TOTAL SUBS
For week ending May 25, 1912.
21,850

THE REBEL

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

T. A. HICKEY, Editor and Owner
Entered as second-class matter July 1, 1911, at the postoffice at Hallettsville, Texas, under the Act of March , 1897
50c pr yr; clubs of 4 (40 wks) 25c
THIS IS NO. 47

HALLETTSVILLE, TEXAS, MAY 25, 1912. Issued Weekly.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

FOR PRESIDENT—EUGENE VICTOR DEBS—INDIANA
FOR VICE PRESIDENT—EMIL SEIDEL—WISCONSIN

BELOW WE PRINT A COMPLETE BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION. THE CONVENTION WAS A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS IN EVERY RESPECT. WE START THE STORY WITH THE PLATFORM AND FOLLOW WITH THE FARMERS PROGRAM.

THE PLATFORM.

The platform adopted by the National Socialist Convention, in session in Tomlinson Hall, reiterated the primary featurts of Socialism, the collective ownership ship of the means of production, incorporates no radical changes from the platform of four years ago. The platform is arranged with a longer preamble and with a working program in coluclusion. It is grouped under the heads of "collective ownership," "unemployment," "industrial demand" and "political demands."

The platform follows:

"The Socialist party of the United States declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

"Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines the forests and the water powers of every state in the Union.

"In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wageworkers have seen the purchasing powers of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

"Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

"The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

"Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage workers. The over-whelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

"It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

"Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

"In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representative of the Republican, Democratic and all reform parties remain the faithful servants of the people. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

"Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

"In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the suppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

"We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

"Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

"The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

"The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organizations and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

"All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have not issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

"The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and controlled.

"In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves, for the future society which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

"In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present-day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

THE FARMERS PROGRAM AND THE RENTERS UNION.

The Renters Union of North America was eagerly discussed by the committee on farmers program in the National Convention. A. M. Simons, Oscar Ameringer and Carl D. Thompson—the committee appointed by the Socialist Congress of 1910 to prepare a Farmers Program for the 1912 Convention, invited the Editor of The Rebel to appear before their committee and present the Texas Renters program. I did so by writing the following statement which was accepted by the committee and its chief planks was incorporated in their report to the convention. The newspaper men went wild over the story and Mr. Nevins, the manager of the United Press copied it and telegraphed it to four hundred and fifty daily afternoon papers, covering forty-four states. Thus we can see that the Renters Union has secured National attention.

This is the statement:

To the Committee on Farmers Program:

Comrades:—I wish to present to you a plain statement of facts about conditions in Texas in the greatest agricultural State in the nation.

A revolution has occurred in land ownership within the past fifty years that has no parallel in the world. In 1860 land renting was unknown in the great State of Texas. In those days it was not uncommon to buy a section of land for as low as fifty cents per acre; after the war the public lands were grabbed wholesale by tricky speculators who were ably assisted by a corrupt legislature; the railroads received an enormous part of the public domain; they were given land at the rate of sixteen sections for each mile they built; the total amount of which was thirty-five and one-half million acres. A Chicago syndicate received three million acres, now worth $60,000,000 for building a State capitol which was a "scab" job; the stone for it being quarried by negro convicts, and put in place by imported English "scabs." Cattle companies fenced in millions of acres. Thus we find that renting commenced in the latter portion of the '60's, with the result that in 1870, 5 per cent of the land of Texas in cultivation was operated by renters.

In 1900 the twelfth census shows 50 per cent of the cultivated land operated by renters. Since 1900 a steady and continuous increase of renting has been going on all over the state, so that the thirteenth census shows us that 72 per cent of the cultivated land is operated by exploited tenants, who are suffering from land lordism, as severely as the Irish tenants in the Galtee mountains or the miserables who till the land in Southern Europe.

In response to many calls from Socialist party conventions to do something for the agricultural proletariat, the Texas Socialists proceeded to grapple with the situation. We supported a movement, unofficially, for a convention of renters who met in Waco, Texas, on the 4th of last November. There were 110 delegates present from 24 counties; they successfully launched the Land Renters Union of North America. They have established National and State headquarters at Hallettsville, Texas. They have appointed organizers, drafted a constitution with by-laws and declaration of principles, have organized many locals; have arranged for the publication of pamphlets and other literature that will deal with their conditions and the future looks promising for a large growth, not only in Texas but in Oklahoma and Arkansas, where preliminary work is now being done. The executive officers are in correspondence with the most active spirits among the agricultural workers of the South. They are reaching into the entire sixteen Southern States, and feel confident that before many years have passed that the vast majority of the renters of the South will be brought within the sphere of influence of this great Industrial Union.

The Convention ordered and the constitution provides for the following important features of the program:

1st. No land owner who rents land shall be eligible to membership.

2nd. The organization shall be strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian.

3rd. The demand a tax shall be placed upon all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes.

4th. While strictly maintaining their non-partisan attitude, they demand that all political parties shall be, through regular committees appointed by the Union, placed upon record on the question of whether they stand for a confiscatory tax upon all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes. And they pledge themselves to use all honorable methods to destroy every political party, be it Republican, Democrat, Prohibition or Socialist that refuses to go upon record in support of the land value tax.

5th. They declare that use and occupancy shall be the title to land and are arranging to struggle for the necessary constitutional amendments that will make this title possible.

6th. The Union does not bar bona fide workers who own and operate their own land by themselves and family without exploitation of agricultural laborers.

That there is a tremendous field of activity spreading out before this Union, can be seen from the following facts:

1st. There are two hundred and nineteen thousand land tenants in the state of Texas alone, with their grown sons and daughters conservatively we may state that one million adults are directly interested in this movement.

2nd. There are one hundred and forty-six million acres of land in Texas fenced in that has never felt the caressing touch of a plow. Dividing the two hundred and nineteen thousand tenants into one hundred million acres and allowing for forty-six million acres of mountainous and timbered land, good for stock and grazing purposes, we find that every tenant in the State of Texas could have a farm equal to four hundred and thirty-six acres—were land speculation stopped and the land thrown open for bona fide users thereof. Of course the land renters Union is not proposing any "dividing-up policy"—the above illustration is simply used to show the amazing amount of lan dthat is held out of cultivation and shows the correctness of the Socialists' position, that declares for use and occupancy as the title to the land.

Finally, I may say, that the Socialists party in Texas keeps its hands strictly off the Renters Union, in no way interferes with its internal affairs; we simply wish them good luck in their work, and stand ready to back them to the utmost limit when called upon.

Respectfully submitted,
T. A. Hickey.
Indianapolis, Ind., May 13, 1912.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The committee on the relation of the Socialist party to labor organizations was the most important elected by the convention. It was predicted from the outset that a split was inevitable. From the beginning the committee was divided 6 to 3. Job Harriman of Los Angeles, Dan White of Boston, Mass., and Algernon Lee of New York led the conservative, or anti-industrial element, Tom Hickey of Texas, Tom Lewis of Oregon and Tom Clifford of Ohio formed the minority. Ameringer of Oklahoma was chairman. The committee battled into the small hours of the morning on Tuesday night. Had another hot session on Wednesday night and were still divided at 1 o'clock Thursday afternoon one hour before the report was to be presented to the convention. The position of the majority was that they would not indorse the I. W. W. claiming that it represented industrialism while the minority who came to be known as the "three Toms" held out for a sweeping endorsement of industrialism. The minority fighting to the last ditch prepartd a minority report under three separate heads. In the last 60 minutes the majority gave in and granted the industrialists their demands which did not include an endorsement of the I. W. W. the three Toms pointing out that industrial unionism embraced industrial unions like the Renters Union of Texas and other independent industrial unions now being organized. The main points demanded by the minority that was granted by the majority were as follows:

That it is of vital importance that the organized be unorganized especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, something that the old craft unions as a rule ignore.

