning at four o'clock
Was wakened by the alarm.
So I'd start out to the field
With old Mike and Mandy
I would look for the sun
And all I could say:
"It's h—l to be poor and awful unhandy.'
But now I've grown to be a man.
And must work for wages,
When I can't rent land.
Every morning when the clock strikes four
I'll stretch and say:
"I'll work for wages no more;
"It's h—l and unhandy to be poor.

REBEL ACHIEVEMENTS.

One Rebel editor smashed the sweatbox in Waco; the other destroyed the bull whip in the State penitentiaries. Accomplishing deeds for humanity like that makes life worth living.

STATE LOCALS.

(E. A. Green, State Sec.)

Ninety new charters issued in the month of March, as many as were ever issued in any one month in the history of the movement in the state. Let's April Fool the plutes by making it a hundred this month.

Write this office for instruction and ORGANNIZE.

The Socialists party is united and working together as one in Texas. The results in March show what united effort will do.

This office is swampted with correspondence. We are working day and night trying to keep our head above the flood which at times threatens to overwhelm us, and causes a feeling of despair, but an occasional bouquet floats our way laden with the perfume of brotherhood from some comrade who understands, which crystalizes our despair into determination to fight on and on. Thanks comrades for the bouquets. We dearly love flowers.

John B. Yarbrough ordered two hundred and fifty-six dues stamps in March for Angelina county. He says the piney woods are turning red mighty fast.

Foard county orgnaized, Mar. 23, R. H. Davis, Thalia, Sec. They will hold another mass meeting at Crowell April 13.

Socialists of Knox county are earnestly requested to meet at Benjamin, April 20th at 10 a. m. Important business. J.M . Shaw.

The Aspermont Star printed a half column notice of the Stonewall county mass meeting. The boys up there are doing things.

Comrade J. B. Triplett, county secretary of Bowie county, rereports that in spite of a heavy downpour of rain an enthusiastic and well attended mass meeting was held in that county on Mar. 23rd.

Another meeting is called for April 27 at the counrthouse in that county.

Comrade J. L. Hicks is making heroic efforts to get a square deal from the old party press in Texas. He writes: "I have just mailed a copy of the Appeal to the Ft. Worth Record, with articles denying suspension marked, and a short letter pointing out their duty. Am doing the Abilene Daily Reporter the same way. Ain't it a shame?"

San Saba county organized and will employ a speaker to schoolhouse campaign the county

On account of a wounded eye W. E. Webb has been forced to resign as secretary of Cherokee county and W. M. Johnson of Reese has been elected in his stead.

Comrade Dreyer's monthly report shows an increase of sixteen members for March, which he says are the results of Currie's work while in Corpus Christi.

Currie's speech at Humble got a half column in the Oil City News.

County Secretary Gilbert of Hunt county calls a mass meeting to assemble April 20th in Greenvile over the "Booster Club." All Socialists are urged to be there.

Reddin Andrews in Somerville county, direction of county secretary, 10 days April 8 to 20. 20.

Organize.
Agitate.
Kick.

NOTE AND COMMENT -- By "PENDRAGON"

The Lying Associated Press.

The Associated Press, organized to serve the daily news to daily newspapers throughout the United States, as a co-operative enterprise, has been captured by Big Business and transformed from a straight news agency into an agency for suppressing and distorting the news in the interest of the exploiters.

Friday night the following article was published on the front page of the Houston Chronicle:

DOWNFALL OF U. S. IS DESIRED.

"Industrial Workers of the World" have
Allegiance Only to the Red Flag.