Second, the Socialist party will assist in the task of organizing the unorganized workers and request unions to throw the doors open to the workers of the respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions.

Third, the minority demanded that in the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union, the workers must have a strong class conscious and closely united or industrial organization, on the economic field and a powerful and militant party on the political field and joint attack by both on the common enemy.

Fourth, we demanded moral and material support to all labor organizations.

These points worked out in full follow:

"1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

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

Favors Aid to All.

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

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

When the labor committee announced to Chairman Carey of Mass., they were ready to report, the silence of death lay over the convention hall. The committee men with faces drawn and haggard from the protracted battle, sat at the foot of the platform while the delegates waited with tense expectancy, fearing a split that might disrupt the great Socialist movement. When Dan White presented the report signed by all nine committee men the delegates jumped to their feet and burst into prolonged cheers which lasted some two minutes. The chairman introduced Harriman to speak for the majority and Hickey for the minority. Harriman made an able speech in which he showed how the workers had to get together and was followed by Hickey who set the crowd cheering again by saying in his opening words: "The impossible has happened. After twenty years, I have shaken hands with Job Harriman." Haywood followed in a masterly talk after which the committee's resolution was put to the convention and was adopted without a dissenting vote. The National Socialist Press Bureau sends out the following brief description of this big event:

Indianapolis, May 16—Harmony ruled at the fourth and fifth days of the National Socialist convention.

This fact accounted for the passage of a number of resolutions, adoption of several committee reports, and the [illegible] of some of the mos tdelicate questions before the delegates.

Unanimous agreement upon the much debated question of labor organizations and their relation to the party was the impossible thing that happened. Instead of the expected clash on this question all shook hands across the deep chasm that had hitherto marked their differences and voted to a man to accepting the unanimous report of the committee that struggled long in reaching an agreement on this subject.

"The impossible thing has happened," declared Tom Hickey, of Texas, who told the convention how he had shaken hands with Job Ha rriman, of California, in agreement on this subject, after twenty long years of disagreement.

The part of the report that brought about complete harmony between the contending elements is as follows:

"The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many nistances concentrated ts power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrials unions. Tht organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class-consciousness."

"This action is an indication of the growing solidarity of the Socialist moement," declared Hickey. "It is a magnificent demonstration of our intellectual growth. It is a happy omen. It is a sign of the times."

"With the adoption of this declaration I feel that I can go to the workers of the nations and carry to them the message of Socialism," declared Haywood. "This is the greatest step that has yet been taken by the Socialist party."

LUMBER JACKS JOIN I. W. W.

(Written for The Rebel by W. D. Haywood.)

The second annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Timber-Workers was held at Alexandria, Louisiana, commencing May 6th. Matters of importance to the welfare of the men employed in the forests and saw-mills, were discussed. Realizing the necessity of amalgamating the forces of Labor on the Industrial Field, the Brotherhood of Timber Workers by an overwhelming vote made application for a charter in the Industrial Workers of the World.

The call will be issued for a Convention of Timber Workers from all sections—including those already organized in the North Western States and South Eastern States, to be held in Chicago immediately preceding or following the general convention of the I. W. W. The exact date is not yet determined. When all men eligible to membership are organized, this will make one of the strongest branches of Labor in the United States.

The influence of the Timber Workers Organization in the South is extended to the men employed on the plantations. In fact, many of the farm renters and laborers work at both vocations in season. The necessity ofIndustrial organization among the farm laborers is recognized and communication is being established between the farm renters of Louisiana and those of Texas,—it being the purpose to join hands with the organization already formed in the last named State.

A significant thing occurred while the convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers was in session. The Democratic authorities threatened to have an injunction issued prohibiting whites and negroes meeting in the same Hall. To comply with the law of Louisiana prohibiting mixed meetings, necessitated double work on the part of the convention, a proposition would be initiated by the white workers, and referred to the negro members. This became so cumbersome and so impracticable that in spite of the threat of the injunction, the negro members were invited into the main hall and the work of the convention was carried on jointly.

The cry of "Social Equality" did not disconcert the members of this young and fighting organization, nor will it at any time be allowed to divide its forces. As long as the employing class assemble workers of different races and nationalities, just so long will class conscious working men demand a coming together of all in one big union. Neither white or negro workers are at all interested in the question of social equality, while both are demanding economic quality and that only.

William D. Haywood.

May 13th, 1912.

SOUTHERN NOTES.

The state convention of the Socialist party of Tennessee will be held at Nashvilie, July 4. The locals are now electing delegates.

• • •

J. R. Boyd, the famous Socialist veteran of Corpus Christi organized a strong local at Lorena. Falls County, last week; B. F. Cowart, secretary.

• • •

We have not been able to run our usual column of state notes because of the absence of State Sec. Green and his asistant secretary, W. S. Noble at the National Convention. They have returned safe, sane, sober and sound, so the column will appear next wek.

• • •

That brilliant Irish American, Dan Hogan, of Huntington, Ark., editor of the Huntington Herald, made a phtnomenal run for the vice presidency. He is the first southerner since the war that has been nominated in a national convention for that great office. Nothing but the great prestige of the ex-mayor of Milwaukee prevented his nomination. As it was, he ran second to Seidel with 73 votes.

• • •

The comrades in Cherokee Co. have nominated a full county ticket. Their county committee will meet at Rusk, the county seat on June 18th. Ironton and Jacksonville should nominate a committeeman from each local. W. W. Johnson county secretary of Cherokee county sends us the above statement and closes by saying:

"At a mass meeting held at Beaumont March 30, it was decided to put a candidate in the field, from the second congressional district, elect a secretary and treasurer and raise a campaign fund. Jefferson county has pledged forty dollars ($40) per month payable on or before the 10th of each month beginning with May.

Please advise me as soon as your local can have a meeting how you can give toward this campaign fund as it is necessary for me to notify the district chairman how much Cherokee wil give. The donation is to be each month until election. How much can your local raise each month?

"Let everybody know that the Socialists wil have a fult ticket in the field from congressman up to 'dog pelter.' We will have some circulars struck soon showing full ticket in connection with the Socialist platform and the Class Struggle.

Fraternaly,
W. M. Johnston.

Co. Sec. S. P. Cherokee Co. Texas.

• • •

G. W. Guyer, Folsom, New Mexico, writes: "Your position with respect to an organization such as you show the N. E. C. to be is well taken and unanswerable.Doctrines of true Socialism needs no censorship and are so simple and easy of comprehension that they do not need to be subjected to the scrutiny of an executive committee before being given to the public."

• • •

Comrade Nutt of Miles,Runnells Co., Texas, is out on the road and making good.

• • •

A peculiar political procedure is under way in several southern states at the present time. The logic and truth of the Socialist's position has been so thoroughly demonstrated in thousands of different discussions that the old party politicians have backed off and refuse to meet us in debate, for which we don't blame them. To save their hide they have adopted another tack, going to pulpitless, penniless, poverty-stricken preachers and offer them large sums of money in the hope that the people will be blinded by the garb of the preacher and by mixing politics with religion, they hope to keep on their graft. This is particularly true in Texas and Oklahoma at the present time. It is almost impossible to get an old party politician in discussion, but busted preachers are shouting challenges from all directions and in practically every case they are financed by the old party rings. The latest case in point is BenBogard, Little Rock. He met Stanley Clark in debate at Ardmore, Okla., last week and confessed that the donk politicians paid him $100 for taking his whipping. Even this game will be played out soon.

DEBS NOMINATED BY SOCIALISTS.

Indianapolis, Ind., May 17.—Eugene Victor Debs of Terre Haute, Ind., was nominated late today as a candidate for the presidency of the United States by the National Socialist convention.

Emil Seidel, former mayor of Milwaukee, was named for the vice presidential nomination.

The convention went on record here today for "unrestricted political rights for both sexes," by amending its constitution. There was heated debate but the amendment was adopted by a vote of nearly two to one.

Miss Anna Maley of Washington championed the cause by declaring that unless the Socialists took up suffrage for women the capitalists would espouse the cause and use it as a club to defeat the Socialists' aims.

Promised a Lively Campaign.

Mr. Debs was not in the hall when the result of the ballot was announced, but Mr. Seidel promised he would make the campaign "as lively as the capitalist party had ever seen."

Mr. Debs was opposed for the nomination by Mr. Seidel and Charles Edward Russell of New York. After the result of the first ballot, which was, Debs 165, Seidel 56 and Russel 54, had been given out, Mr. Seidel moved that the nomination be made unanimous, and it was seconded by Mr. Russell.

Many candidates, including Kate Richards O'Hare of St. Louis and Anna Agnes Maley of Seattle, were named for the second place, but three, Mr. Seidel, John W .Slayton of Pennsylania and Dan Hogan of Arkansas, remained to be voted upon. Mr. Seidel, on the first ballot, received 159 votes, Hogan 73 and Slayton 24, Mr. Hogan's motion to make Mr. Seidel's nomination unanimous was seconded by Slayton.

Opposed to Violence.

Aside from the nominations, the only business of the convention at the afternoon session was the adoption of a section of the constitution whiel. places the party at taking a decided stand against 'violence as a weapon of the working classes." The section was not adopted until after several hours of debate, which many times ran into personalities.

A motion to strike out the section regarding violence was lost on a roll call vote, 90 to 191, and it was then passed by a viva voce vote.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED.

Indianapolis, May 18. — Soon after 6 o'clock the socialist national convention finally adjourned, amidst singing of socialistic songs. Meetings of the permanent committees to perfect campaign plans were held later in the evening before the exodus of the delegates started.

The following work was accomplished by the Convention:

Nominated for president, Eugene V. Debs of Indiana.

For vice president, Emil Seidel of Wisconsin.

Indorsed complete industrial as well as as craft unionism.

Denounced Judge Hanford for violation of the constitutional privileges of naturalized citizens.

Voted $250 cash and general support to the socialist free speech fight in San Diego.

Adopted a radical platform, including all recognized socialist doctrines.

Went on record as absolutely opposing the white slave traffic in every form and declaring for the abolition of all restricted districts in cities or communities where the socialists secure control and for the forcing of a public record by physicians of all cases of certain diseases.

Generally changed the party constitution to meet increasing demands of growing membership.

Voted defense funds to jailed leaders of Lawrence, Mass., strike.

Give wider leeway to the discussion of vital questions of political expediency than any previous political meeting.

Deferred action on placing the party on record on Asiatic immigration for four years.

The convention went squarely on record late today as in favor of woman's suffrage in every form and hit the hardest blow at the white slave traffic ever aimed by any national gathering. It pledged the party in every community where it secures control to abolish all restricted districts and to prosecute all "resort proprietors" and "cadet procurers."

The radicals and conservatives fought it out all week and the adjournment found both factions claiming victory.

All other forms of unionism, this included the Industrial workers of the World, whom, the conservatives claimed, are an anarchist body, the radicals gained a sweeping advantage through the recognition of the above.

OUR GENE WRITES THE REBEL.

(On my way to the convention I reached Girard, Kas., at 4:50 a. m., May 10. I went straight from the depot to Gene Deb's room, woke the big man from his sleep and told him he was going to be our nominee. He modestly insisted otherwise. I wouldn't listen and told him I daren't go back to Texas unless that he was the man. This will explain the following letter just received before going to press—Ed. Rebel.)

"Girard, Kas., May 21, 1912.

My dear Tom:—You are either a prophet or the favorite son of a prophet. You knew. I didn't. I remember your last parting word when you took the train here for the convention. I did not desire and I did not expect the nomination. On the contrary I did everything I felt that I properly could do to avoid it. But this does not mean that I have not the fullest appreciation of the nomination since it has come to me, and of the spirit in which it has come, which permeates every fibre of my being. You know I care nothing about personal honors and that I have no personal ambition to satisfy.My interest is wholly in the party.All I have and hold dear are in the movement and whatever will help and strengthen and honor the movement that appeals to me and in that way I want to be honored, but I want every member in the party to share equally with me in that honor.

I shall never forget your personal loyalty and devotion. This confidence and affection of you and other devoted comrades is my most sacred possession beyond my immediate family. I would not part with this for all the gold ever mined. I would rather lose my life than this priceless treasure.

I thank you, Tom, from the very depths of my heart. I shall never forget you and Ed. Green Mtitzen, Noble, the Rhodes and the rest of the Texas warriors wheel-horses everyone of them. You four alone, above mentioned, represent nearly 25 feet of the revolution. When you see or write these comrades send your love along with mine.

I shall now get myself in shape for the campaign and I shall make the fight of my life. In not the least particular shall my comrades who so loyally and unselfishly and generously pushed me to the front and made me what I am, be disappointed in me when the campaign is closed, if it is in my blood and tissue to make good and I am self-centered enough to believe that it is.

With all loving greetings, and with a right hearty hail to the revolution, I am

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs."

OUR REBS.

I wish you were with me, Rebs, at the National Convention and notice how our work was respected by the high-brows in the party The Texas Renters Union was the subject of animated discussion for one entire day and the news of our work was flashed to 450 afternoon papers by the United Press. I realize thoroughly that it is you, with your splendid assistance, sympathy and support that has made this possible. For the first time through The Rebel and its army the chasm between the factory workers in the city and the exploited renters on the farm, has been bridged, and the Socialist movement now stands with all its great elements united. We can march forward, a conquering army with banners on the citadel of our masters, and that we will storm it, I have not the faintest doubt.

To get down to the matter of subs, I have to report that this is the dull season of the year, for the reason that the workers on the farms are busy chopping cotton and getting the crop in shape to lay by. The big rush of subs that we had when The Rebel started on its meteoric career are dropping like falling leaves in vallambrossa hence we have a great struggle between our ons and offs and are pleased to say that we are holding our own. The Rebel does not care to make any boast, now, about our achievements. You know you are safe in securing subs because we have shown that every week we have the class, are different from anything else,are unmuzzled, tell the truth and are smashing holes in the enemy's armour. A tremendous sensation will soon be pulled off that will hit the highest places in Austin and may determine the governorship. We have some more nice things to say about Sheppard and some other gentlemen that are prominent in the lime light, that no other paper dare publish. Fire in your subs, because the campaign is now well under way and there is a multitude waiting to hear the honest God's truth. We publish below some of our principle sub-getters this week:

J. M. Saxer, 5; M. S. Johnson, 5; J. L. Johnes, 4; R. D. Shields, 5; H. A. Sinclair, 4; A. C. Hill, 4; G. H. Harvill, 4; J. M. Thompson, 4; 4; E. Rainy, 4; B. D. Seabring, 5; W. P. T. McManns, 4; T. C. Hoffer, 6; E. A. Wilkinson, 4; O. Jacobson, 6; Tom Ward, 4; J. S. Delany, 4; J. M. Andress, 4; A. C. Hughes, 5; J. C. Harratt, 5; S. A. Wilson, 8; W. E. Porter, 4; P. A. Guthrie, 5; T. N. Woodall, 4; C. D. Northern, 4; C. L. Hester, 9; R. C. Tillery, 4; J. E. Epperson, 4; C. A. Haddock, 8; J. L. Kerbow, 4; J. C. Roach, 4; Wilford Shipp, 5; A. J. Daugherty, 4; Ed. Meyer, 4; J. T. Wheeler, 5; W. C. Henderson, 4; J. E. Grady, 4; D. G. Wilson, 32; J. M. Allen, 4; Jim Robinson, 9; A. C. Henderson, 4; J. R. Jarmer, 4; W. H. Silk, 4; T. M. Woodall, 4; J. F. Baggett, 4; Jno. F. Greenwood, 4; Jacob Vibrock, 4.