> **By Associated Press:**
>
> **"San Diego, Cal., March 29.—That nearly 50 of the Industrial Workers of the World arrested here have admitted they are trying to overthrow the United States government is a statement contained in a report which the California authorities will send to the immigration bureau at Washington.**
>
> **"An examination of each of the 50 prisoners, nearly all of whom are foreigners, has just been finished by the city authorities.**
>
> **"The report states that with scarcely an exception the men declared that they recognized no form of government and no flag except the red one.**
>
> **"To the question, 'What is the red flag symbolical of?' the answer was 'Blood.'"**

It passed the telegraph editor, who presumably did not know its utter and deliberate falsity, and found its way into the paper, there to poison the minds of uninformed readers against one of the several movements intended to raise the standard of living among the workers of the world.

Any Socialist knows that the Industrial Workers of the World do not desire the "downfall" of the United States government. Any Socialist knows the I. W. W. wants to take that government out of the hands of the parasites and the thieves who have always controlled and now control it. *Socialists know that the I. W. W., so far from desiring to destroy the United States government, wants to make it a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."*

Probably if the I. W. W. could have its way, the form of the government would be changed in many ways. There would, I presume, be no senatorial house of lords. The federal courts would be stripped of their present (usurped) power to nullify acts of the people's law makers. Representation in congress would not be from geographical districts but from the several industries of the country—as agriculture, manufactures, transportation, etc. The president and all other public servants would be made subject to recall for misconduct. In these and other ways the I. W. W., if it could have its way, would remodel the government of the United States, but it would not be abolished. Nobody but a madman or a deliberate liar, seeking to discredit the workers' efforts to better their condition, ever asserted anything of the kind.

The red flag of the I. W. W. is the red flag of Socialism. It is a symbol, like all other flags.

Unlike all other flags, it never did and it never will rally men to shoot down their fellow men. It does not stand for war and destruction, the red flag of Socialism stands for peace and human brotherhood and justice.

Read this paragraph again:

"To the question, 'What is the red flag symbolical of?' the answer was, 'Blood.'"

And so it is, but not in the way the Associated Press would have the readers of its lying news service understand. The Associated Press tries to make people believe the red flag stands for bloodshed. It fact it stands for the red blood of all humanity, a symbol of the brotherhood of men in all lands, a pledge of justice and of peace and plenty

The San Diego agent of the Associated Press betrays his provincial spirit and tries to rouse prejudice against the I. W. W. by stating, probably falsely: "An examination of each of the 50 prisoners *nearly all of whom are foreigners* has just been finished by the city authorities."

"Nearly all foreigners." That is, nearly all were men not born in the United States. All, we presume, were born, like ourselves, in the image of their Maker, God Almighty. All, presumably, have two legs, two arms, one head and the usual complement of human organs. All, doubtless, work for a living when they can get a chance to work, and all must eat, as we do, to sustain life. Probably all, like ourselves, had mothers and fathers, and many, like ourselves, have wives and children, whom they love and would care for just as we try to do. The lying Associated Press does not go so far as to deny they are human beings, capable of speech and thought. It just damns them with the word "foreigner."

Socialism—and the I. W. W. is one branch of organized Socialism—does not recognize any man as a foreigner. Socialism recognizes all men as brothers. It recognizes the common fatherhood of an all-wise Creator and the blood brotherhood of all the Father's children. *It sees in the immigrant from another land a man and a brother whose needs are the same as our own, and who has the same inalienable right to live on the earth that we have.*

Big Business, whose prostitute the Associated Press has become, does not recognize nor admit human brotherhood. It regards the great majority of the humble, poor, obscure men and women who do the world's work, and produce the world's wealth, as outcasts, a little higher than the dumb animals, but not fit for self-government nor for any government but that of their masters who own the earth and the tools of industry.

That is the distinction between the I. W. W. and the lying Associated Press which thus deliberately slanders it.

The 50 members of the I. W. W. who have been thrown into jail at San Diego have been placed back of the bars for exercising their constitutional American right of free speech and free thought. They are like the poor timber workers whom John H. Kirby and his Lumber Trust pals threw out to starve in Southeast Texas and Louisiana, last year, because some of them voted the Socialist ticket and actually dared to try to organize a labor union.