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

THE REDS AND THE YELLOWS.

Mr. Thomas A. Hickey of Hallettsville, Socialist National Committeeman from Texas, has returned home from the Socialist National Convention. He arrived in Houston Tuesday morning and made the following statement to the Chornicle regarding the work of the convention and the outlook for his party in the nation and in Texas this year:

"It was the first thoroughly representative National Convention that the Socialist movement has ever held.

"The standards of the forty-eight states were hoisted in the convention hall, when National Secretary Work ccalled the convention to order, at 10 a. m., May 12.

"From the drop of the gavel, it was noticed that a split was likely, because of the divergence of opinion on the attitude of the Socialist party toward labor unions.

"A strong conservative element stood for the pure and simple American Federation of Labor craft form of organization. This element was led by Congressman Berger of Wisconsin.

"The radicals were led by William D. Haywood of Colorado.

"Both leaders were members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, and thus from the highest body down to the smallest local at the forks of the creek or in small featory towns, the delegates were divided on this big question.

Reds vs. Yellows.

"The craft unionists made a determined attempt to refer to the industrialists as Industrial Workers of the World or direct action men, who advocate sabotage. This was vehemenently denied by the industrialists from the American Federation of Labor, like Wheeler of the glass workers, Texas men from the Renters Union, which is industrialist in its form and others.

"After a three days committee battle, both sides were ready on Thursday to present a majority and minority report.

"Job Harriman of Los Angeles was to present the craft union side and I was slated to present the industrialist side. Within one hour of going before the convention the craft unionists backed off in response to a wave of progressive measures that is sweeping over the nation in all parties, and surrendered to the industrialists by giving what we asked for.

"The entire nine members of the committee signed the report which was received in breathless silence, followed by a demonstration unparalleled in the history of Socialist conventions.

The Presidential Ticket.

"The sentiment for Debs as presidential candidate was overwhelming. Two other strong candidates were named against him—ex-mayor Seidel of Milwaukee and Charles Edward Russell the famous magazine writer, who led the New York delegation.

"The vote stood: Debs, 165; Seidel, 56; Russell, 54. The latter two gentlemen mounted the platform and made the nomination unanimous. Russell refused to run for vice president, Seidel accepted and was opposed by J. W. Slayton, a Pennsylvania union carpenter, and Dan Hogan of Huntington, Ark., a famous attorney. Seidel received 110 votes, Hogan 73, Slayton 23. The large vote for Hogan was significant in that it was the first time a Southern man had run for president or vice president in a Socialist National Convention.

Leaders Are Optimistic.

"The convention adjourned Saturday night thoroughly united and harmonious, singing the Marseillaise and the International. The sentiment among the delegates was that the Socialist movement had reached the highest point in its history, and that statesmanship pervaded its councils from the beginning. The delegates left for home determined to wage a vigorous war for Debs and Seidel until election day. Berger confidently predicts 2,000,000 votes and 15 congressmen. Charles Edward Russell said: 'This convention marks the beginning of the end of capitalism.'

Rapid Growth in Texas.

"The Texas delegation received much attention because of three big facts that the delegates had just learned: First, that the National office could report that Texas had organized 181 locals during the past 60 days, considerably more than any other state in the Union. Second, that Texas was organized on different lines to any other stae; in this, that it abolished state committees and state executive committees, except insofar as the Terrell election law compels it to have such useless bodies. Third, that the report of the organization of the first Renter Union in America pointed out the establishment of the one link that has always been missing in the Socialist movement—that between the agricultural and industrial workingmen. The present membership of the party in Texas—dues-paying members — is in the neighborhood of 6000, an increase of nearly 4000 in two years. There is no evidence in the state secretary's office at Rockdale, Milam county, of a let-up in the gain, in fact, the tendency is to increase more rapidly every month. Over 30 encampment will be held this year and State Secretary Ed. A. Green of Rockdale signed contracts with some of the leading Eastern orators like Con Foley of Pennsylvania and Tom Lewis of Oregon to attend.

"Our vote in the past in Texas has averaged about eight to each dues-paying member. We expect 75,000 votes in Texas this year and will break into the legislature from several counties. The Socialist movement in Texas is at last organized on right lines, both economic and political. We have now 12 papers supporting our cause and the future indeed looks bright."

Greeting from two fraternal delegates stirred the convention and brought forth the first real enthusiasm displayed by the delegates since May 12, when the convention opened. The delegates who addressed the convention were Carl Legien, the noted labor leader and Socialist member of the German Reichstag, and L. Guiterrez de Lara, the Mexican Socialist and revolutionist.

RENTERS UNION.

(E. O. Meitzen, Sec.Treas.)

A local union was organized at Prairie Grove near Petteway, Roberson county, by Organizer T. I. Whitley of Bremond R. 1, who was recently commissioned for that county.

• • •

Inquiries as to our method of organization were received this week from Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Virginia, Illinois and Nebraska.

• • •

The following was received from Rev. S. W. Riley, Craft, Cherokee Co., Texas: "I am very anxious to secure the ablest man you have to organize a Renter's union. We renters are the hardest oppressed class of people in this country, as we are in the tomato district and there is no uniform rent system here. Our conditions are deplorable and if there is any help to come from the union we surely need that help and need it now. Kindly reach out a hand to help the needy."

• • •

W. V. Malone, Whitesboro, an old Farmers Union organizer writes for information as to our principles, which request was promptly granted. We want experienced organizers in three fourths of the counties in the state.

• • •

It will be remembered that this Union was launched less than seven months ago. Since that time we have established headquarters elected officers, drafted a constitution, which was accepted by referendum vote, appointed organizers and launched 45 locals. We did this in spite of the worst winter that Texas has known in a generation and to make matters worse our work was hampered to an almost inconceivable degree by reason of the meningitis scare that stopped at least one hundred meetings. This is the busiest time of the year for the farmers as they are plowing and chopping cotton and otherwise attending to the crop. For these reasons, we feel that it would be a mistake to hold a convention less than seven months after organizing. The summer will soon be upon us, the crops laid by, the renters will be in position to meet one another. Organizers can work as never before and we can have a thoroughly representative convention if we postpone our convention to next November 8, which will be exactly one year since the union was launched. For all these reasons, a vote is now being taken on the question of postponement; the results will be announced next week.

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

A Complete Object Lesson.

(BY PENDRAGON.)

On March 18 a locomotive boiler owned by the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railroad Company—Harrimann system in Texas—exploded at San Antonio, killing 26 to 30 workmen and causing property loss of $47,290.

The great daily newspapers of Texas, hungry for Harriman system advertising subsidy, printed a brief, unsatisfactory first-day story of the explosion, trying by malignant and utterly unwarranted insinuation to make it appear that the explosion was caused by one of the striking shopmen. Then the dailies dropped the story like a hot potato. They evidently got a tip from railroad headquarters, via their several business offices, that the less said about this wholesale murder of workmen the better the railroad bosses would be pleased.

On April 13, after investigating the facts, Editor Tom Hickey of The Rebel for the first time in any paper printed the truth about that explosion in these columns. He learned, and so stated, that the explosion was caused by the criminal ignorance of an unskilled workman whom the company employed to take the place of its skilled workmen who were on strike. Hickey charged that the railroad company was directly, and John L. Wortham, railroad commissioner of the state of Texas, (who had just previously made a fake "investigation" of the Harriman rolling stock and declared things to be s. k.), was indirectly responsible for the killing of the 26 to 30 workmen who lost their lives by the explosion.

Not one of the daily papers of Texas would print these damning facts, not even after they appeared, and went unchallenged, in The Rebel. Hickey personally called the attention of the editors of some of these great newspapers to his story in The Rebel, and urged them to put the truth before their readers, in order that public sentiment, in sheer self-defense against rotten and criminally negligent railroad management, might be induced to come to the aid of the striking shopmen. Still not one of the dailies would give the facts to its readers. They all stood pat on their previous "news" story, in which they left the average reader to suspect that probably one of the strikers blew up the locomotive with dynamite.

Now, on May 17, two months after the explosion, comes the three United States experts who were detailed to investigate the explosion and they make this following report confirming Hickey's Rebel story in every detail:

BOILER EXPLOSION TRACED TO EMPLOYE.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION INSPECTORS REPORT FINDING AT SAN ANTONIO.

SAFETY VALVES TIGHTENED.

BLOWING UP OF SOUTHERN PACIFIC LOCOMOTIVE MARCH 18 COST 26 LIVES AND DID $47,000 DAMAGE.

Staff Special to the Galveston News:

Washington, May 17.—The following is the finding of the three boiler inspectors of the interstate commerce commission who investigated the explosion of the Southern Pacific locomotive at San Antonio on March 18, through which twenty-six lives were lost and $47,250 worth of property destroyed:

"IT IS OUR CONCLUSION THAT THIS EXPLOSION WAS DUE TO EXCESSIVE STEAM PRESSURE, WHICH WAS CAUSED BY AN EMPLOYE OF THE GALVESTON, HARRISBURG & SAN ANTONIO RAILWAY COMPANY TIGHTENING THE ADJUSTING SCREWS OF THE SAFETY VALVES BEYOND THE ENDURANCE OF THE BOLER.

This conclusion is contained in a report made by the committee today, and is signed by John F. Ensign, chief inspector, and Frank McManamy and G. P. Robinson, assistant chief inspectors.

Other conclusions reached by the inspectors are given as follows in the report:

"Owing to the damaged condition of the safety valves and our inability to recover the springs and valves, a test thereof could not be made. The casings, with the adjusting screws, were found, one of which had no look nut on it. The hexagon-shaped heads on the adjusting screws had the corners twisted off, after which a stillson, or pipe wrench, had apparently been used in an effort to screw them down further. One of the adjusting screws was bent and the bottom end was upset or burred by the pressure that had been put on it. The condition of the threads on the adjusting screws indicated that they had been recently screwed down more than five-eighths of an inch. Reasonable knowledge of the purpose and construction of safety valves should prevent work being done on them which would cause such conditions.

"THE EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT THE LAW AND THE RULES GOVERNING THE INSPECTION OF LOCOMOTIVE BOILERS WERE DISREGARDED BY THE RAILWAY COMPANY'S INSPECTOR AND THE OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF SUCH WORK AT THIS POINT IN THE MATTER OF MAKING AND PROPERLY CERTIFYING TO THE REPORTS REQUIRED BY LAW. A report stating that the safety valves had been set was sworn to on March 16, 1912, by the railway company's inspector and the roundhouse foreman, who signed it as officer in charge of such work. The evidence shows conclusively that the safety valves had not been set at that time, and as a matter of fact it was while this work was being done, on March 18, that the explosion occurred. The evidence also shows that the inspector failed to witness the testing of the steam gauge and that the injector had not been tested at the time this report was made out, notwithstanding the fact that he certified under oath that this work had been done.

"THE OPINION WAS EXPRESSED AT THE INVESTIGATION THAT NITROGLYCERIN OR SOME OTHER HIGH EXPLOSIVE WAS USED, BUT NOTHING WAS FOUND TO SUPPORT SUCH AN ASSERTION.

"The question has been raised by those who suggested this theory as to whether excessive steam pressure could cause such a complete destruction of a boiler. Careful calculations show that the stored energy in the boiler of locomotive No. 704 at the bursting pressure of the barrel was sufficient to raise the boiler approximately a mile high.

"Tests made of the parts of the boiler evidently had failed to demonstrate that the pressure on the boiler at the time of the explosion was greatly in excess of the allowed working pressure, therefore the steam gauge, either on account of the gauge itself being ineffective or from reasons in the siphon pipe between the gauge and the boiler, did not correctly indicate the pressure.

"THE RAILROAD COMPANY WAS AT FAULT IN REQUIRING OR PERMITTING INSPECTIONS AND REPORTS TO BE MADE IN A MANNER WHICH WAS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW, AND IN ALLOWING SUCH IMPORTANT AND RESPONSIBLE WORK AS SETTING SAFETY VALVES TO BE PERFORMED BY AN EMPLOYE OF WHOSE EXPERIENCE AND JUDGMENT THE TESTIMONY SHOWS THEY KNEW PRACTICALLY NOTHING, AND IN KEEPING A BOILER IN SERVICE FOR WHICH THE FACTOR OF SAFETY, AS SHOWN BY TEST, WAS BELOW THE RECOGNIZED STANDARD."

GET THE MEANING OF IT.

I want you all to get the full meaning of that, you city wage earners and you men that walk down the furrows between the plow handles. I want you to realize fully just what it means to you.

Here is a great corporation, refusing to discuss with its shopmen the terms of their employment, and so forcing them as self-respecting American citizens, to go on strike.

Here is this same corporation, controlled by Wall street bosses and operating a big part of the public commercial highways of Texas, hiring ignorant unskilled men to handle its shop work of putting and keeping its engines and cars in repair, so they will be safe for the public to patronize.

Here is this corporation, through its inspector, violating the law enacted to insure such safety for passengers and workmen.

Here is this corporation, by these means, causing one of its locomotive boilers to blow up and slaughter 26 to 30 men.

Here is the railroad commissioner, John L. Wortham, making a fake investigation of the Harriman system as the strike affected its efficiency, and turning in a public report saying it was all o. k.—this just a few days before one of its boilers blew up and killed 26 to 30 men.

Here is the daily newspaper press of Texas, tied to the Wall street bosses of the Harriman system by open and probably secret advertising subsidies, first trying to lay the fault for the explosion onto innocent men—the striker—trying to make out that they or some of them had deliberately murdered the victims of the explosion—and then when they found that wouldn't stick—when they found that the corporation bosses that dish out the advertising subsidy were to blame—then these great "newspaper" suppressed the whole thing.

Here we have the state railroad commission, after the explosion, sending its engineer and one or two of its commissioners, to San Antonio to make another "investigation," and finding nothing to report, nobody to lay the blame on but God.

Here we have the United States experts, representing the interstate commerce commission, finding and reporting the exact facts, just as Hickey reported them in The Rebel nearly a month earlier.

And here we have the same John L. Wortham, railroad commissioner appointed by Gov. Colquitt, running for re-election, and backed by the same daily newspapers which suppressed the facts of the boiler explosion when they found they couldn't lay the blame on the strikers.

In this case we have a perfect illustration of just how our governments, under the so-called democratic party, are absolutely controlled by the big Wall street corporations; an illustration of how our daily newspapers are controlled by the same influences; an illustration of how the only way the people of Texas can get the truth about these things is through the Socialist press.

Does it all teach you anything?

Can't you see how necessary it is to kick out the whole rotten democratic gang of servile office holders and elect Socialists fresh from the plain people to execute the people's laws?

Can't you see how vital it is to extend the circulation of the Socialist papers, so that there may be at least one means through which the people of Texas can get the news?

Without honest, genuinely democratic government, the people are always oppressed by the private owners of the industrial and transportation monopolies.

Without a free and honest press, we always have corrupt and servile government.

The only free press in America today—the only press that can and does tell the whole truth about official corruption and betrayal of the people through their governments—is the Socialist press. The Socialist press has nothing to conceal. It has no advertising from the corporations and wants none. It depends entirely on the plain people for its life. It exists solely to serve them with the truth, so that they can act accordingly. It exists to preach the doctrine of real democracy, of government by the people instead of government by the private monopolists through corrupt professional politicians.

The Harriman shopmen in Texas and the other states would have won their strike long ago—would have been recognized by their Wall street bosses as human beings and American citizens, with a right to discuss the terms of their employment—if the newspapers and the state governments had done their duty.