The Kirbys on the Pacific coast are as merciless, blind and stupidly brutal a lot of money despots as ever disgraced this continent. They are trying by wrongful use of governments and courts which they control to rob working men of their liberty and their right of free speech. They hope in this way to suppress rising discontent among the workers against exploitation by the profit grabbers.

They have not wit enough to know that *every time they outrage a citizen's rights they arouse a dozen other citizens to challenge their control of governments.* They are too dull to know that by such methods they are hastening the day when the workers, there and everywhere throughout America, *will determine to go to the polls and take* charge of governments for themselves, and take back the common wealth which has been stolen from them by the exploiters.

If fifty readers of The Rebel will write to the Chronicle, calling attention to this matter, showing how it was buncoed by the lying Associated Press into publishing an item of news which slanders an honorable, patriotic organization, the Associated Press won't be able to "put over" any more lies of this kind on that paper. *Surely if fifty workers in California are willing to go to jail in defense of the right of free speech, there ought to be fifty Rebels willing to take pencil in hand and protest against the printing of cruel lies about the matter.*

Ossified Brains in Oklahoma.

> **"Comanche, Oklahoma, March 26, 1912.—Dear Rebel: Turn the enclosed sheet over to Pendragon. The writer of this paper, U. G Wilkerson, is a prominent minister of the Church of Christ at Comanche, whose elders consist of a loan agent and real estate shark who charges as high as 40 per cent interest on loans; a credit merchant whose profit and interest rate is 100 per cent, and the other—well, he is a furniture dealer and you can guess easily about him. The gentlemen Christians are doing their damnedest to keep from honest productive labor. Just hand this juicy dope to Pendragon and watch the fur fly from the parson and editor of this sheet and the subs to The Rebel roll in from the interested. An Oklahoma Red Rebel,**
>
> **"Arthur Willmon."**

The enclosed paper is a page from the Weekly American, published in Comanche, Oklahoma. Its editor is P. W. Tucker. The marked editorial in the American is the editor's comment on an argument between G. G. Hamilton, a Socialist lecturer, and Rev. Mr. Wilkerson. The American editor writes:

> **"Of all our reading of Socialism not a word of commendation for anybody or anything have we seen other than the McNamara's and their stripe and their few favored leaders, who are pillaging and plundering the prosperity of the country for their own political aggrandizement.**
>
> **"On the other hand every successful man, business, corporation or institution has been held up to ridicule before the public in an attempt to pollute public sentiment and install in office the gang that is pirating over the country making the spreading of dissension their principal avocation.**
>
> **"Capital has no bitterer or more relentless foe than Socialism, and unfortunately, where the latter thrives the former moves out and leaves commercial palsy and a bitter and unprosperous people. The sooner the people quit subscribing to campaign funds of the self-styled 'save the country' speakers the better off they and business will be. No one denies that reform is not needed, but to admit that such punk as this outfit proposes as feasible is equivalent to saying that the McNamara's did a great service for the country when they wrecked so many buildings and caused so many deaths.**
>
> **"The trouble is when Socialism steps in capital will step out, and there will be nothing to reform. This thing happened in Mexico, and now they are down there, no longer fighting for principle, but fighting for the man who offers the most money—using their gun as a means of earning their bread and butter, with no thought of who they will eventually install in office."**

It is hard to get the light into a mind like that. The American editor evidently believes what he writes is true. He is the victim of an ossified brain. He has lost, if he ever had it, any sense of the brotherhood of all men. He regards life here on earth as doomed to be forever a wolf contest for bread, a roof and a chance to breed. He can't understand the divine power that urges mankind ever forward to higher levels of civilization. He doesn't understand the cry of the oppressed for justice, for an equal chance with other men and women to live a full, comfortable, civilized life. He sees men divided into two groups—one, a big group, doomed forever to be slaves for the other group, the small group of men that own the earth and the machinery of production.