Some of the strikers—most of them probably—voted two years ago to elect these democratic governors and railroad commissioners who have now betrayed them.

Will you do it again, boys? Or will you get sense at last and vote for the candidates of the only party that cares a tinker's dam about you and your rights—the Socialist party?

Will you spend your hard-earned dollars supporting a capitalistic press that tries to put the red stain of murder on you when you are absolutely innocent, or will you get behind the little fighting Socialist papers that dare to tell the truth for you?

And you farmers, will you stand with the workers in the city, your blood brothers and brothers in the slavery of exploitation, or will you march up to the polls next November and stick in more ballots for those scoundrels who stand in with the Wall street bosses against the plain people of Texas?

Will you let a lot of scheming, crooked professional politicians get you heated up over the fake issue of prohibition, and drive you into the Ramsey camp, or the Colquitt camp, when you know you ought to enter the Socialist camp?

Will you vote for your own bread and butter, for your wife's ease and comfort and your children's decent education, or will you vote for one or the other of these political fakirs both of whom have their secret deals with the Wall street bosses, and neither of whom knows nor care to know anything about your rights, your needs?

How long, O Lord, will the workers of Texas be blind as bats and silly as sheep?

Socialism The Issue In Texas.

The extraordinary growth of Socialistic ideas, which will inevitably be expressed in the near future in votes for Socialist candidates, is illustrated by the extent to which these ideas have become dominant in democratic party politics in Texas.

The May 4 precinct primaries and the May 7 county conventions of the democratic party, held to start the process of selecting delegates to the democratic presidential convention in Baltimore, resulted in the overwhelming defeat of that wing of the democracy which has been blatantly opposing direct legislation on the ground that the initiative, referendum and recall are "Socialistic."

Old party politicians oppose the initiative, referendum and recall because they know these things are merely a step toward preparing for social ownership of the industries. These old party politicians look to the private owners of the industries for campaign funds, and they serve the private owners when elected to office. **They beg the plain people for votes, of course, but as the private owners contrive to make all nominations in the old parties it don't make any difference which set of old party candidates the plain people vote for—they lose and the private owners of the industries win.**

So this year we find the democratic party candidates in Texas all lining for or against this Socialistic device for popular control of governments.

Jake Wolters and Governor Colquitt come out squarely opposed to the initiative, referendum and recall on any terms. They are looking to the Big Business fellows, the monopolists who own and control the main industries of the nation, for the backing that may land them in office.

Judge Ramsey and Congressman Sheppard are trying to play both sides of the issue. They say they like direct legislation a little—not much—but if the people want it, why, they won't stand in the way—not openly at any rate; although as obedient servants of the Big Rich they may conspire secretly to defeat the people's wish.

Randell, candidate for the senate to succeed Joe Bailey, is the most Socialistic of the lot. He stands flatfooted for the initiative, referendum and recall, as far as they can be carried, from top to bottom of the list of people's public servants.

Randell, as I have said before, is more of a Socialist than he is an old-party democrat, but he won't admit it, and he is running in the democratic primary instead of before the Socialist rank and file, for nomination, simply because the democratic party is at present **the majority party. If the Socialist party were the majority party I haven't a doubt Randell would be with us as it is with him. If Randell beats Wolters and Sheppard this year—and it begins to look like he had a chance to do it—he will beat them with the tens of thousands of votes cast by members of the democratic party who are, just on the verge of becoming Socialists.**

We Socialists are getting our work done for us, in part, by such men as Randell in the democratic party. They are clearing the way for the general adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall—Socialistic devices for controlling the political governments when those governments socialize the industries. Jake and Oscar also help by opposing our policies and so advertising them.

Of course the democratic party will never socialize the industries. It will be compelled, little by little, to join with the republican party in procuring general adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall, but that's as far as either party will go.

They can't socialize the industries, because both old parties are owned body and soul by the private monopolists of industry. They yield to the growing Socialistic ideas of the common people—the majority of the voters—to the extent of helping along the direct legislation movement, but they don't do it with any idea of making use of direct legislation the way the Socialists mean to use it. These old party leaders and their monopoly bosses make this concession thinking the common people will be satisfied with the tools of reform, and will be contented to have the tools and not use them.

That shows you how blind and foolish these property monopolists really are. They think they can satisfy the people with a shadow, when what the people really want is the substance. They want **the fruits of their own labor, to be used in building good homes, prosperous good food and good clothes, leisure and the means of travel and enjoyment, education for their sons and daughters—in short, they want to LIVE, as their labor entitles them to live, and this could do if the private monopolists didn't continually rob them of the fruits of their toil.**

But the idea I wanted to bring out today, in order to encourage our workers, is this: That right now, when Socialism has never cast as many as 13,000 votes out of more than 600,000 in Texas, **the ideals of Socialism have taken such hold on the minds of the common people that the old party politicians, running for office, are obliged to discuss whether or not every issue they discuss is "Socialistic."**

Some of them are idiotically trying to get office by telling the voters it would wreck the government if they, the voters, got any control over their governments between elections. That's the position taken by Wolters and Colquitt.

Some of them are shaking their heads seriously, and looking devilish wise and telling the democratic voters these "new fangled notions" are "experimental"—they may work out well and may work out ill—better go slow—looks good but may be dangerous—etc., and promising to give the people **a little control** over the governments between elections, if they really insist on it. That's the position taken by Ramsey and Sheppard.

Old Man Randell, while pretending he's a regular democrat party man, and while not saying anything about the use that will be made of direct legislation when the Socialists, its real authors, get into power, is taking his straight, and is banking on catching enough near-Socialist votes to put him into the lead in the senatorial primary.

Pendragon advises all Socialists to stick to their own ticket and keep out of the democratic primary.

He advises all near-Socialists—democratic voters who know in their hearts that the donk party won't ever do anything for them but give them the shadow of reform in place of the substance—to break their chains this year and join the Socialist party—the only sure-enough democratic party now in the field, and vote for Socialism.

He advises all old-party voters who don't want direct legislation, and don't want the robber tariffs lowered, and don't want the common people, the workers, to have any rights, to go straight over into the republican party, where they belong, and vote for Taft or Teddy in November.

Let's get lined up intelligently for once.

As for the statewide prohibition issue, which Ramsey and Sheppard are trying so hard to make paramount over the real issues, the bread-and-butter issues, why, any man that is crazy enough to let 'em lead him off after that question, one way or the other, needs a guardian.

MAKE A NOTE OF IT, COMRADES: SOCIALISM IS THE MAIN ISSUE IN THE TEXAS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES IN 1912; IN 1914 IT WILL BE PRETTY NEAR THE WHOLE ISSUE AND IN 1916 NO OTHER ISSUE WILL BE HEARD OF IN THIS STATE. THAT'S HOW FAST WE ARE COMING.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

By Pendragon

News For Donk Party Readers.

Here's some news for our democratic readers—news that they can't get in their own party papers.

There is a deal on right now, to nullify and defeat the verdict rendered by the democratic voters of Texas in their precinct conventions May 4.

The Wilson faction, that won, won on the issues of direct legislation in cities and states, and free raw materials—that is, the issue of cutting the West and South out of the protective tariff partnership, so as to enable the producers to cut off that graft at both ends.

The Bailey-Harmon faction, that lost, lost on these issues, which it laid down at the start as the fighting ground.

But the Bailey gang in Texas is mighty tricky. It has two men in the race whom it would like to save. These men are Wolters running for senator, and Colquitt running for governor. There are two factions in the Bailey machine. One is the beer-whiskey interest, which is backing Colquitt with the idea that he will veto a resolution to re-submit a state-wide amendment in 1914. The other is the high tariff, monopoly wing, which wants to hold Texas in line for the protective tariff system.

The beer-whiskey wing backs Colquitt; the protective tariff and anti-direct legislation wing of the Bailey mchine don't care much about him.

The beer-whiskey wing also backs Wolters, and he has more support from the protective tariff wing than Colquitt, because if Jake should be elected senator from Texas, John H. Kirby of the lumber trust would rely on him to help keep the protective tariff on lumber.

The anti-whiskey wing of the Bailey machine, which is also anti-direct legislation and anti-tarif reform, is looking out for Ramsey, whose ideas he reflects.

Give it to him—Bailey was a wizard when he organized that machine. It was for booze in South Texas, for prohibition in North Texas, and for the tariff grafters and monopolists generally all over Texas. Bailey never cared much about the booze issue, one way or another. There was no money in it for him—or not enough to satisfy Joe. He has used the pro issue as a tool to enable him to split his party with, and enable him to deliver the goods to the tariff monopolists. They are the fellows who have made Joe rich.

Now here's the deal that is being schemed out, to cheat the people out of what they won in the May 4 precinct convention: It is proposed—under cover because none of the dailies have mentioned it—to make Tom Ball of Houston, who belongs to the statewide **wing of the Bailey machine, but who supported Wilson, national committeeman from Texas. The anti-pros, who are also anti-direct legislation men, are to help Tom win this post of authority over his party. In consideration for such help, Tom is to help them suppress direct legislation and free raw material planks from the platform that will be adopted in the Houston state convention May 28.**

If that convention should adopt free raw material and direct legislation planks, in accordance with the mandate of the majority in the May 4 conventions, it would cut the ground clean from under Wolters and Colquitt, and would leave Ramsey and Sheppard looking mighty ridiculous too. Randell is the only democratic candidate whose hand would be strengthened by such planks, because he is the only one who stands for them, without any ifs or ands.

If the deal can be put through, the word will be passed out that the statewide faction of the party has won, and has put its leader, Tom Ball, in office as national committeeman. Nothing will be said about Ball's election being a victory for the Bailey machine—although that is just what it would be, because Tom always has taken his political orders from Joe Bailey and still does.

The scheme contemplates adopting a "bunc" platform, dividing the spoils between the factions and shouting "harmony". Wilson will get the delegates to Baltimore; Ball will get the national committee job; Wolters and Colquitt will get past without having their personal platforms repudiated by their party's state convention; Ramsey will get the double cross; Sheppard will get the boot, and Randell will get the hoarse hoot, from the Bailey machine once more triumphant in the state organization. John Henry Kirby will take his out in satisfaction with having choked off a Texas democratic demand for the abolition of the robber protective tariff on lumber.

It's a sweet scheme—characteristic of the political buccaneers that run the democratic party in Texas for their own prsonal gain and glory.

Is it any wonder that after forty years of donk party rule in Texas more than one-half of all the actual white farmers in the state are homeless and landless, while the landlords grow greedier evry year and the big corporations run the people's governments at their own sweet will?

Is it any wonder that when such men control the state government, the moderate and just demands of Texas railroad shopmen upon Wall street bosses who control Texas railroads get no backing from the governor, nor from any of the donk party candidates?

Is it any wonder that one of these Wall street gangs controlling a Texas railroad can murder thirty Texas workmen, through sheer brutal greed and stubbornness, and get off without being prosecuted for it by such buccaneers?

Not a bit in the world. These things are all just the way they might have been expected to be. They are just the way they always will be, until the practical men, the workers in city and country, make up their minds to come into their own party, the Socialist party, and put their own people in charge of the job of transforming these big private monopolies into public services.

That's the only cure!

STIRRING REBUKE TO PIOUS HYPOCRITES.

The one worthy product of the recent ridiculous week's campaign of the fake Men and Religion Forward Movement in Houston was an open letter written by Mr. H. F. Ring, a lawyer, and addressed to Rev. Charles Stelzle, the chief fugleman of the M. and R. F. movment. This letter, a copy of which has just been placed in Pendragon's hands, is one of the most eloquent indictments of capitalistic cannibalism, and one of the most ringing arraignments of the landlord system, which has ever been penned in this state. It follows:

REV. C. STELZLE:

Assuming, as I believe to be the case, that you and those associated with you in furtherance of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in this city are genuine lovers of mankind. I take it that this blunt and frank criticism of your last Sunday address to the workingmen of Houston will not be unwelcomed. To my mind your address contained not one word of hope, so far as this life in concerned, for millions of victims of unjust social conditions. It contained hardly an admission of the existence of such conditions. It contained hardly an intimation even that one of tho objects of the Men and Religion Forward Movement is to so imbue the hearts of men, including the hearts of rich and powerful church members, with such love for Christ and his teachings that they will feel it a blessed privilege as well as an immediate duty, to assist the workingman in finding a remedy; that they will at once thoroughly inform themselves as to proposed remedies, and that if a real remedy has been or can be found God will be asked to incline the hearts of all church members to joyously accept it, no matter what pecuniary loss to themselves may result from abolishing social injustice. Why not tell them that Would it not tend to remove from their minds distrust of the church Why not promise them the hearty cooperation of church members in a prayerful effort to discover and apply a remedy? Can you conscientiously make them this promise? If not, why not? If the humble Jewish carpenter were a member of the church today, as he was once a member of the Jewish church, can you doubt what his individual answer would be? **The workingman does not demand more kind-hearted employers. He does not what charity. He demands as a matter of right, the highest wages which could not be withheld from him under just economic condition, even though every labor union were disbanded. He wants to make strikes and lockouts things of the past, as much as you do.**

It is not my intention in this communication to discuss the merits of any proposed economic remedy. But let me tell you, if I thought God had not provided a remedy, if I thought in this age of constanly improving lboar-saving machinery, which constantly inconstantly improving labor-saving machinery, which constantly inlaborer must nevertheless continue to toil for starvation wages and be ever oppressed by the fear of losing a chance to work—often compelled to beg for work, and regarding it as a favor to be given work—if I thought that owing to an inexorable economic law, men women and children, must because of insufficient wages, must continue to be crowded together in the slums of great cities like beasts in a stockyard, that brothels must continue to be recruited from the ranks of ill-paid and starving women, I would be an absolute atheist. I do nat wonder that there are so many atheists among workingmen—my wonder is that there are so few of them.

When we consider our steam engines and elctric motors and dynamos, our railroads and stamships, our telegraph and telephone lines, and the thousand and one labor-saving appliances now in use and unknown in former days, we must come to the conclusion that the wealth producing power of the workingmen has been increased within the last century and a half, probably ten-fold or more. Accumulated wealth has also increased in about the same ratio, from less than $200 per capita when Franklin worked at his trade, to more than $1800 per capita at the present time, or $9000 on an average to the family. But wages have not advanced, especially as regards the purchasing power of the essentials of life, shelter, warmth, food and clothing, in anything like the same proportion as the advance in the wealth producing power of wage earners. **Labor saving appliances have not brought relief to the average workingman. They have not lightened his burdens and increased his hours of leisure, except to a small extent through the power of labor unions. His children, often denied the child's birthright to play in the sunshine and under the green trees, by the millions toil long and dreary hours in the darkness of the mines and amid the roar of clanging looms. His women folk, in constantly increasing numbers, engage in eager and hateful competition with men for work which men only should do. And poverty, in all our great cities, as abject and hideous as ever before known in the history of the world, abound and increases and festers side by side with wealth and luxury exceeding the wildest dreams of a Croesus.**

You believe and I believe in a heaven beyond the grave. We can not conceive of what it is, but suppose it to be limited in area like the surface of th e earth, and that when we get to heaven we must have some of this surface to live on and do our work on, just as upon this arth. Would not this surface of heaven be one of God's gifts to its inmates? Do you suppose that God would so arrange it that those who happened to die before we did and thus got to heaven before we could get there would be allowed for this reason any advantage over us in obtaining choice locations which would constantly increase in value to their own exclusive benefit as the population of heaven increased?