As for the minister of the gospel who opposes Socialism, why, he too must be excused on the ground of ignorance. Maybe he is only cowardly. A good many men who would endorse Socialism, who know it is coming and coming to elevate humanity, fear to make public their conviction, lest it cause them loss of money, or of social standing among the ignorant rich.

And as for the deacons of the Church of Christ of Comanche, Oklahoma, they are as much the product of environment as any of the rest of us. They are therefore not to be blamed for being what they are. Had they been better born, with more courage and better developed brains, they would not be the men they are but would be leading in the fight for human liberty. I have no quarrel with them. I have no inclination to condemn them. Their practices, as indicted by Comrade Willmon, inflict pain upon other human beings, and are therefore wrongful practices. In time to be, the need for men to indulge such practices, and the opportunity, will be removed. When men are no longer required to be mean-spirited, to be harsh and cruel and usurious toward their fellow men, in order to thrive, men will no longer be so. These qualities will die out of the world. Not all at once, but gradually.

There is a vein of unconscious humor in the American's editorial—as when its says: "When Socialism steps in capital will step out, and there will be nothing to reform."

Nothing is more certain than that when Socialism steps in capital will step out. Men will cease to worship mere wealth, as if it were a god or a minor divinity. Capital, as we know it, is common wealth. Socialism will make this common wealth common property. Capital as the American editor knows it, is common wealth privately owned. That indeed will "step out" when Socialism enters, but it will step out of private into common ownership, where all common wealth—the earth and the tools of industry, properly belong.

Defend Your Free Press.

Capitalism, controlling the federal government at Washington, and fearing Socialism above all other things, is trying desperately to break down the Socialist propaganda papers. Its heavy, lawless hands have fallen on many small Socialist papers in different states. Its main attack is on the Appeal.

Once, with a packed jury and a venal court, the government convicted Editor Fred Warren on a ridiculous, faked-up charge of violating the postal regulations, and sentenced him to prison and to pay a heavy fine. Taft, panic-stricken at the storm he saw this outrage would provoke, remitted Warren's prison term and cut the fine to $100. Warren sent the pardon back to Taft and refused to pay the fine. The government took its medicine and let the case drop.

Later, the same corrupt court forced a reluctant grand jury to indict Warren, Wayland and Phifer of the Appeal for sending an "obscene publication" through the mails. The obscene publication was a truthful report of horrors inflicted upon helpless prisoners in the Leavenworth federal prison by grafting official brutes. The government was forced to kick out the worst offender, thus proving the truth of the Appeal's charges.

Nevertheless, although the Appeal did a great public service, its editors were indicted for it and are to be put on trial at Topeka May 7, with the threat of prison terms hanging over them.

A few weeks ago, when some prisoners killed the warden and broke out of the Nebraska penitentiary at Lincoln, the Nebraska State Journal, a powerful republican daily newspaper, published charges against the prison management identically like those which the Appeal published about the Leavenworth prison. In both cases the publication was a public service. It helped to protect helpless prisoners against further abuse by official brutes. It showed the people what was being done, so that they could correct the evils. It was service of the best kind that a free press can perform.

But the republican State Journal has not been indicted and won't be. The "offense" was the some in both cases, but the government, controlled by the great capitalists, doesn't care anything about the offense; all it wants is to crush a great Socialist paper.

I don't believe the Appeal editors will ever go to prison. I don't believe the supreme court of the United States will dare stand up, in the white hot light of national publicity, and confirm any adverse verdict that may be forced through the lower and less exposed federal courts.

The Appeal editors have money enough to fight their case to the supreme court. In that they are fortunate. Many an editor of a little, penniless socialist paper has had to submit to judicial despotism, in the lower courts, because he didn't have money enough to carry his case up to where the whole people could see and pass judgment upon it.

....*Without a free press no people on earth can preserve their liberty* It is their open-court, in which they can expose wrongs and rally public wrath for justice. Without a free press to turn the light upon legislatures, congresses and courts, these agencies of government would become more hopelessly corrupted and despotic than they are now.

Today, in this country, most of the newspapers, especially the daily newspapers, are tied up to capitalism. They have ceased to depend on sales of papers for a living, and have become dependent on advertising. Advertising can be got only of private capitalists. Therefore the daily newspapers, almost without exception, are absolutely dependent on the patronage of capitalism for their existence.

They have incorporated and capitalized their power to sell advertising space. This, their biggest asset under present circumstances, will become valueless under socialism. It is capitalized water. When socialism takes over the industries which now supply the advertising, that water will run out of newspaper capitalizations and leave most of them bankrupt. They won't be able to earn dividends on their stock, nor interest on their bonds. They won't be able to pay the tall salaries some of them pay to men now in charge. They won't be able to take any more for their work than the average of other men engaged in useful productive labor.

It is because the owners of the big papers see this coming under Socialism that they try by suppressing Socialist news and misrepresenting socialist philosophy, to delay its coming into power. It is, however, because the workers of the big newspapers also see these changes coming that most of them are socialists, or going that way fast. That is why the Socialist weeklies and monthlies, independent of advertising, are the only really free newspapers in the United States.

I make bold to say that more genuine NEWS about Texas affairs has been published on this page of the Rebel, during the past few months, than has appeared in all the daily papers of Texas put together. My friends on the big dailies know the news—the big, vital, inside news—but they can't print it, because it would offend advertisers and cut the dividends which advertising yields for the owners of those papers.

Nor must we ever have party ownership of the press. Party ownership would mean control of the papers by little groups of officials, who would thus be able to dictate what kind of news should be given to the people.

The newspapers must be made to stand or fall on the test of service. They must live by merit alone. The people must have them where they can control them. This can be done only by keeping them in private ownership.

As long as Tom Hickey or Fred Warren or Bill Smith or Tom Jones prints a paper that readers believe tells the truth and keeps the faith, that paper will have their subscriptions in sufficient number to keep it alive. When readers lose faith in any paper, they will quit buying it, and it will die, as it will deserve to.

We must have the recall on our press, but otherwise leave it absolutely free to print the truth, without dictation from advertisers, political committees, or anybody else.

Under socialism, there will be very little advertising, other than formal public announcements. Nobody will have any need to advertise for profit, because no private citizen will have anything of social value to sell. Men and women will probably advertise exchanges of personal possessions, of a non-social character, and the city, state and national governments, may use the newspapers to a limited extent to inform citizens regarding employment, goods and the like. But the great blight of advertising control of the press will vanish along with other evils of capitalism. Publishers will have to reduce the size of their great blanket sheets, and charge a price at which the subscriptions alone will support the paper.

This is a glimpse of the future of newspapers, under Socialism, as I see it. I may be wrong. But I believe a free press, uncontrolled by anybody but the daily or weekly test of public patronage, is absolutely essential to human liberty, under any form of government whatever.

It may be possible to work out a system of public newspapers, one for each town or city, that can be kept free from selfish control, but I am unable, at this time, to figure out how any such arrangement will be made.

Meantime, Socialists have no higher duty than to extend the circulation of their papers, and defend them against tyrannous attacks by the capitalist government.

THE SUGAR TRUST ACQUITTAL.

A jury in New York disagreed last week in the trial of the Sugar Trust. That beautiful sugar baron, President Smith, of the Mormon church, a fragmentary husband of a number of wives can now sleep in solemn satisfaction.

Dan C. Crider writes from El City, Okla.: "Am just windin up a state routing at Elk City Okla., and will begin on a ne routing Monday. Socialism looking up in Oklahoma. O party office seekers have give up the races for office and go home discouraged. I believe whe ballots are counted here in No vember 'Socialist Victory in Oklahoma' in scare headlines w adorn the newspapers of world.