Do you suppose God would so have arranged it that long before we got to heaven the whole of heaven's surface would have become the private property of first-comers and its stronger and more fortunate inhabitants, so that we would actually have to pay some one for the bare privilege of access to the surface of heaven, for the bare privilege of living and working in heaven? That is the way it is on earth now.

• • •

If God allowed his gift of the surface of heaven to the children of heaven in the case supposed above, to be managed as his gift of the surface of the earth to th children of men is now managed, what kind of a heaven would it be? **Was the earth intended by the heavenly Father for one generation to dispose of forever, or as an abiding place for all generations? You know how Moses would have answered this question. Is not man a land animal. Can he any more rightfully be deprived of access to the land than he can rightfully be deprived of life itself Why is not the child born in a garret entitled to access to land on equal terms with the child of the proudest duke who ever lived? Can a man any more rightfully be compelled to yield up to a mere owner of land—a portion of the fruis of his industry for the mere privilege of getting hold of a free gift of nature than he can rightfully be compelled as a slave to yield up to a master?**

In the only prayer which he taught us, Christ used these words: "Thy kingdom come • • • • on earh as it is in heaven." Whose kingdom? **Can you conceive of God's kingdom ever being upon this earth when a portion of his children are allowed to corner his gifts and extort blackmail from their brothers and sisters for the bare privilege of using the bounties of nature? The thought is abhorrent ton an enlightened sense of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.** I contend that the workingman has a right to feel that the church and its members by an attitude of cold and cruel indifference and even actual hostility to the consideration of remedies proposed for righting his wrongs, tells him in effect that Christ's prayer means less than the words imply; that it does not mean that his true followers, with a zeal in proportion to their love for him must work for the righting of these wrongs, regardless of how it may pecuniarily affect them, to the end that God's kingdow on earth shall be likened unto his k ingdom in heaven.

One may well believe that no specific political measures, the expedience of which good men may doubt, should be advocated from from the pulpit, whether as regards statewide prohibition or remedies for starvation wages, but this does not imply that priests and ministers can not without propriety impress upon the hearts of their hearers the facts showing the existence of the evil and necessity of a remdy. The simple and only way for the church to get to the workingman is t o frankly acknowledge that he is not receiving anything like the amount of wealth which he produces; that every labor saving invention should in fact save the laborer, lessen his hours of labor and increase his independence and ability to obtain and enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life; that an economic system which does not steadily enhance the purchasing power of his wages, as the wealth-producing power of his labor increases, is unjust and must b changed and that no Christian man will oppose the change whatever it may be simply because it may lessen his individual wealth. Let the church take this stand, and workingmen will flock to its doors of their own accord.

The plain truth is, that the churches, taken as a whole, have deserted the poor. They have ceased to believe in the teachings of Jesus—if they ever did believe in them. They provide places for agreeable social intercourse between selected individuals and families, and that is all.

The dominate the churches. They pay the pastor's salary in most cases. They dictate his sermons. They drive from the pulpit every preacher who dares indict the system by which which they got their riches. They would have their city police arrest Jesus for vagrancy if he came back to this earth today and began preaching his gospel of love and brotherhood upon the streets without first having obtained a police permit to speak. They would not let him enter anyone of their pulpits; he would be too poor and humble in dress and too honest in speech.

Religion is the mainspring of human progress. It is as essential as the air we breathe. We must have hopes and beliefs and aspirations beyond our present power of attainment, or we despair and become as the beasts.

The religion—the vital religion—of our time is the religion of social justice. The churches have become the fortresses of vested wrong. Religion has fled from the churches, into the hearts and homes of the people, the toilers, the obscure and the poor.

The noblest expression of real religion in our time is the Socialist movement. It demands that the divine teachings of Jesus shall be translated into social facts. It demands the abolition of poverty, and of ignorance, drunkenness, prostitution, disease and crime, the children of poverty. It challenges cruelty and oppression. It asserts the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of the all-loving God.

H. F. RING.

Mr. Ring may think he is not a Socialist. If he does, it is only because he has not become conscious of the fact that he is a Socialist, for he is one. The hope of the race is in the fact that millions of men of all occupations and schools of thought, are becoming convinced, often against their will, that there is only one way out of the wilderness in which men struggle like wild beasts for food, shelter and a chance to rear their young. That way is Socialism.

The Waco Jeffersonian.

"Ramsey is merely an echo of Tom Campbell. Ramsey would likely call for yet more policemen and use them as the czar of Russia does the Cossacks. So there we are, reduced to choice between two evils. When may we expect a restoration of democratic government in this state?"

Thus wails George Robinson, the Jeffersonian phisosopher who edits the Waco Times-Herald.

The answer is this: Democratic government is government by the majority of the plain people, the workers and producers and distributors who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow.

There never has been any such government on this contnient.

Therefore such government can never be "restored."

But we shall have such government, when the people, through the Socialist party, elect workers to office and exercise constant guiding control over their actions through the Socialistic initiative, referendum and recall.

Wthin five years George Robinson will be advocating government of this kind, as the only possible escape from government such as we have always had, and have now, namely, government by professional politicians in the interest of the rich exploiters of the working majority.

Call again, George, any time your old-party political philosophy leaves you bogged down, and get light on the way. It is no trouble to us to set you right. We strive to please.

THE POLITICAL DR. COOK.

When Roosevelt returned from Africa in 1910, The Rebel wrote a full page story of his life which the Appeal to Reason published and sold one million copies. It was along with a brilliant discussion between Prof. Geo. D. Hearne and the Rebel as to whether Roosevelt would be nominated in 1912 or not. In viw of the tremendous battle that is going on inside the Republican party, this is now the timeliest, livest pamphlet of the hour, 32 pages, well printed on fine paper, 10c a copy, $5.00 a hundred, rush your orders into The Rebel office at once and know Roosevelt as he is and what his schemes portend.

Convention Flash Lights.

In next week's issue of the Rebel, No. 48, we will commence a series of short articles on the inside work of the NationalC onvention. As the Rebel was on the most important committee in the convention and attended all principal caucuses and has 20 years experience in the movement, his review of events will be of national importance. Don't fail to get these articles and have your friends subscribe at once.

Terrific Fight For Free Speech.

The San Diego's comrades send the Rebel the following:

APPEAL:

Comrades and Fellow Workers: — In our struggle for the right of free expression and the right to organize that is now going on in San Diego, we are compelled to secure legal defence for the men who have been arrested. This, together with the publicity campaign we are carryingon, and the purchasing of necessities for the boys in jail, takes money. Send all funds to

KASPAR BAUER, Treasurer,
716 D Street, San Diego, Cal.

The Bisbee Miner's Union held a crowded meeting last week in which they started a state wide movement to stop funds being sent by th state in support of the San Diego fair, a boycotter's order on the fair. All decent Texans will do all in their power to keep their friends and relatives fro mvisiting California while this battle is on. Boycott these scoundrels to the last degree; they have neither honor, soul, God nor country; they recognize nothing but the pocket book — hit them there.

Texans On Committees.

Two members of the Texas delegation were elected on two of the important committees in the convention. T. A. Hickey on the committee on the attitude of the socialist party towards labor unions and E. R. Meitzen on committee on resolutions. Comrade Meitzen will have something to say in the Rebel next week about his work on that committee.

MASTER AND MAN.

NEWS ITEM—Mr. Bruce Ismay's name appears among those of the "women and children saved." Mr. Ismay is one of the owners of the White Star Line.

The Captain stood where a Captain should,
For the law of the Sea is grim;
The owner romped ere his ship was swamped
And no law bothered him.

The Captain stood where the Captain should,
When a Captain's boat goes down;
But the Owner led when the women fled
For the Owner must not drown.

The Captain sank as a man of Rank,
While his Owner turned away;
The Captain's grave was his bridge and, brave,
He earned his seaman's pay.

To hold your place in the ghastly face
Of death on the Sea at Night,
Is a seaman's job, but to flee with the mob
Is an Owner's noble Right.